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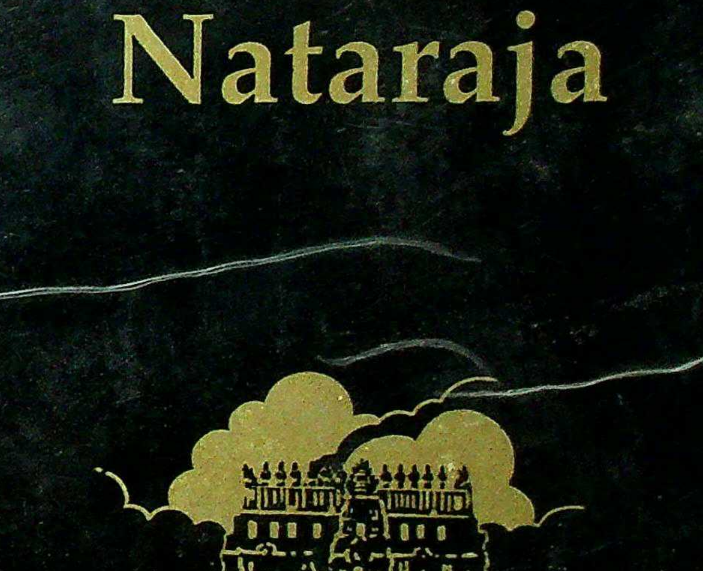

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B. Natarajan

assisted by his brothers

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1994

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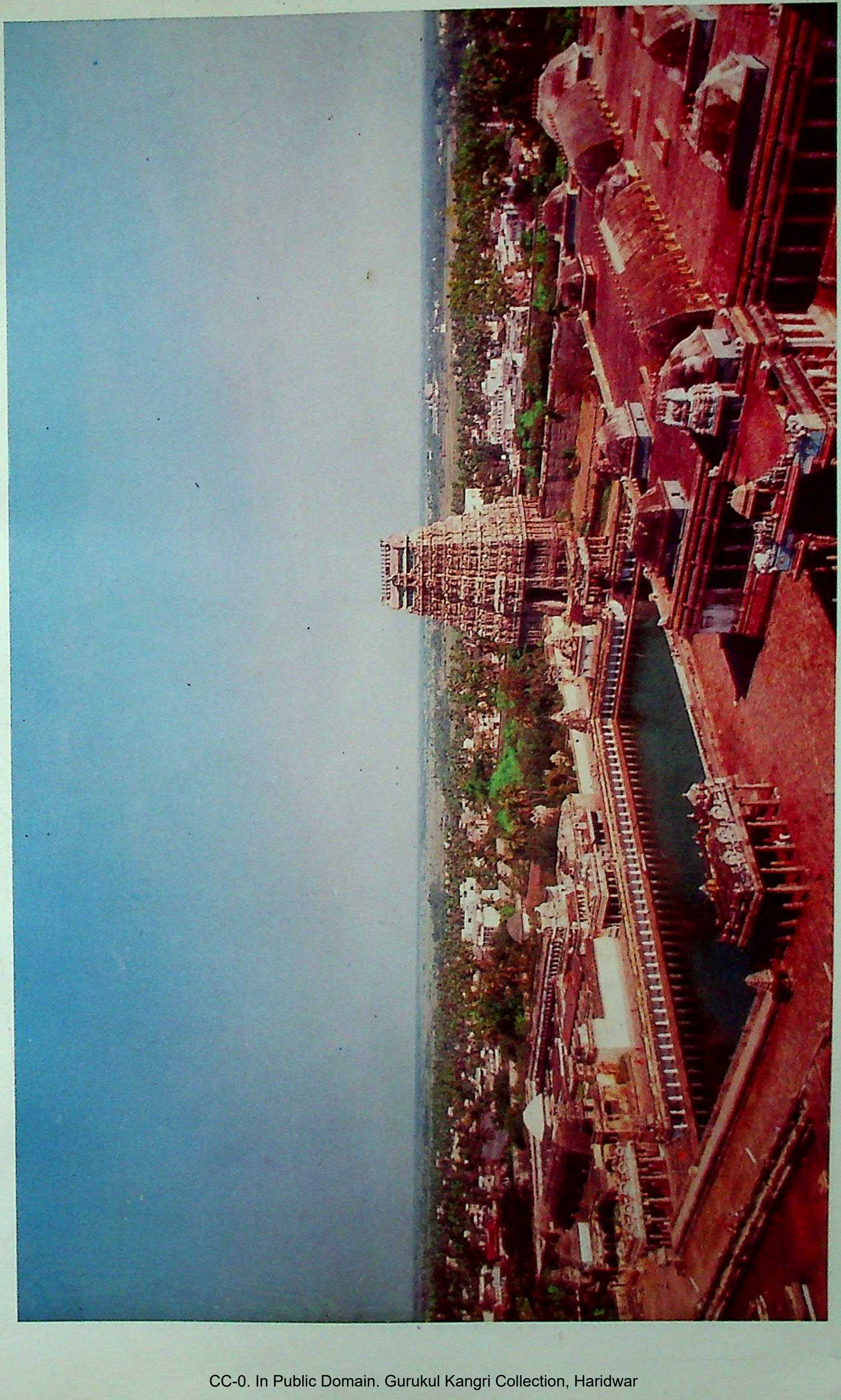
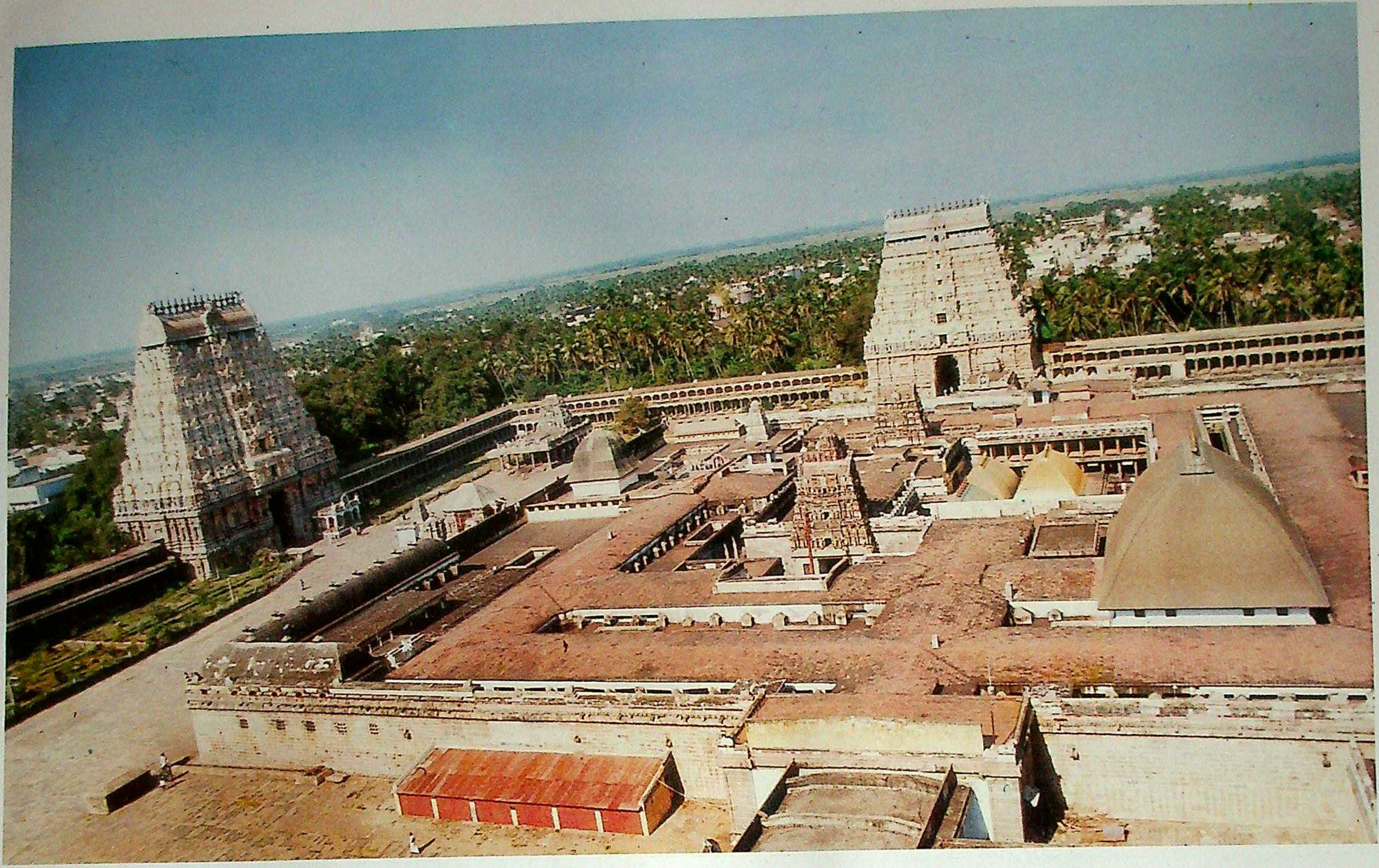
LIST OF COLOUR ILLUSTRATIONS

Sl.No.		Description	Courtesy of
1.		Overview of the Nataraja temple in a north-westerly angle (from atop the East Gopuram)	K.P. Krishna
2.		Overview of the temple from atop the East Gopuram (in a westerly direction)	K.P. Krishna
3.		The 1000-Pillared Hall (viewed from the south-east)	K.P. Krishna
4.	(a)	Aerial view of the Nataraja temple (from east)	Umanatha Dikshitar
	(b)	Aerial view of the Nataraja temple (from south-east)	Umanatha Dikshitar
	(c)	Aerial view of the Nataraja temple (from south-west)	Umanatha Dikshitar
	(d)	Aerial view of the Nataraja temple (from west)	Umanatha Dikshitar
5.	(a)	The North Gopuram (from the 1000-Pillared Hall -- from the south-east angle)	Dr. B. Venkataraman
	(b)	The North Gopuram passageway west wall face, northern segment depicting the Bharatanatya karanas (with icon of Durga in the central niche)	Dr. B. Venkataraman
	(c)	North Gopuram : Dvarapala	Dr. B. Venkataraman
	(d)	Unidentified niche figure(s) in the North Gopuram passageway	Dr. B. Venkataraman
6.		Sivaganga, with the 100-Pillared Hall (left background) and Amman (Sivakamasundari) shrine (right background)	Dr. B. Venkataraman
7.	(a)	Sivakamasundari shrine (proper left) and the 100-Pillared Hall (proper right) with the Sivaganga in the foreground	Dr. B. Venkataraman
	(b)	Mukkurni-p-Pillaiyar shrine in the south-west segment of the Third Prakara	Dr. B. Venkataraman
8.	(a)	West Gopuram, east face, showing both tiers with their sculptures	Dr. B. Venkataraman
	(b)	West Gopuram, east face, with its architectural and iconic details	Dr. B. Venkataraman
9.	(a)	Portrait of an eminent personage (Naralokaviran ?) on the outer face of the balustrade of the 100-Pillared Hall on its southern side.	Dr. B. Venkataraman
	(b)	West Gopuram, east face, south flank, lower tier : labelled sculpture of 'Kamadevan', with Consorts Priti and Rati	Dr. B. Venkataraman
	(c)	West Gopuram, east face, south flank, lower tier : labelled sculpture of 'Sridevi'	Dr. B. Venkataraman
	(d)	West Gopuram, east face, south flank, lower tier : labelled sculpture of 'Vishnu on Garuda'	Dr. B. Venkataraman
10.	(a)	South Gopuram, south face, west wing, upper tier : 'Dvarapala'	Dr. B. Venkataraman
	(b)	South Gopuram, south face, west wing, lower tier : One of the 'Nava-Graha-s'	Dr. B. Venkataraman
	(c)	South Gopuram, south face, west wing, lower tier : 'Ganapati'	Dr. B. Venkataraman
	(d)	South Gopuram, south face, west wing, lower tier : 'Agastya'	Dr. B. Venkataraman
11.	(a)	South Gopuram, south face, lower tier : 'Bhadrakali'	Dr. B. Venkataraman
	(b)	South Gopuram, south face, lower tier : 'Gangai'	Dr. B. Venkataraman
	(c)	South Gopuram, south face, lower tier : 'Agni'	Dr. B. Venkataraman
	(d)	South Gopuram, south face, lower tier : 'Naga'	Dr. B. Venkataraman
12.	(a)	South Gopuram, south face, lower tier : 'Yamunai'	Dr. B. Venkataraman
	(b)	South Gopuram, passageway niche on flanking wall : 'Durga'	Dr. B. Venkataraman
	(c)	South Gopuram, south face, east wing, lower tier : 'Adi Candesvarar'	Dr. B. Venkataraman
13.	(a)	Dikshitars engaged in the preparatory ceremonies at the Yagasalai, in connection with the consecration of the icons of the 63 Nayanmar (in 1993)	Umanatha Dikshitar
	(b)	The connected sacrificial 'Homam' under way	Umanatha Dikshitar
14.	(a)	The ceremonial procession from the Yagasalai	Umanatha Dikshitar
	(b)	Another view of the procession as it wends its way towards the installation/ site	Umanatha Dikshitar
15.	(a)	A Dikshitar couple, in their traditional attire	Umanatha Dikshitar
	(b)	The Dikshitar-in-charge of the day's service rituals at the sanctum sanctorum — *'murai Dikshitar'* (standing to the east of the Cit Sabha)	Umanatha Dikshitar
	(c)	A Dikshitar boy in the traditional dress (notice the hair knot)	Umanatha Dikshitar
	(d)	A portrait of a young Dikshitar (against the backdrop of the Cit Sabha and West Gopuram -- in the rear)	Umanatha Dikshitar
16.	(a)	Gilded roof of Cit Sabha and Kanaka Sabha (West Gopuram in far background)	S. Hariharan
	(b)	Cit Sabha with gilded roof and Candesvara shrine	Umanatha Dikshitar
17.		The Nataraja Chariot ('ter') in procession	S. Ramalingam, Cidambaram
18.		Informal rehearsals in the precincts of the Nataraja shrine during the Annual Natyanjali (Homage to Nataraja in dance) festival	S. Hariharan



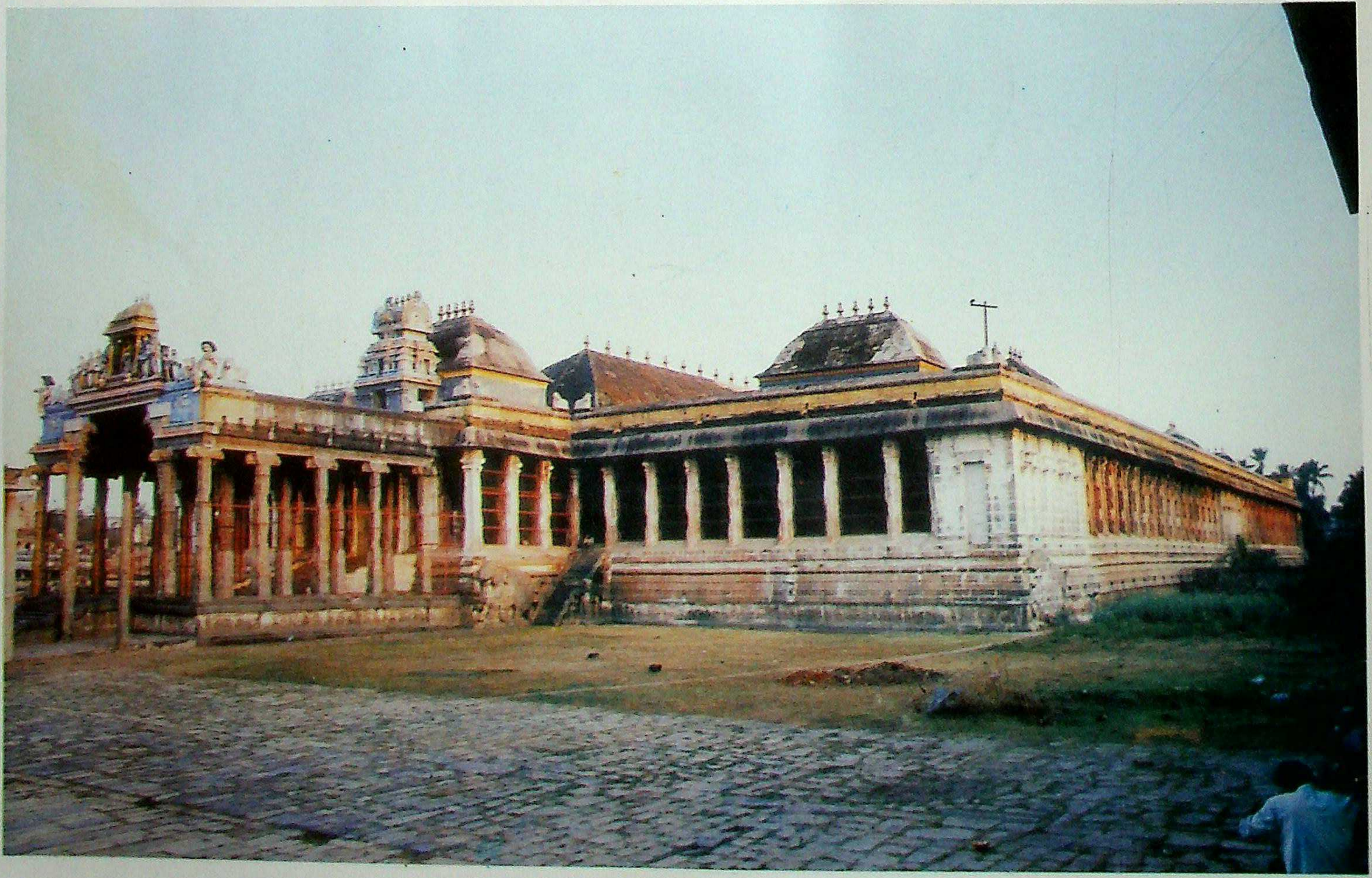
1. Overview of the Nataraja temple in a north-westerly angle (from atop the East Gopuram)

(Courtesy : K.P. Krishna)



2. Overview of the temple from atop the East Gopuram (in a westerly direction)

(Courtesy : K.P. Krishna)

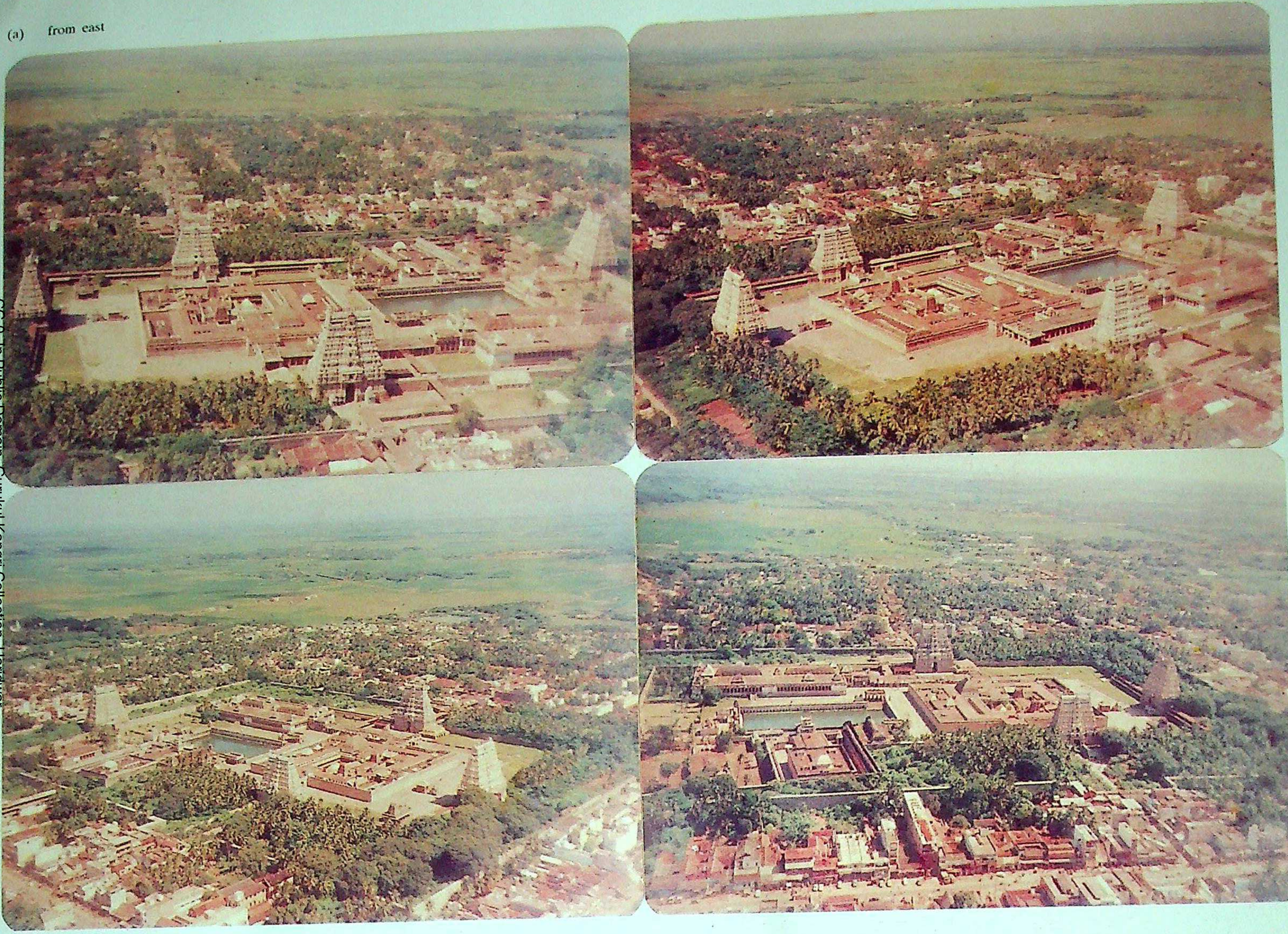


3. The 1000-Pillared Hall (viewed from the south-east)

(Courtesy : K.P. Krishna)

(a) from east

(b) from south-east

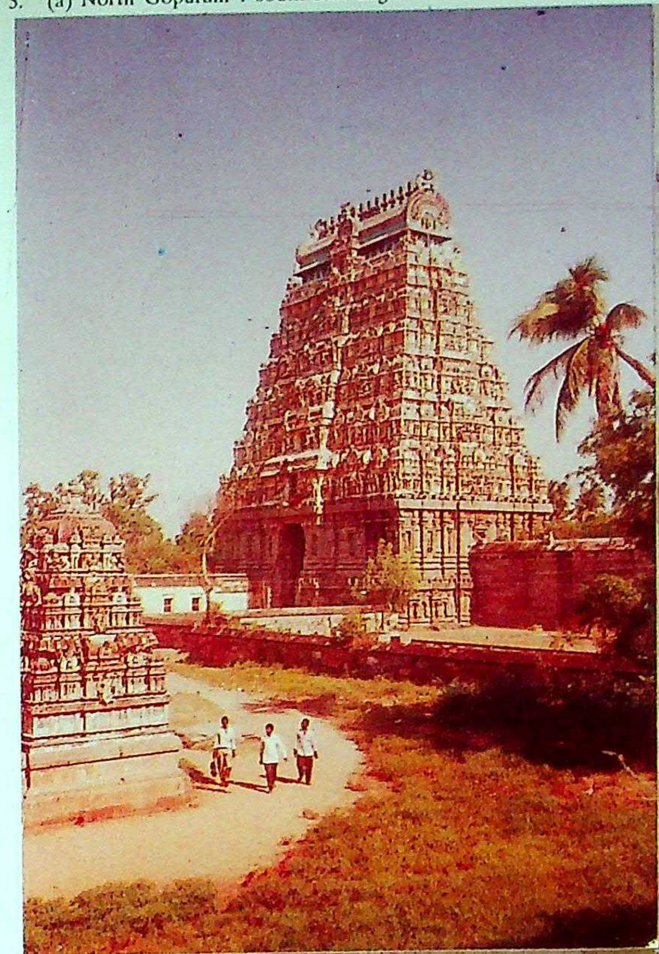


(c) from south-west

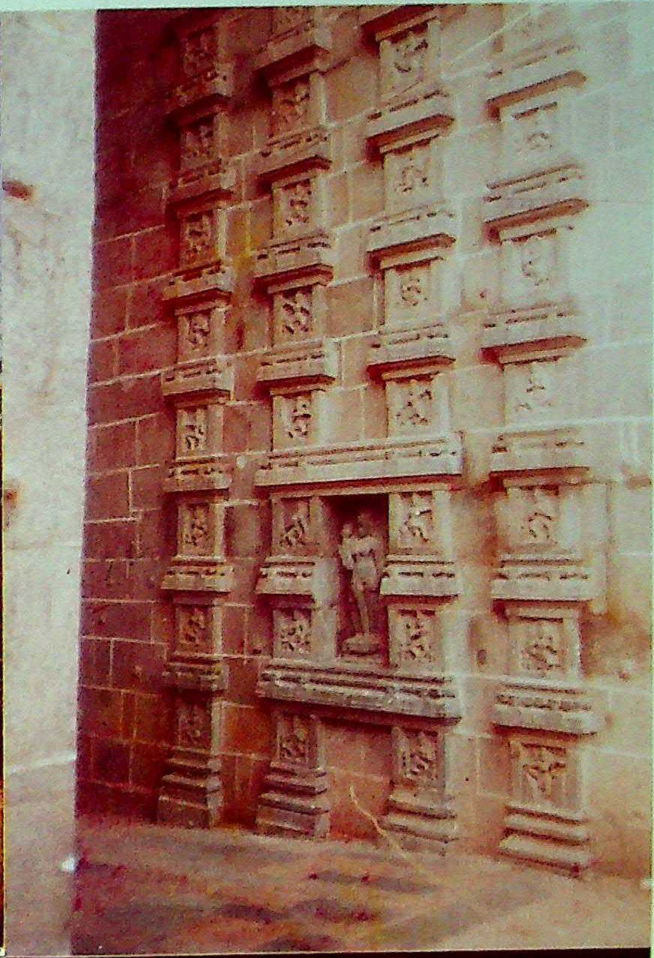
(d) from west

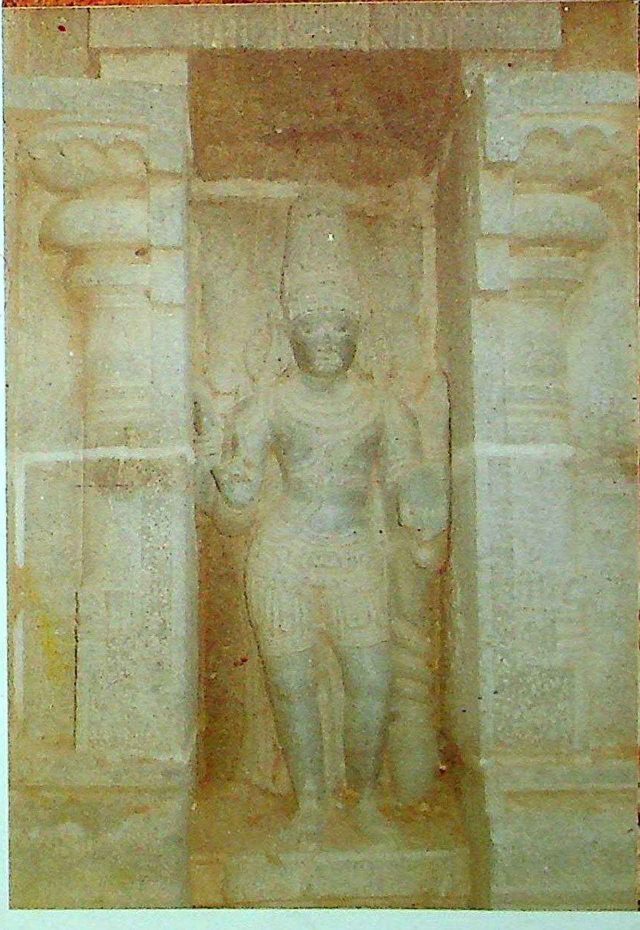
4. Aerial view of the Nataraja temple (Courtesy : Umanatha Dikshitar)

5. (a) North Gopuram : south-east angle



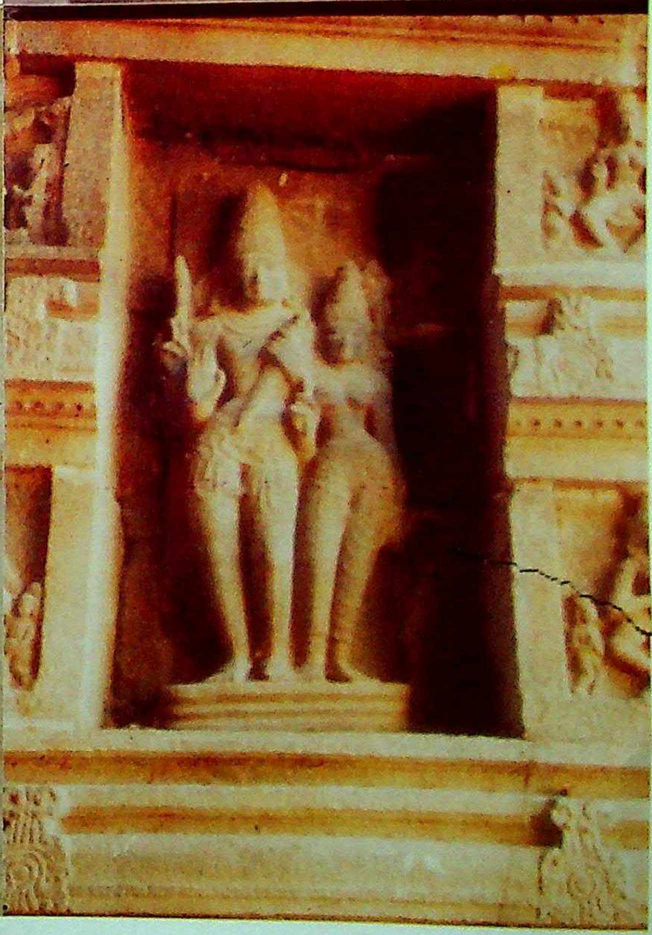
5. (b) North Gopuram, passageway : Dance karanas



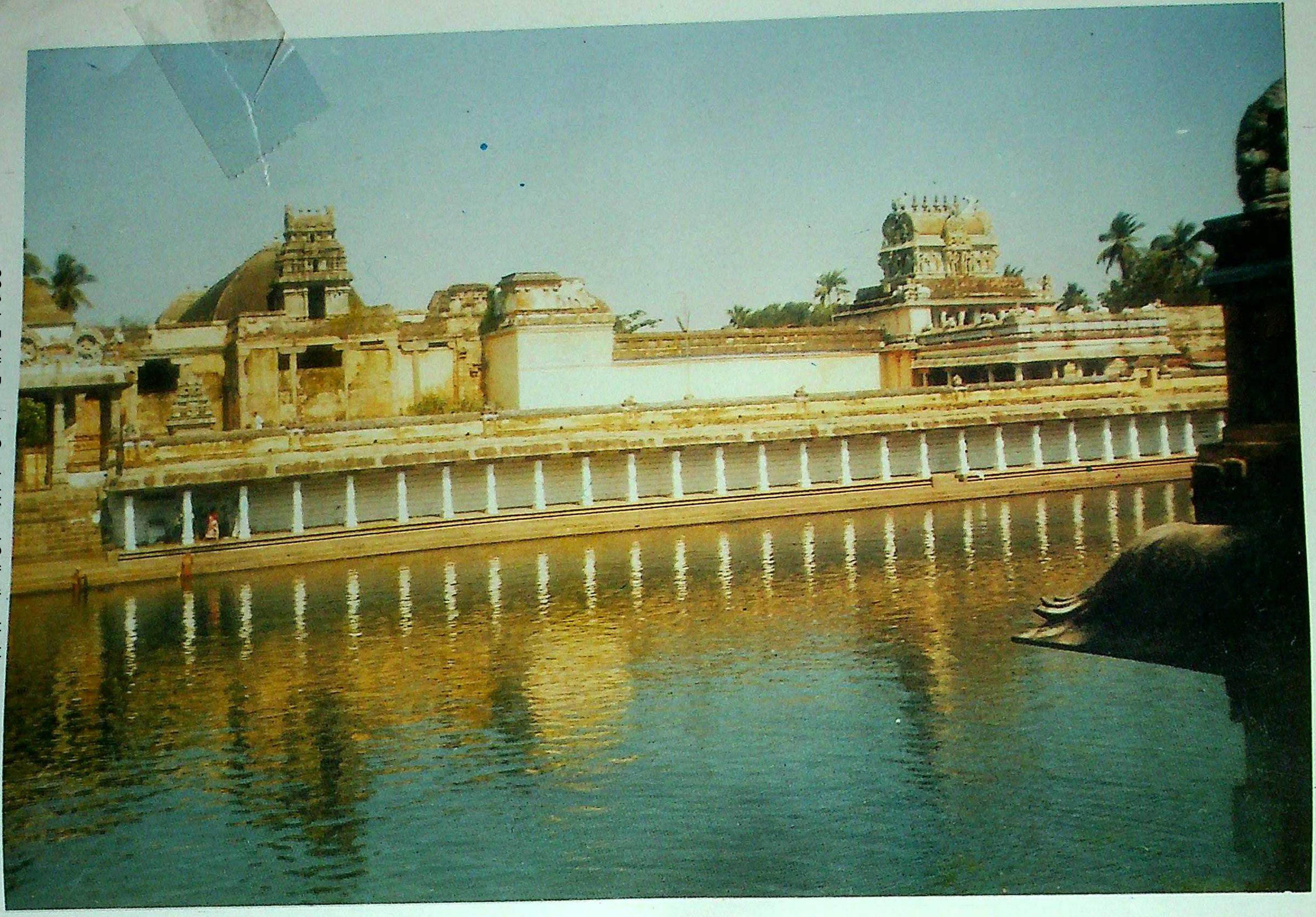


(c) North Gopuram : Dvarapala

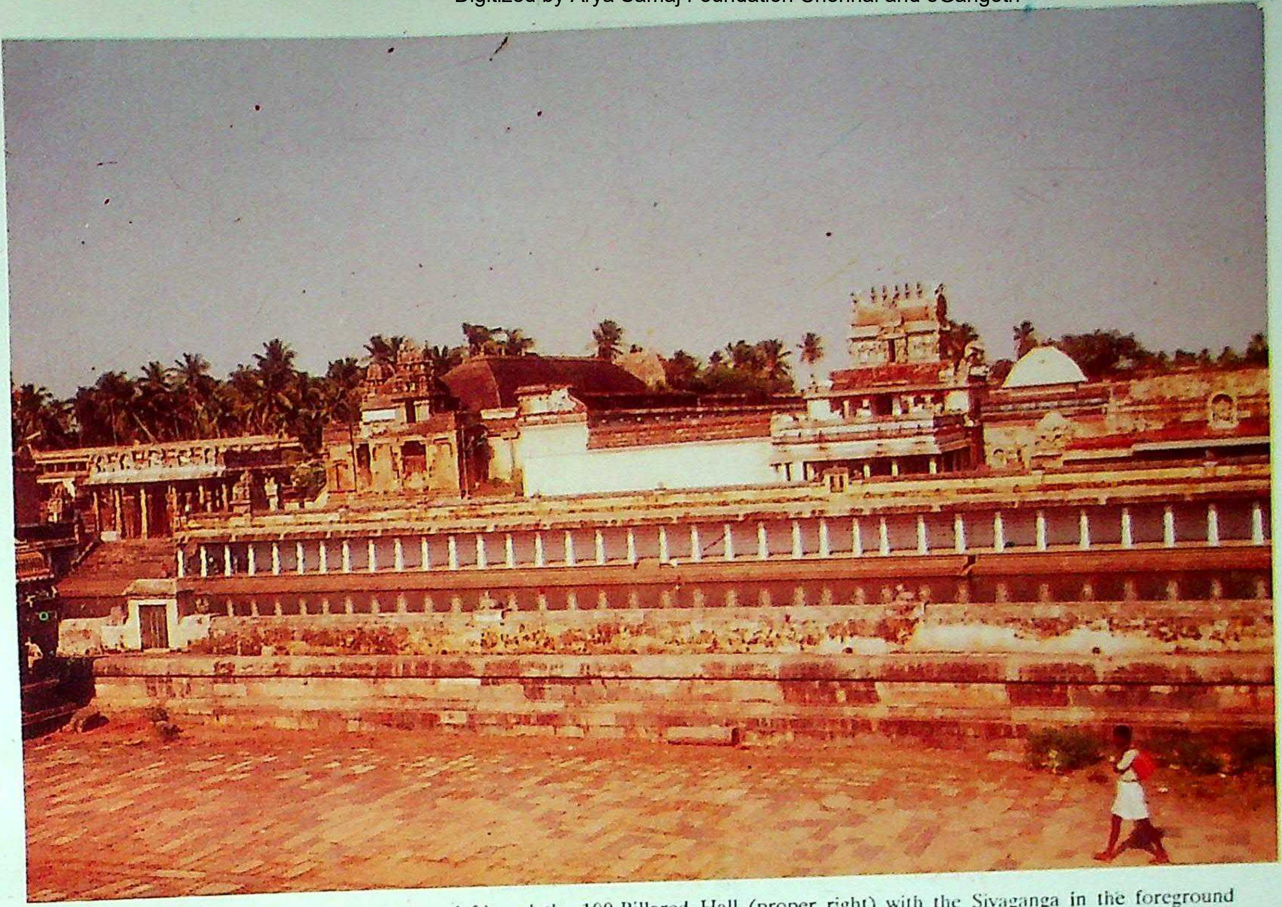
(Courtesy : B. Venkataraman)



(d) North Gopuram, passageway : unidentified dignitary

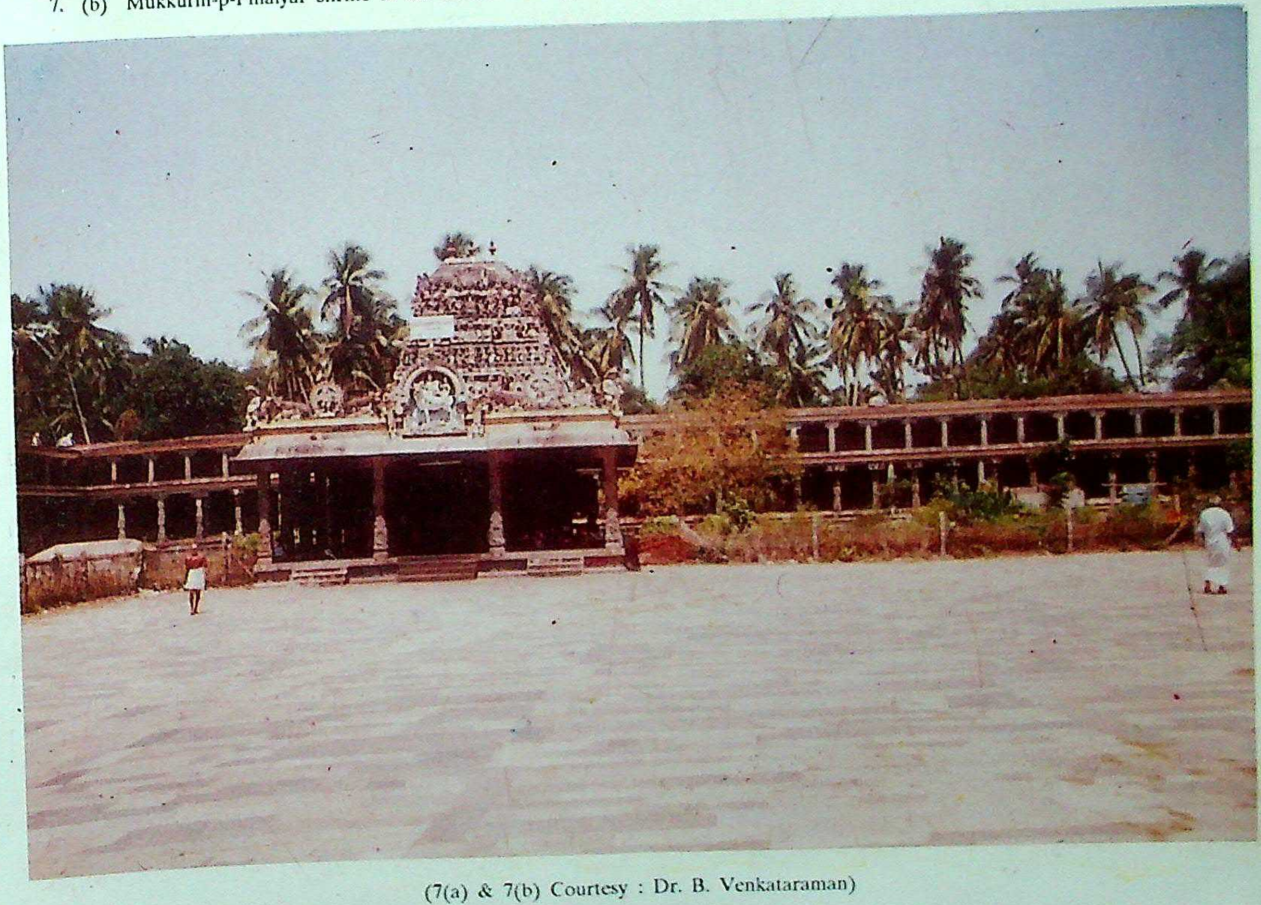


6. Sivaganga, with the 100-Pillared Hall (left background) and Amman (Sivakamasundari) shrine (right background)
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

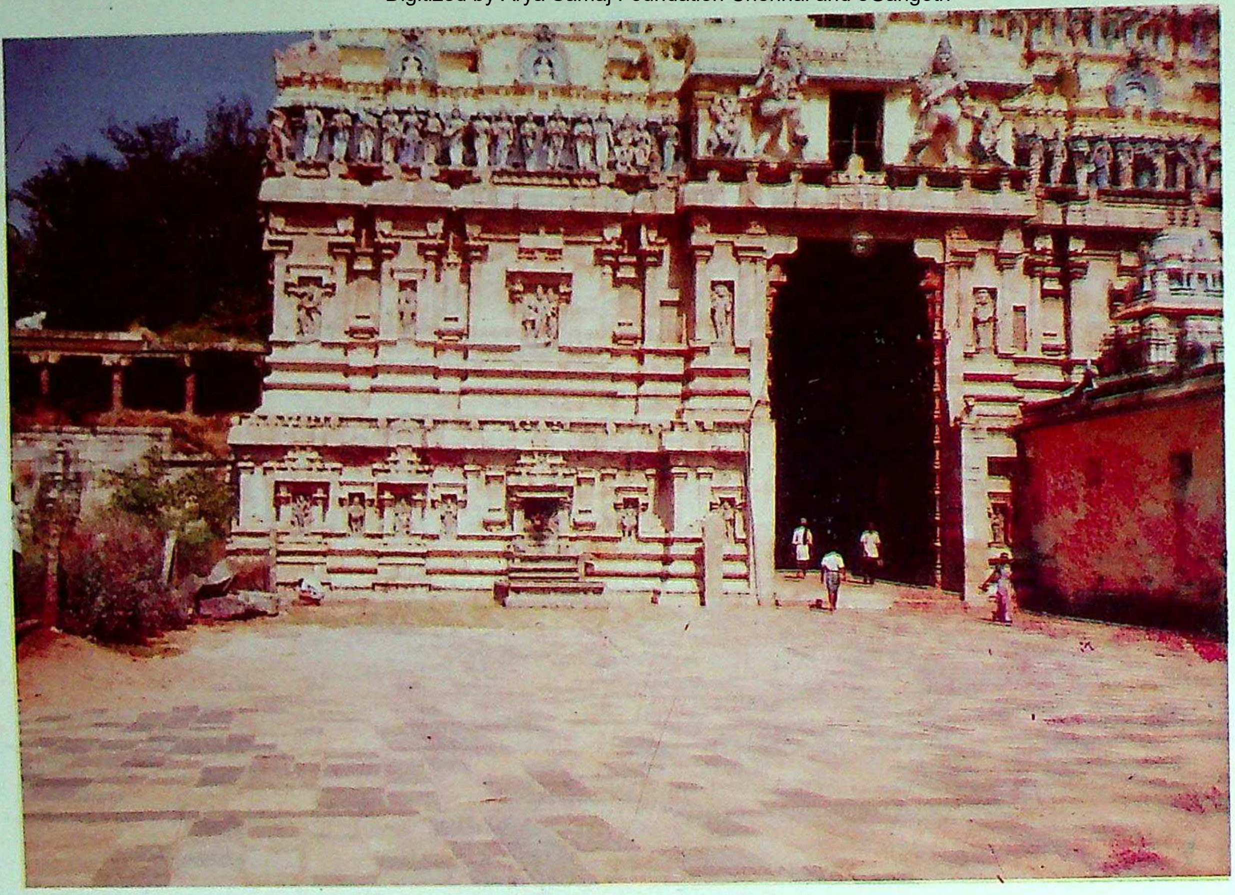


7. (a) Sivakamasundari shrine (proper left) and the 100-Pillared Hall (proper right) with the Sivaganga in the foreground

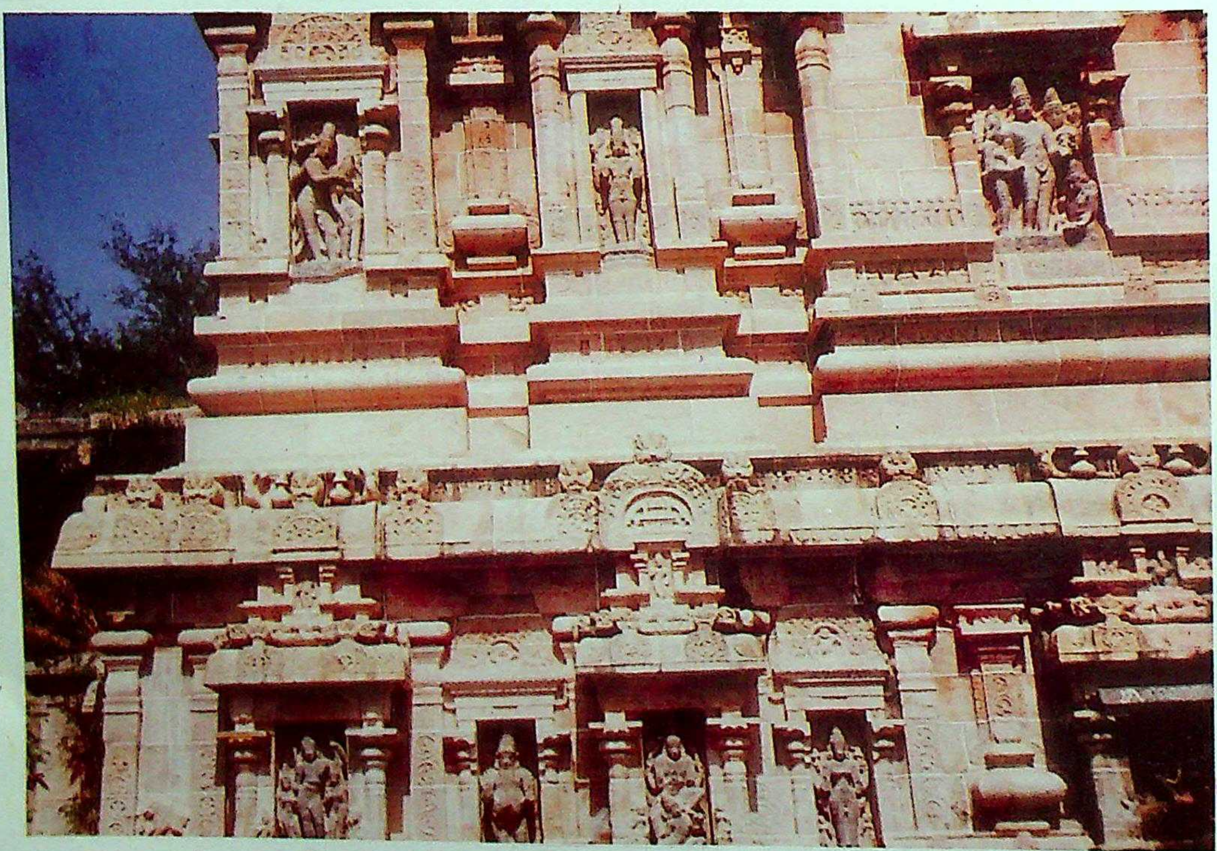
7. (b) Mukkurni-p-Pillaiyar shrine in the south-west segment of the Third Prakara



(7(a) & 7(b) Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

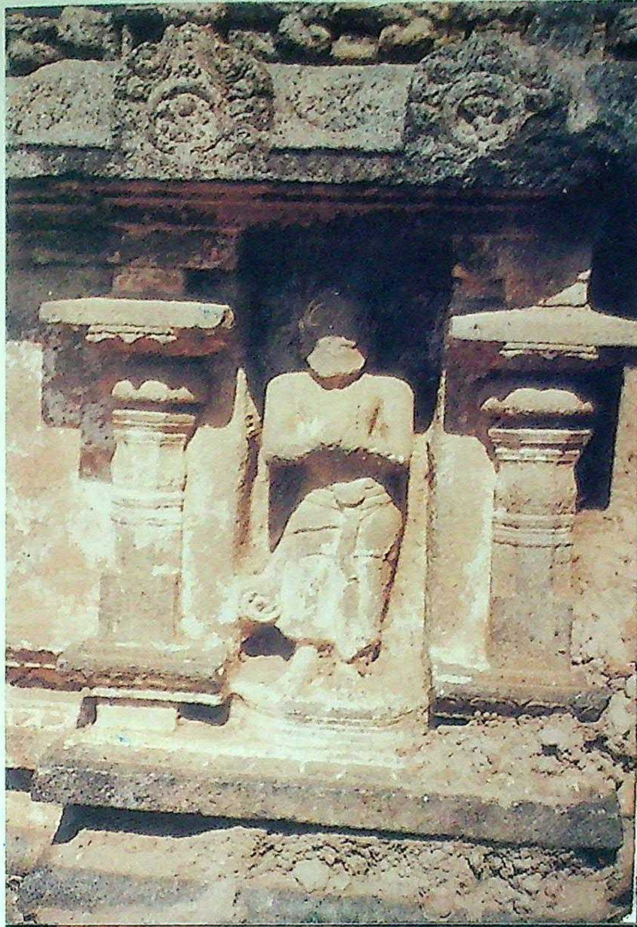


8. (a) West Gopuram, east face, showing both tiers with their sculptures
8. (b) West Gopuram, east face, with its architectural and iconic details

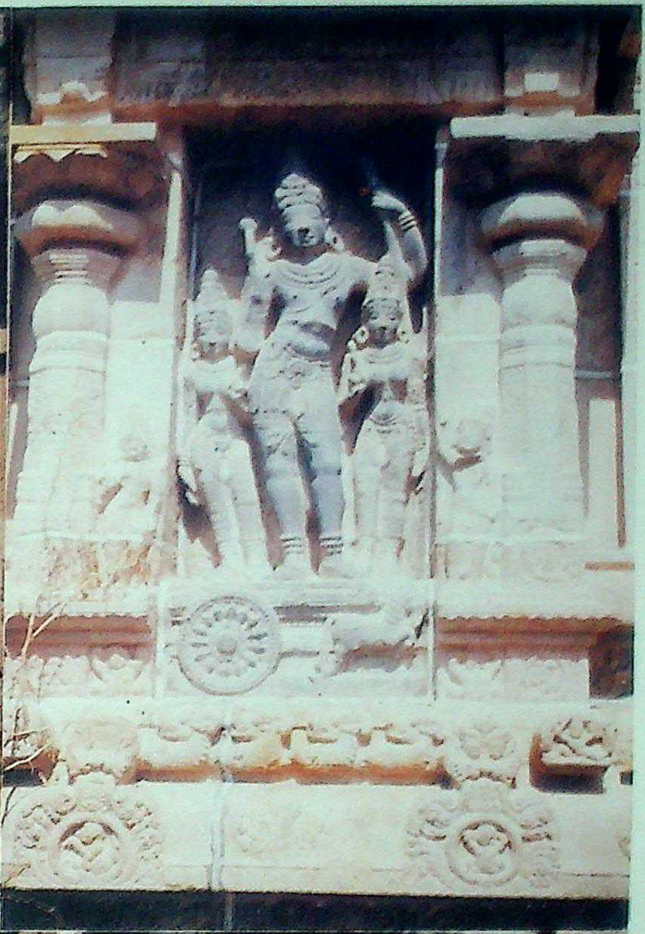


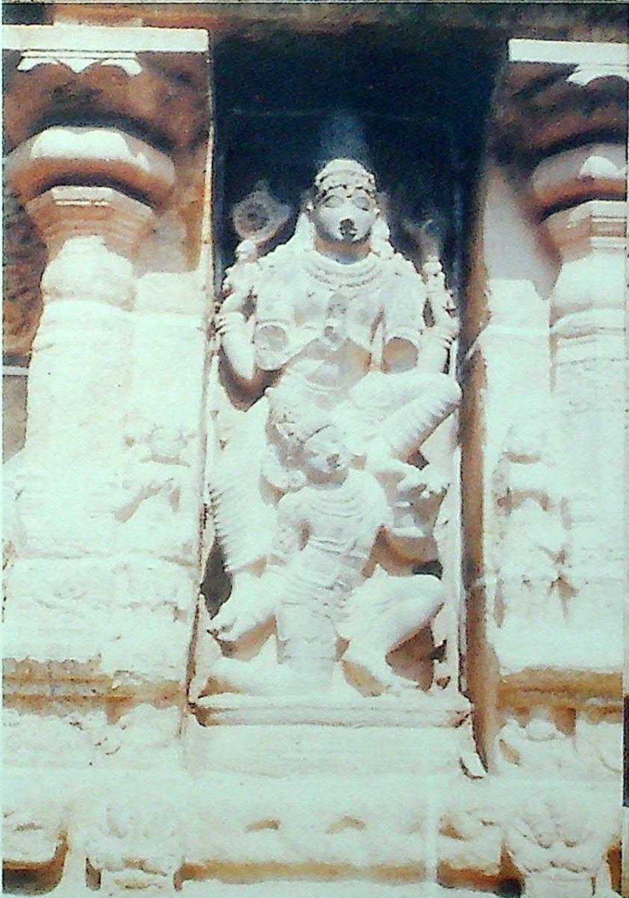
(8(a) & 8(b) Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

9. (a) 100-Pillared Hall balustrade : Portrait (of Naralokavira ?)

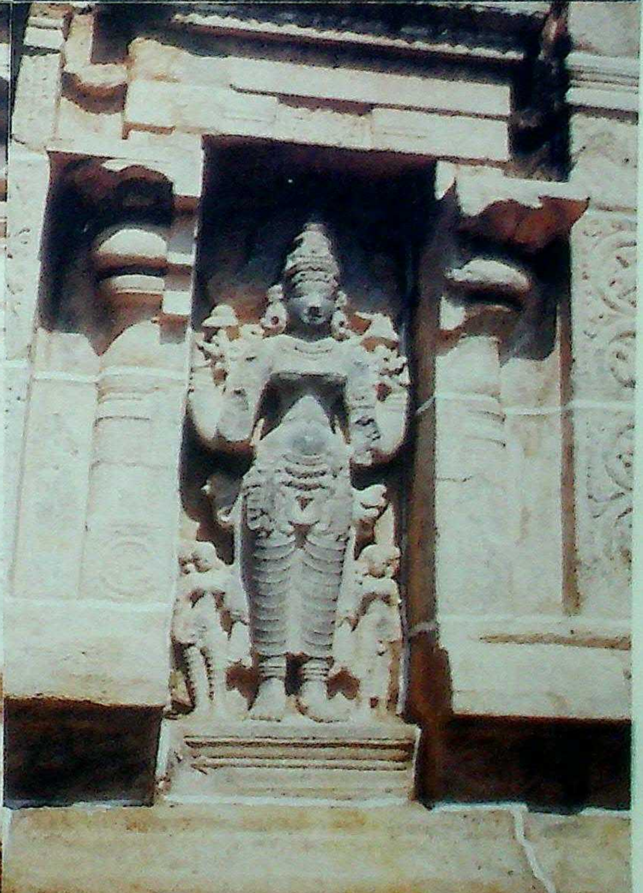


9. (b) 'Kamadevan', labelled sculpture, West Gopuram, east face





(d) 'Vishnu on Garuda', labelled sculpture, West Gopuram, east face

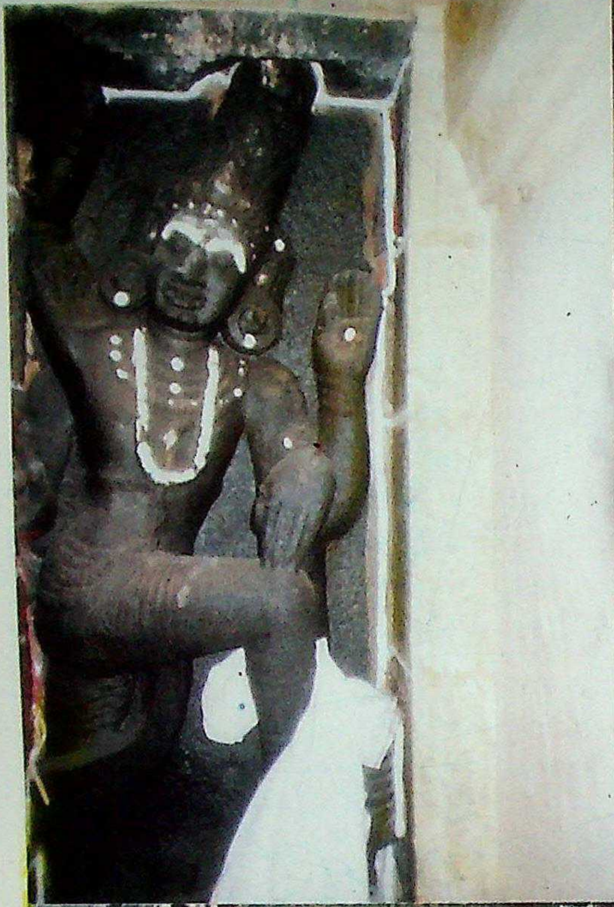


(c) 'Sridevi' : labelled sculpture, West gopuram, east face

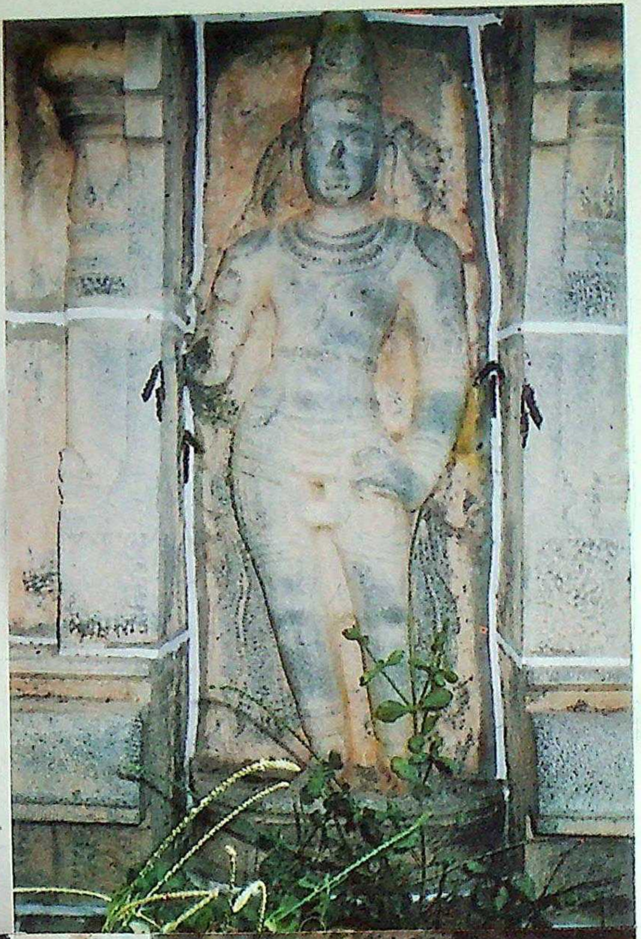
(9(a, b, c & d) Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

South Gopuram, south face

10. (a) Dvarapala (west wing, upper tier)



lower tier, east wing : A Graha 10 (b)



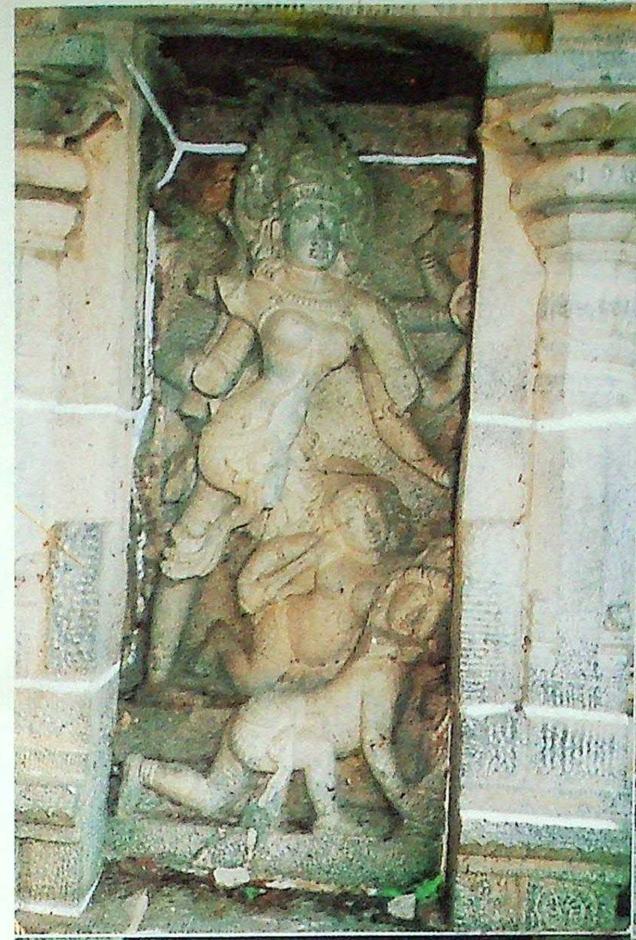
10. (c) Ganapati (east wing, lower tier) (10 (a) & (d) Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

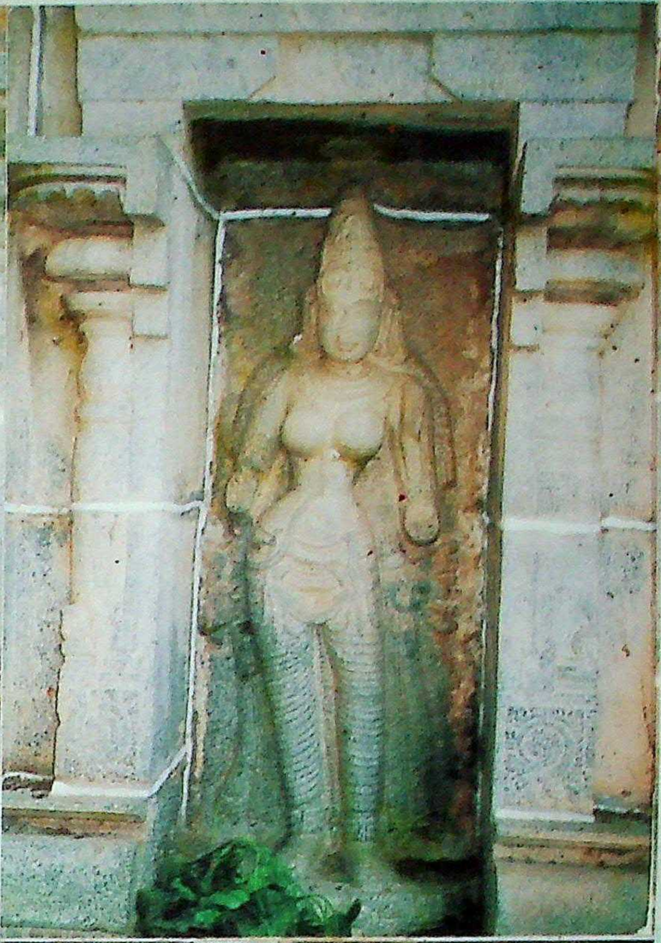
lower tier, east wing : Agastiya 10 (d)

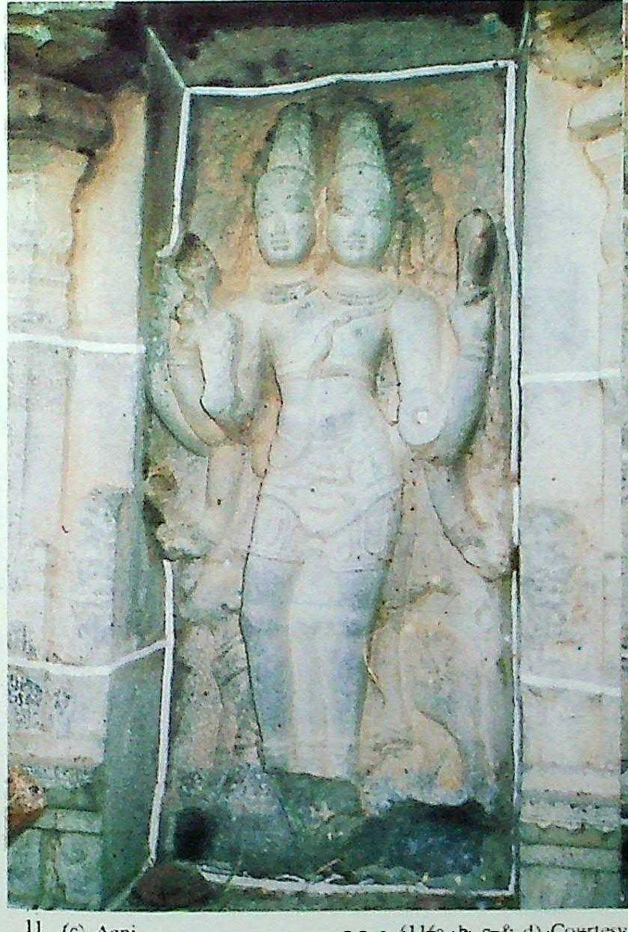
11 (a) Bhadrakali

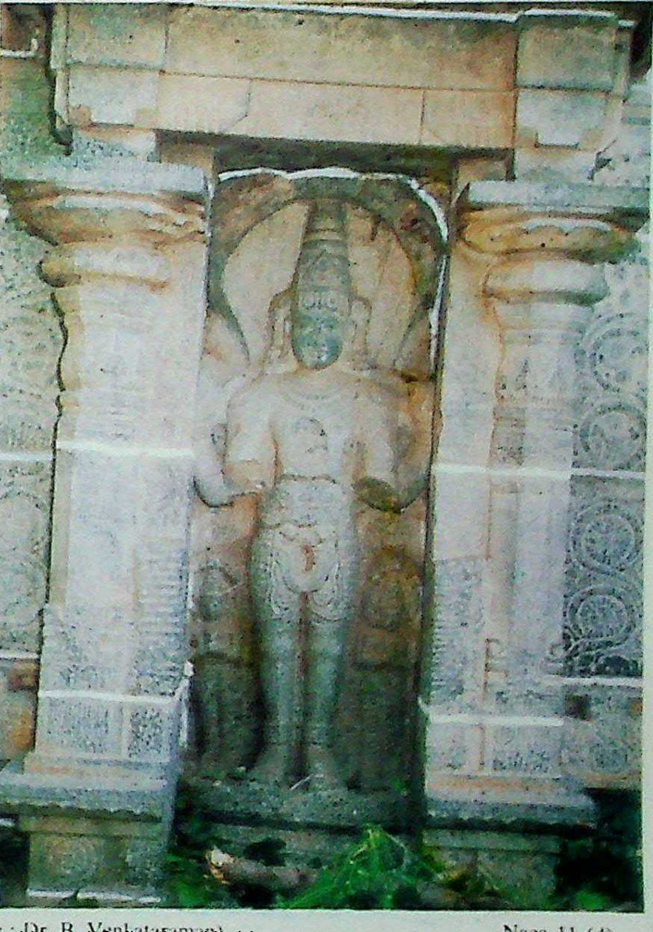
South Gopuram, south face, lower tier

Gangai 11 (b)





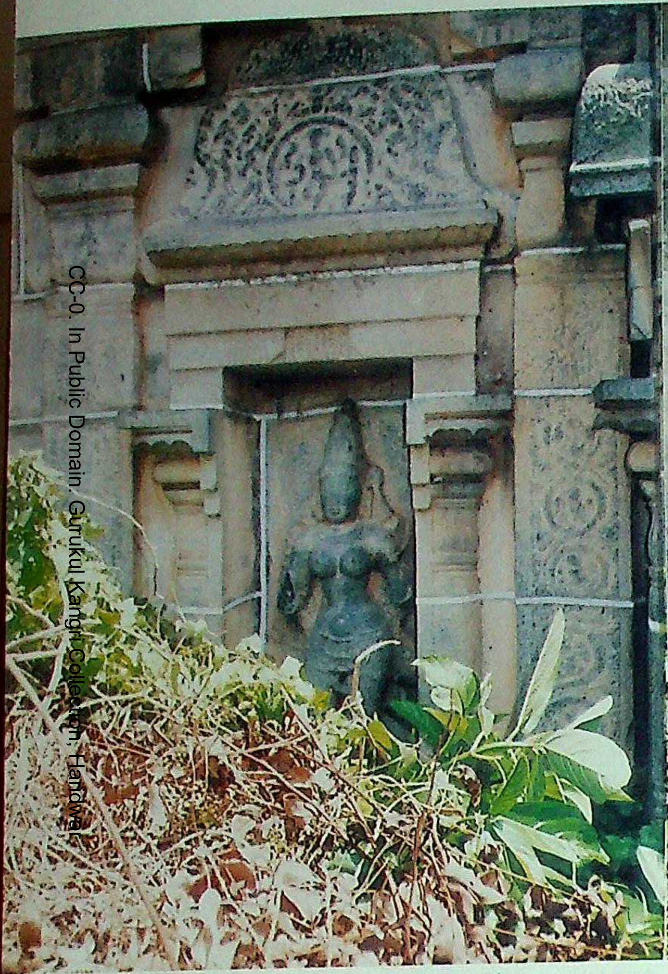




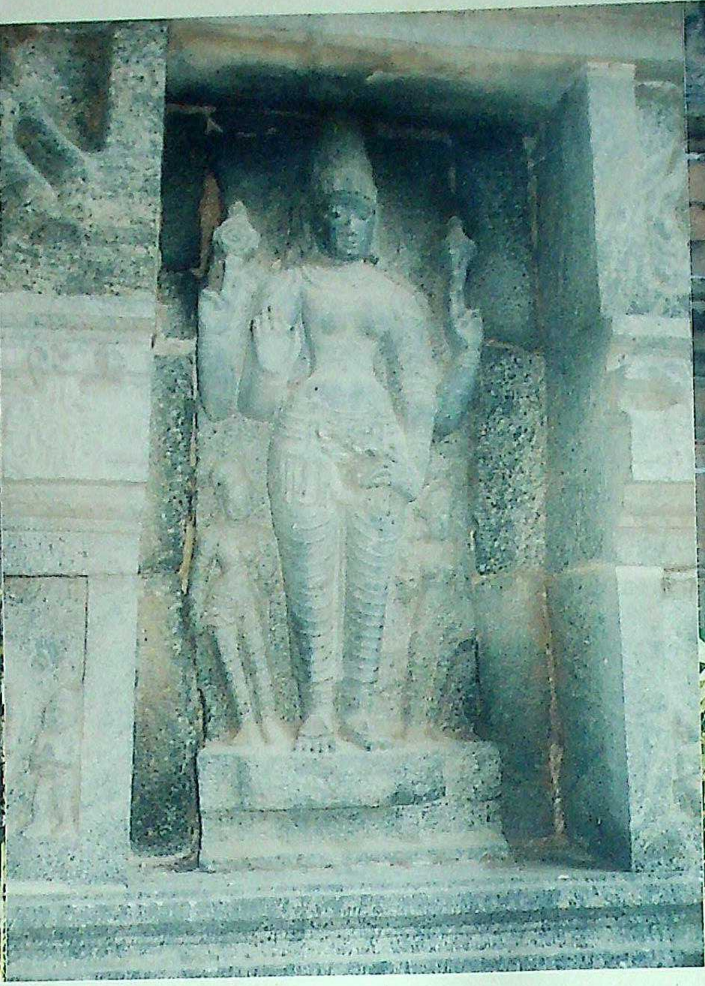
11. (c) Agni

(11(a, b, c & d) Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

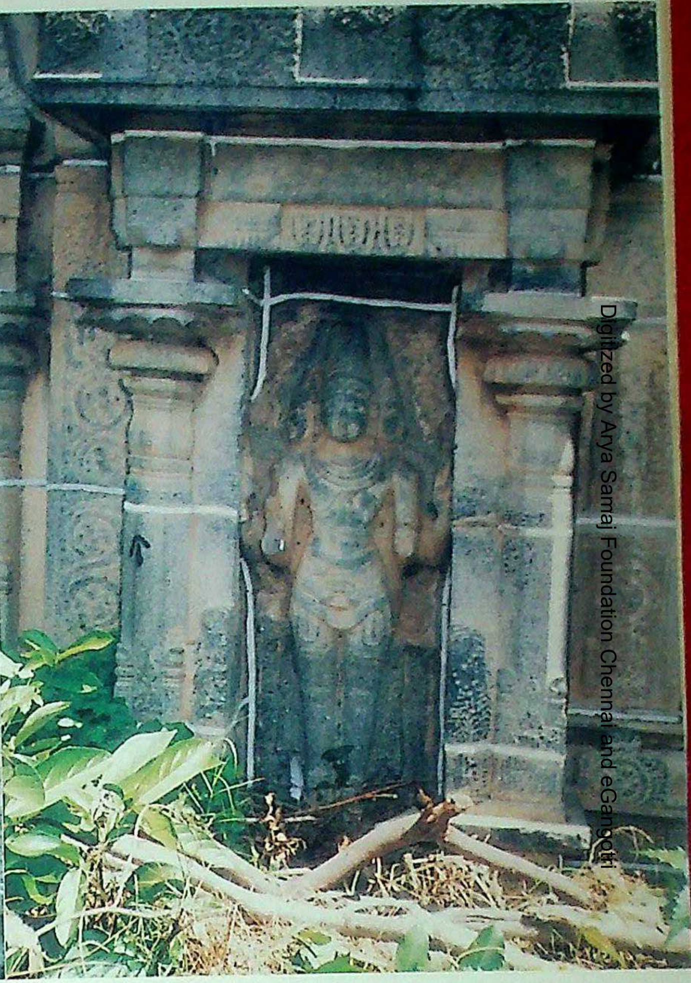
Naga 11 (d)



12. (a) Yamunai (South Gopuram, south face, lower tier)



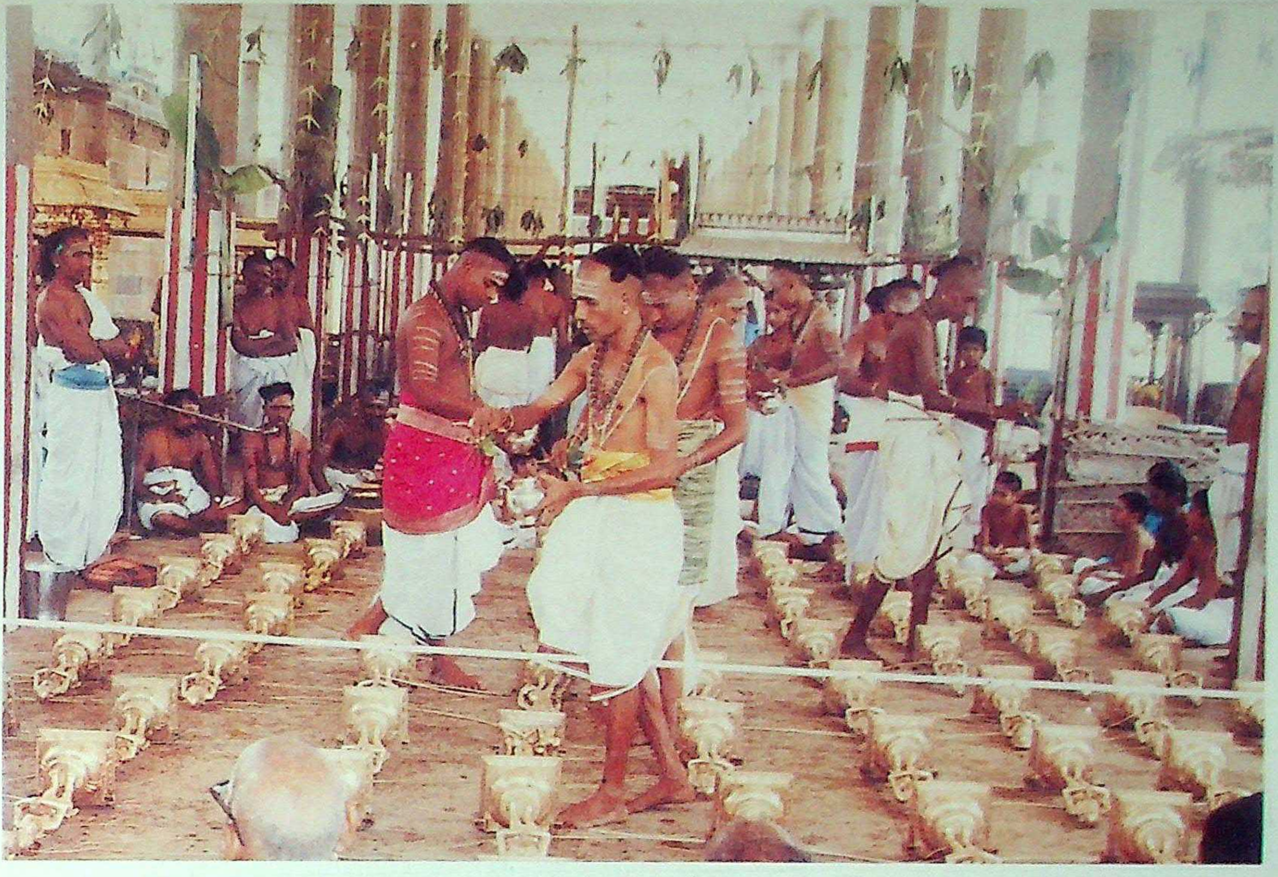
12 (b) Durga, in the passageway niche (South Gopuram)



12 (c) Adi Candesvara (South Gopuram, lower tier)

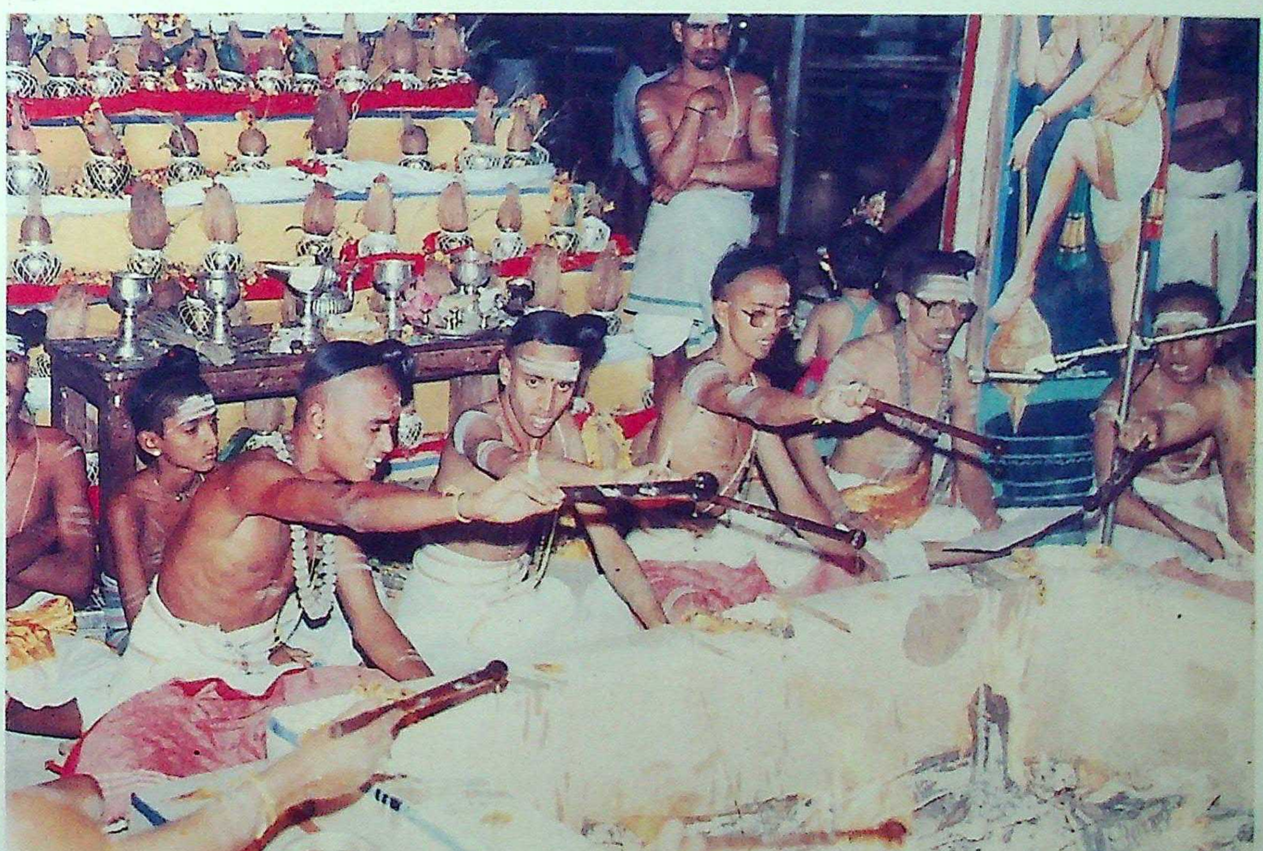
(12(a, b, & c) Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

Consecration of Sixty-three Nayanmar icons

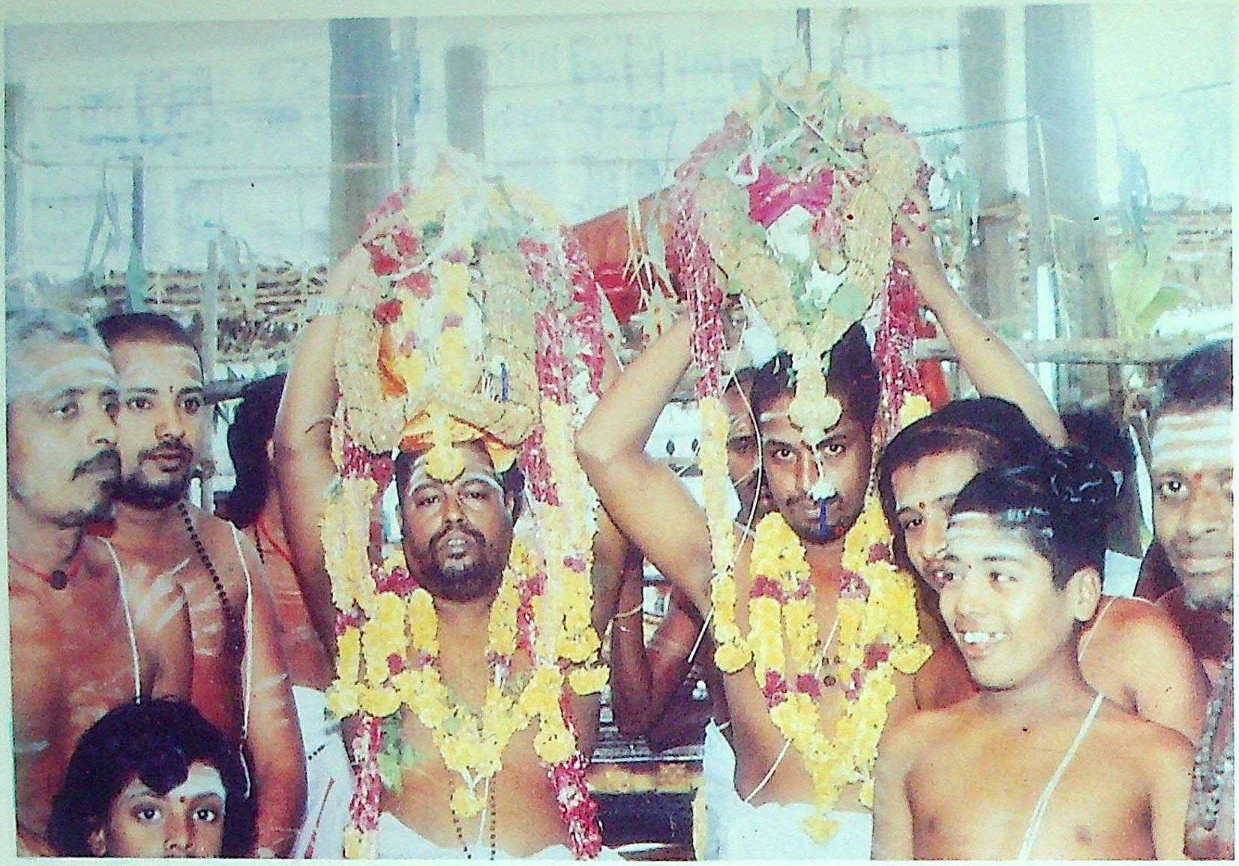


13. (a) Dikshitars engaged in the preparatory cremonies in the Yagasalai

13. (b) The connected sacrificial 'Homam' under way

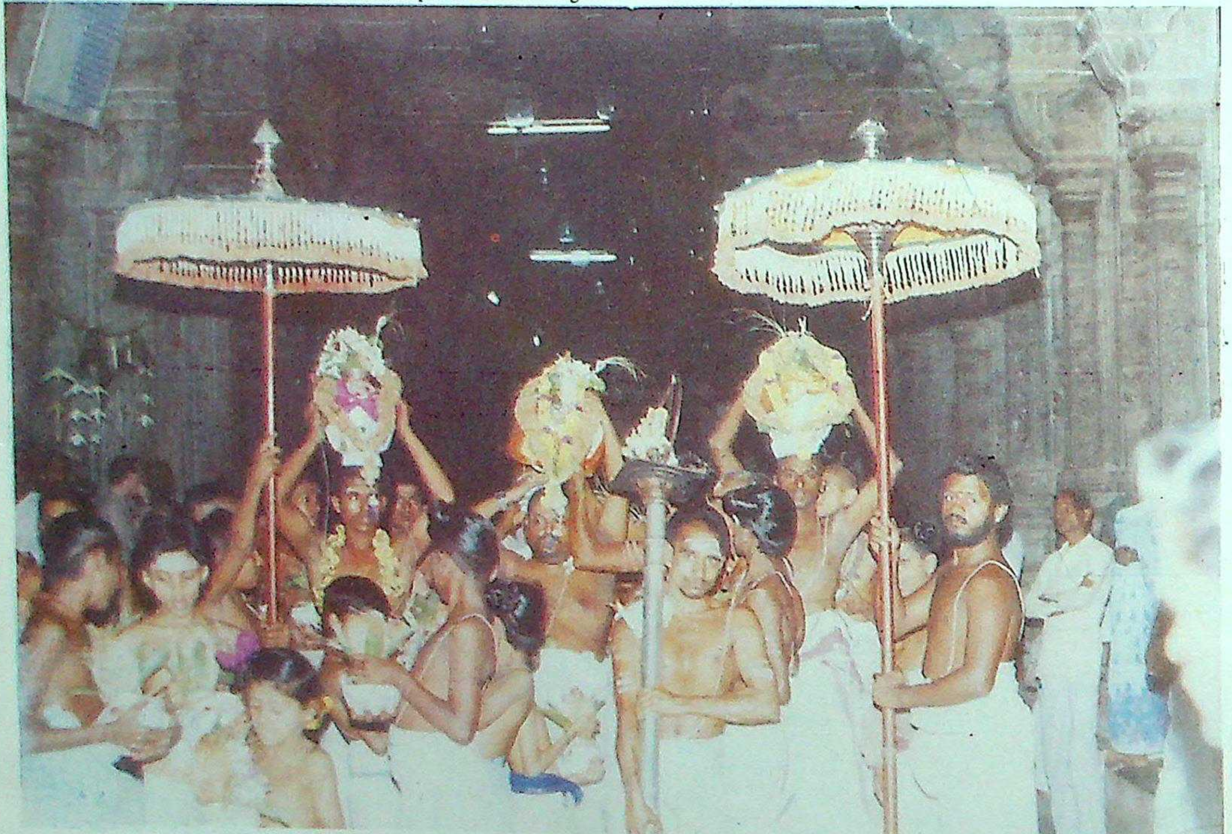


(Courtesy : Umanatha Dikshitar)



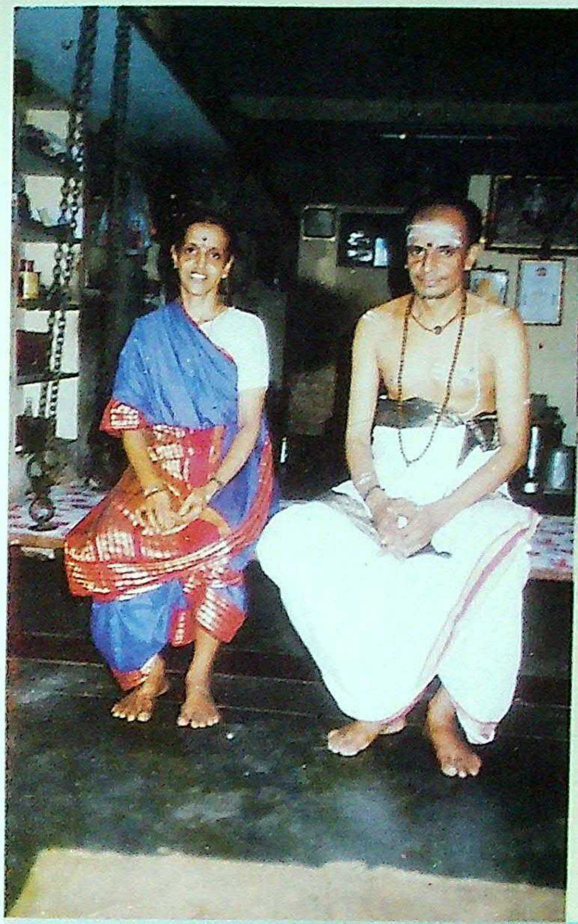
14. (a) Consecration of the Sixty-three Nayanmar : The ceremonial procession from the Yagasalai

14. (b) Another view of the procession moving towards the consecration site

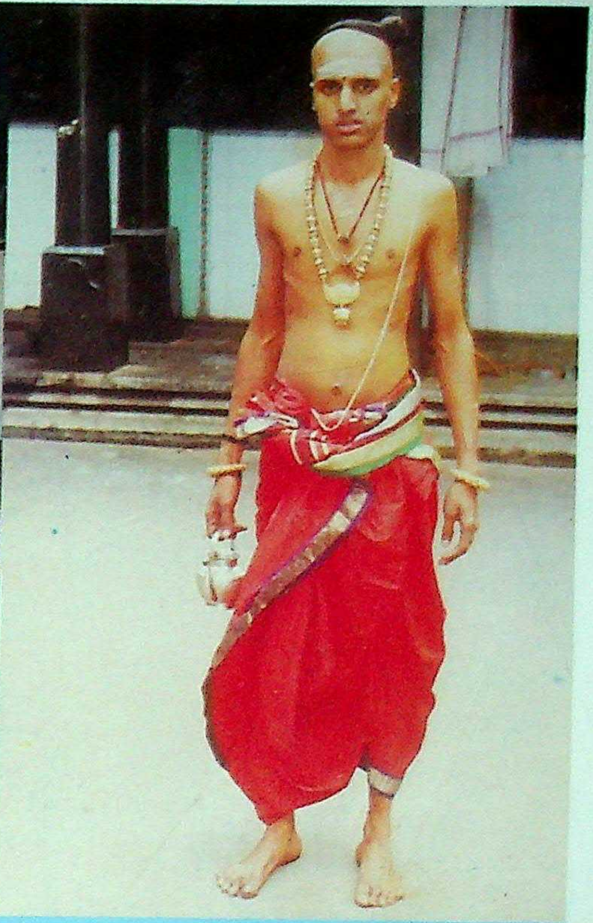


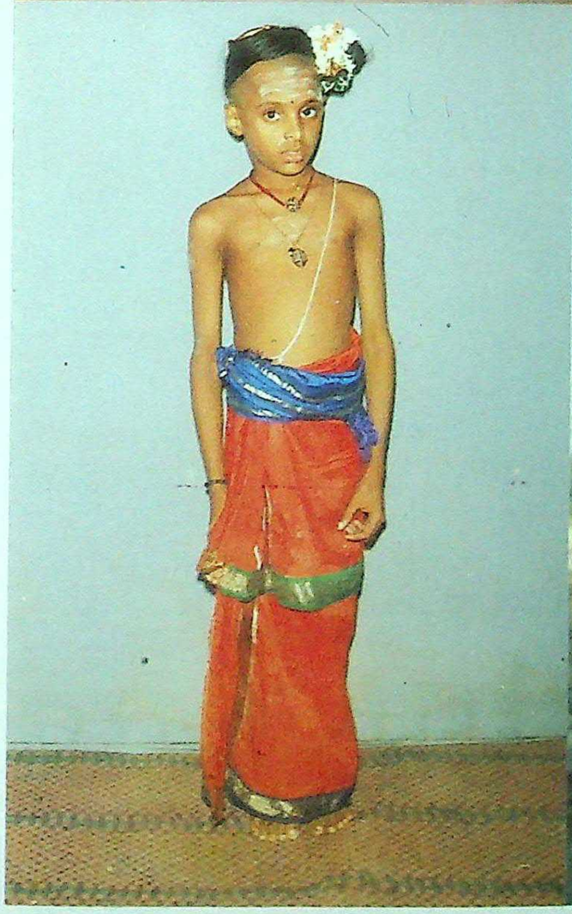
(Courtesy : Umanatha Dikshitar)

15. (a) A Dikshitar couple, in the traditional attire

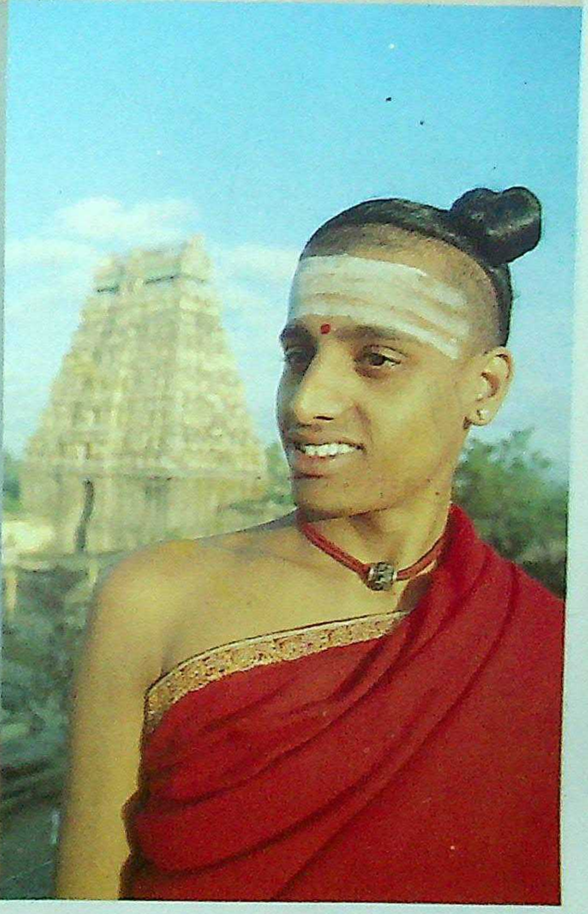


15. (b) The *'Murai'* Dikshitar near the sanctum



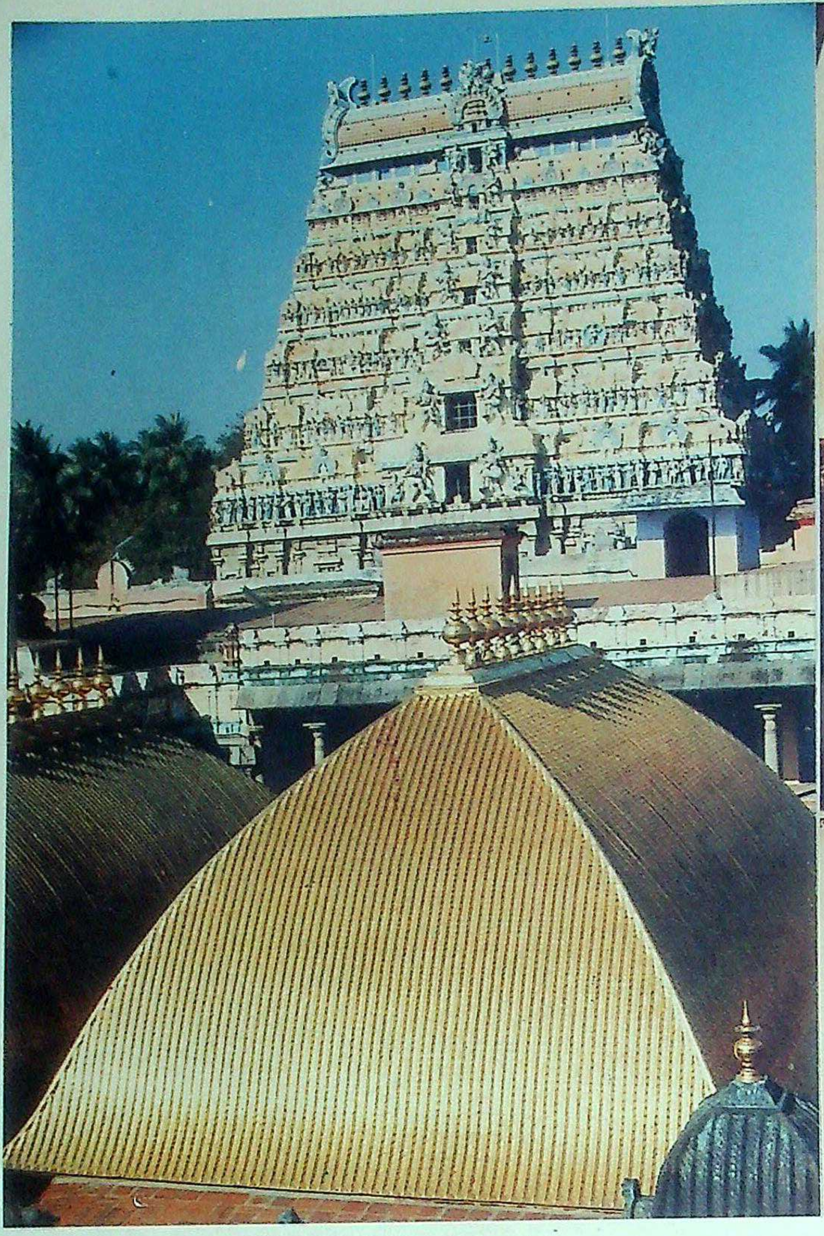


15. (c) A Dikshitar boy, in the traditional dress

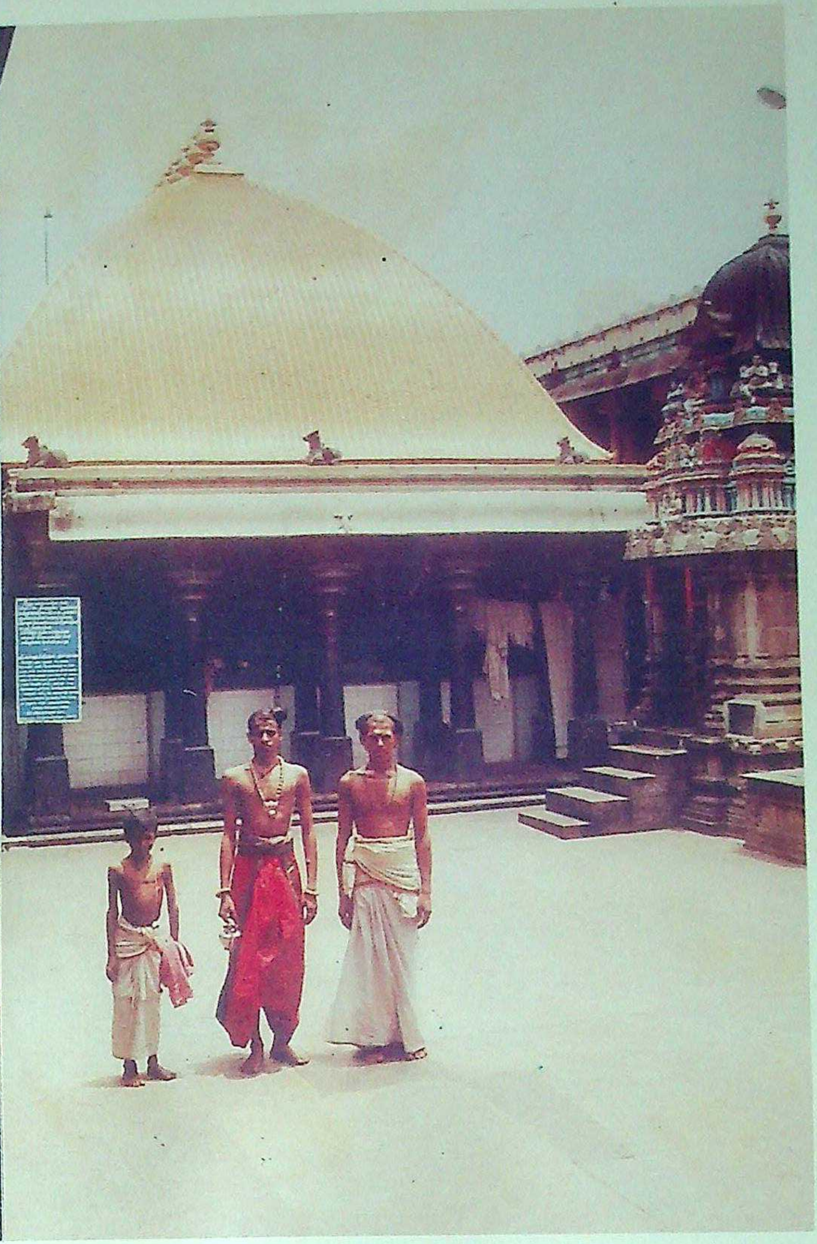


15. (d) A portrait of a young Dikshitar

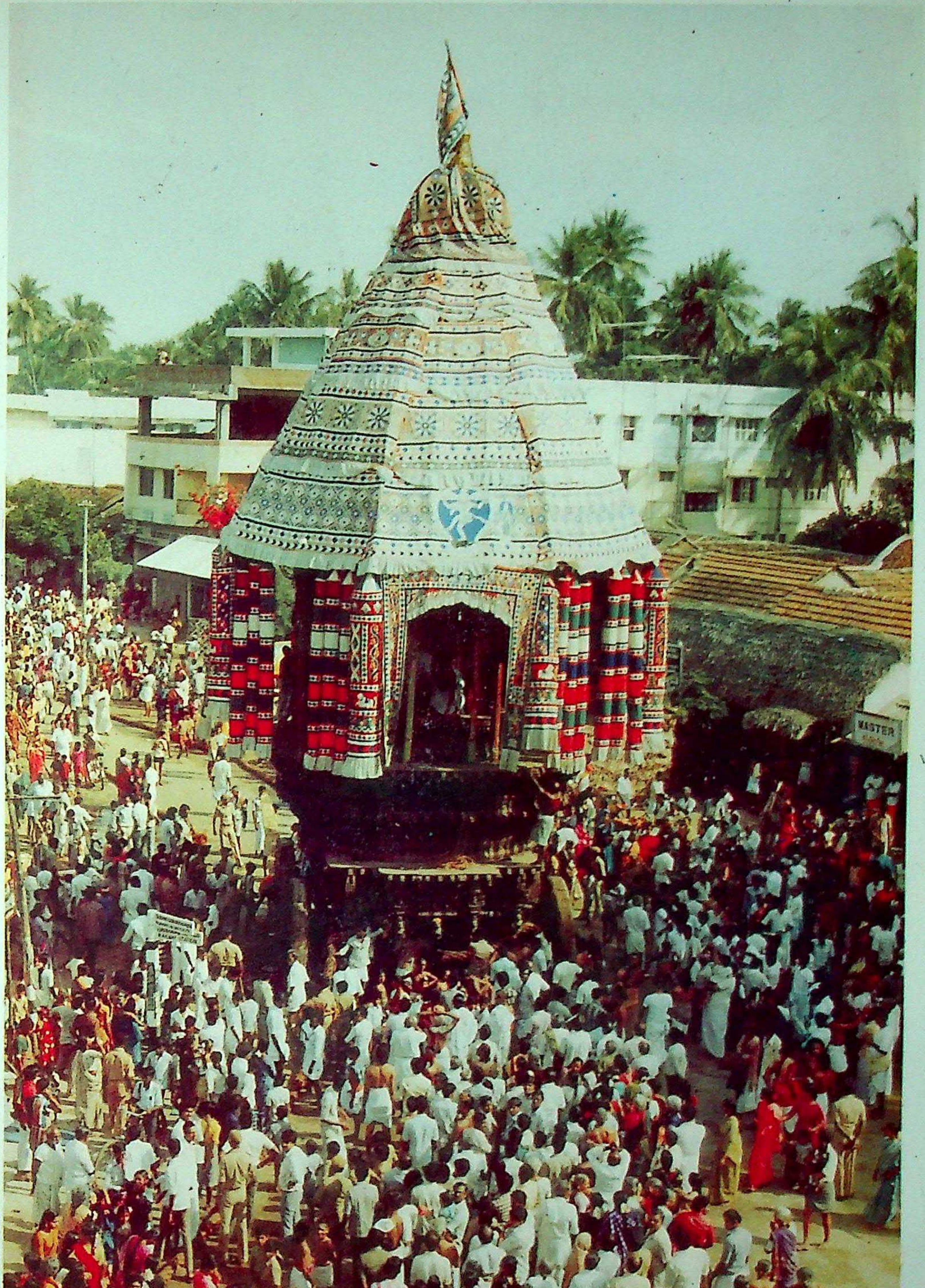
(15 (a, b & c) Courtesy : Umanatha Dikshitar. 15 (d) Courtesy : Gopinath, Madras)



16. (a) Cit Sabha, with West Gopuram in the background
(Coutesy : S. Hariharan)

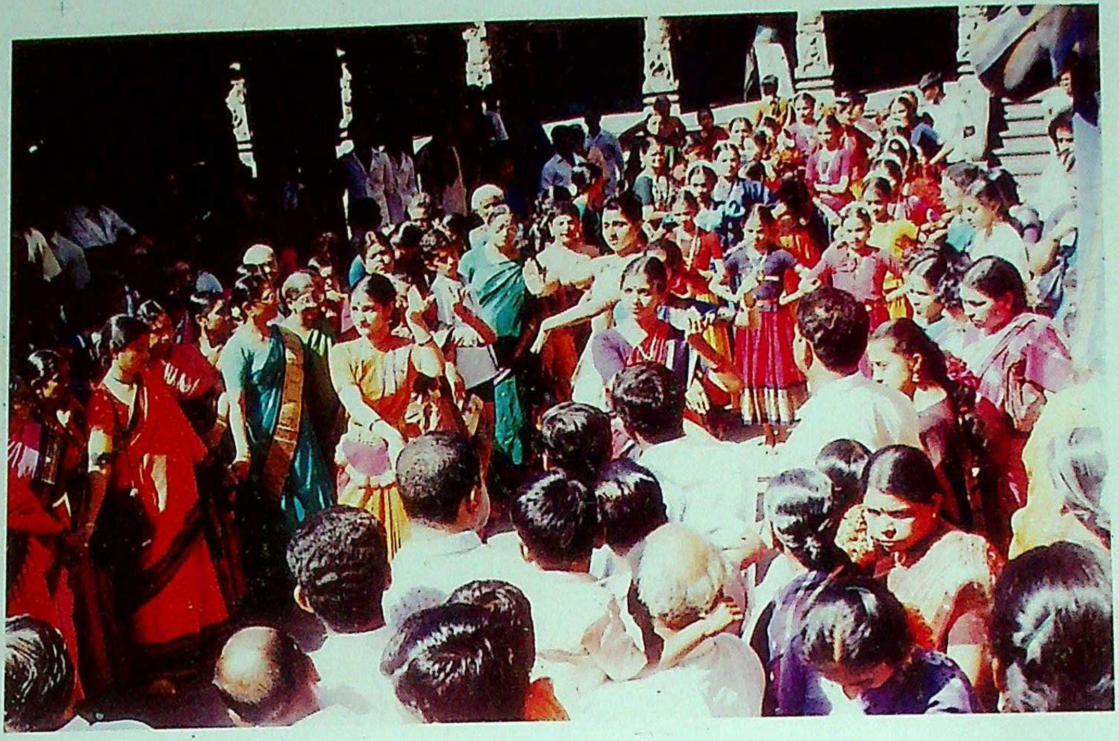


16. (b) Cit Sabha and Candesvara shrine (*Murai* Dikshitar in front)
(Courtesy : Umanatha Dikshitar)



17. The Nataraja Chariot ('ter') in procession

(Courtesy : S. Ramalingam, Chidambaram)



18. Informal rehearsals in the precincts of the Nataraja shrine during the Annual Natyanjali (Homage to Nataraja in dance) festival
(Courtesy : S. Hariharan)

Contents

Dedication V
List of Colour Illustrations VI
Colour Illustrations
Contents VII
Map of South India
Key to the Map
Rough Plan of the Nataraja temple, Cidambaram
Key to the Plan
Mudgala Trust
Preface
Coevality Chart of the Pandyas (by *Dr. B. Venkataraman*)
One Hundred years of Expansion of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram (Chart by *Dr. B. Venkataraman*)

Section One
The History of the Nataraja Temple at Tillai (Cidambaram)

Chapter Page
1. The Origin of Tillai 3
2. Early History 12
3. The four Samayacarya's, Tirumular and Sankar 21
4. Evolution of the Cidambaram Temple-City complex under the Imperial Colas (850-1290 A.D.) 31
5. Pallava Interregnum 96
6. Under the Pandyas 100
7. The Vijayanagar Period (14th-17th century A.D.) 108
8. The 17th Century and After 119
9. Sabhas, Mantapas and Gopuras of the Nataraja temple 127
10. The Govindaraja Shrine 165
11. A Round of the Nataraja temple 174
12. Temples in the Environs of Cidambaram 185
13. Saiva Nayanmar 193

14. Discovery of the Devaram Hymns 210

Revenue Map of a part of Chidambaram taluk 216

Section Two

The Philosophy of the Nataraja Concept

Chapter Page

15. Cidambara Rahasyam 219
16. Ananda Tandavam and the Nataraja Concept 225
17. The Symbolism of Nataraja and Nadanta Dance 239
18. Tirumular and some Aspects of Tirumandiram 255
19. Some Aspects of Saivism 268
20. The Age of the Nataraja Cult 296
21. Other Great Saiva Acaryas 300
22. Tiruvacakam and Tirukkovaiyar 317
23. Dikshitars and Temple Administration 324
24. Some Varying Perceptions 341

Section Three

The Cultural Scene

25. Festivals of the Nataraja Temple 351
26. Music and Dance traditions of the Nataraja temple 364
27. Uttara Cidambaram Nataraja temple at Satara 403
28. Postscript 406
29. Akasa Sariram Brahma 411
30. Bharatanatya Karanas in the Gopuram passageways of the Nataraja temple, Cidambaram (by Dr. B. Venkataraman) 415

List of Black and White Illustrations 435

Black and White Illustrations

Texts of Inscriptions

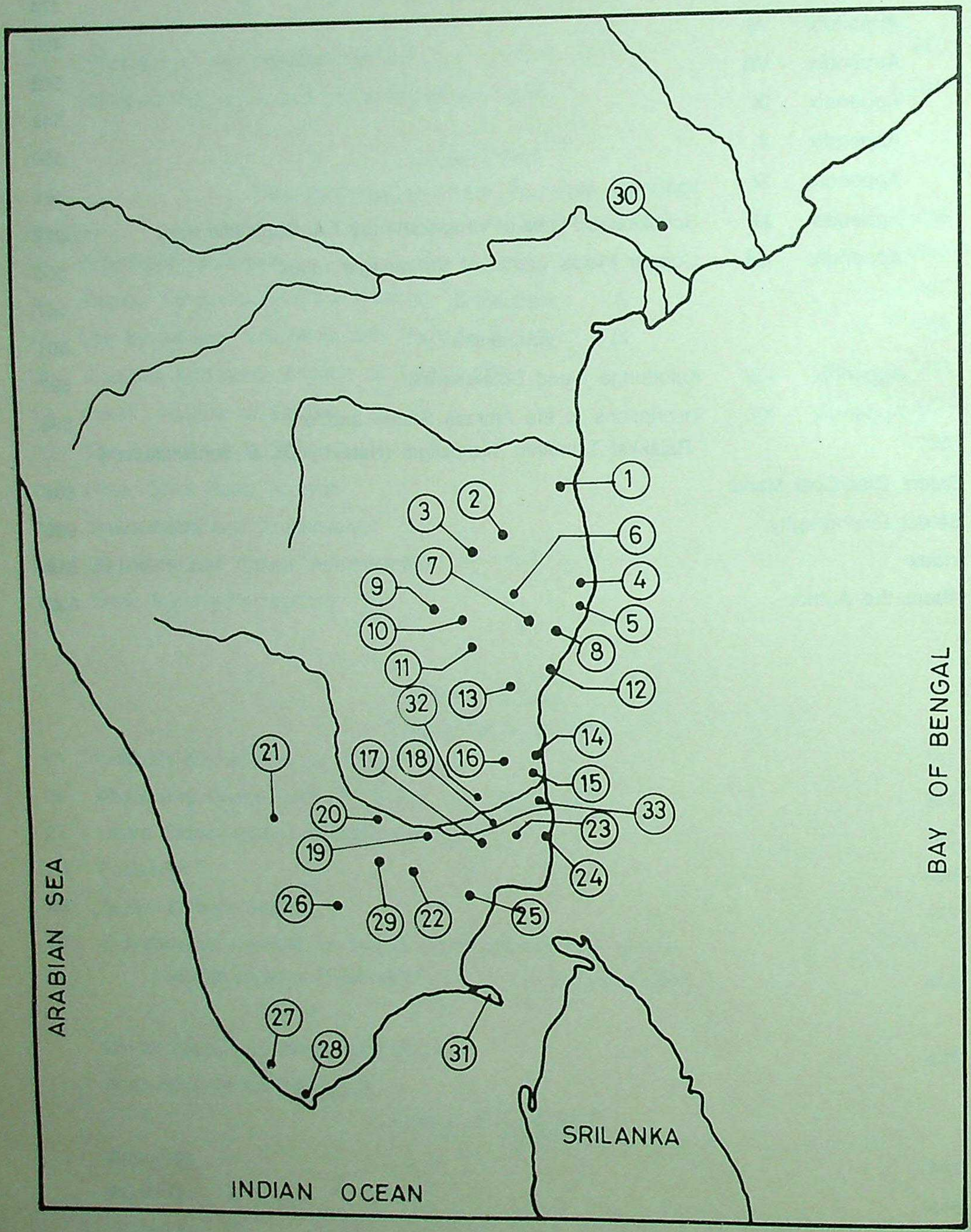
Appendix I 441

Appendix II 448

Appendix III 460

Appendix IV 469

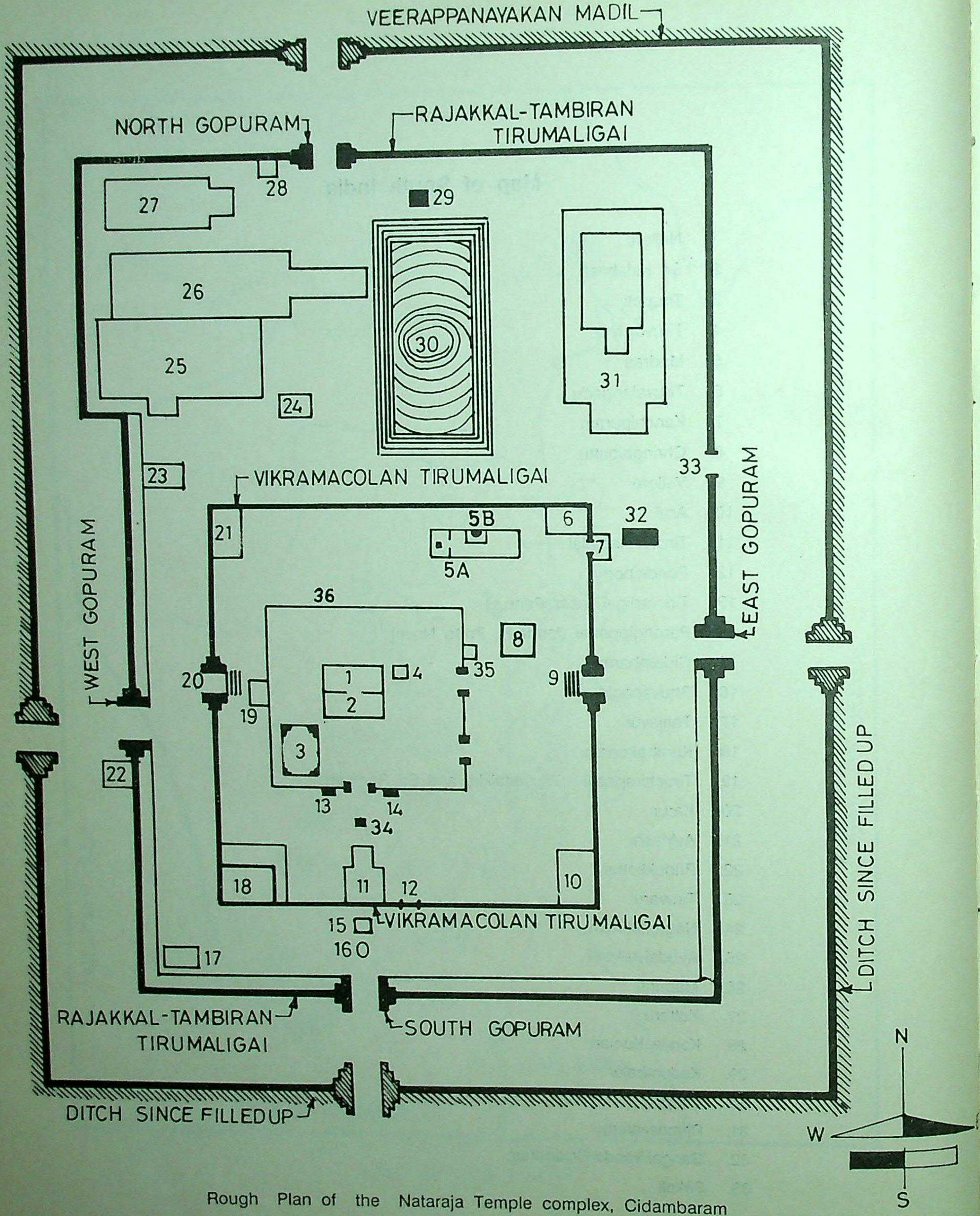
Appendix V 472
Appendix VI 474
Appendix VII 486
Appendix VIII 502
Appendix IX 549
Appendix X 556
Appendix XI 561
Appendix XII Soraikkavur Plates of Virupaksha (by *T.A. Gopinatha Rao*) 562
Appendix XIII Copper Plates grants of Vijayanagar rulers 566
  i) Harihara II 567
  ii) Virupaksha 581
Appendix XIV Kulottunga I and Solakulavalli 597
Appendix XV Inscriptions in the Amman Shrine and on Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai (Note by *Dr. B. Venkataraman*) 598
Select Diacritical Marks 601
Select Bibliography 609
Index 615
About the Author 632


30
1
2
3
6
7
4
9
5
10
8
11
12
13
32
14
21
17
18
16
15
33
20
23
19
24
26
29
22
25
27
28
31
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
SRILANKA
INDIAN OCEAN

A MAP OF SOUTH INDIA

Map of South India

1. Nellore
2. Sri Kalahasti
3. Tirupati
4. Tiruvorriyur
5. Madras
6. Tiruvalangadu
7. Kanchipuram
8. Chengalpattu
9. Vellore
10. Arni
11. Tiruvannamalai
12. Pondicherry
13. Tiruvadigai (near Panruti)
14. Parangippettai (formerly, Porto Novo)
15. Cidambaram
16. Bhuvanagiri
17. Tanjavur
18. Kumbakonam
19. Tiruchirappalli - Tiruvanaikka and Sri Rangam
20. Karur
21. Avinashi
22. Pudukkottai
23. Tiruvarur
24. Nagapattinam
25. Avudaiyarkoyil
26. Madurai
27. Kottaru
28. Kanya Kumari
29. Kodumbalur
30. Vengi
31. Ramesvaram
32. Gangai-konda-Colapuram
33. Sirkali


VEERAPPANAYAKAN MADIL
NORTH GOPURAM
RAJAKKAL-TAMBIRAN TIRUMALIGAI
28
27
29
26
30
25
31
24
33
23
VIKRAMACOLAN TIRUMALIGAI
21
5B
6
32
7
5A
EAST GOPURAM
WEST GOPURAM
36
8
1
4
35
20
9
2
19
3
22
DITCH SINCE FILLED UP
13
14
34
18
11
12
10
15
VIKRAMACOLAN TIRUMALIGAI
16
17
RAJAKKAL-TAMBIRAN TIRUMALIGAI
SOUTH GOPURAM
N
W
S
DITCH SINCE FILLEDUP

Rough Plan of the Nataraja Temple complex, Cidambaram

Key for the Plan of the Nataraja Temple at Cidambaram

1. Cit Sabha
2. Kanaka Sabha
3. Govindaraja shrine
4. Brahma Candesvara

5A. Sri Mulanathar
5B. Uma Parvati

6. Alankara (utsava) Mantapam
7. Yagasalai
8. Deva Sabha (Perambalam)
9. 21-Steps
10. Madappalli
11. Nrtta Sabha
12. Wooden door near Nrtta Sabha (now closed)
13. Dvarapalaka for Nataraja
14. Dvarapalaka for Nataraja
15. Nandi (in the Third Prakara) facing North towards Nataraja
16. Bali-pitnam (in the Third Prakara)
17. Mukkuruni Vinayakar
18. Pundarikavalli (Tayar) Sannidhi, facing east
19. Akasa (or Tiru-murai-kanda) Vinayakar
20. Akalankan Tiruvasal
21. Nalvar (Sambandhar, Appar, Sundarar and Manikkavacakar)
22. Kulottunga Cola 'Karpaka' Vinayakar
23. Minakshi - Sundaresvarar shrine
24. 'One-Pillar' Mantapam
25. 100-Pillared Mantapam
26. Sivakamasundari Amman Shrine (Tirukkamakkottam)
27. Pandya Nayakam
28. Subrahmanya shrine
29. Navalingam shrine
30. Sivaganga tank
31. Raja Sabha (1000-Pillared Mantapam)
32. Nandi (facing west towards Sri Mulanathar)
33. Titti-vasal
34. Dhvajastambha (opposite Nataraja)
35. Sani Shrine (near Deva Sabha)
36. Kulottunga Colan (or Naralokaviran) Tirumaligai - the first wall of enclosure.

(Note: 1. Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai is the second wall of enclosure
2. Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai is the Third wall of enclosure on which the four great Gopurams are located.)

MUDGALA TRUST

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Preface

This book is as much an act of filial piety as it is an attempt at a scientific portrayal of the growth of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram, its history, its philosophy and its culture. On 29th April, 1893 (Svati star), my father, S.R.Balasubrahmanyam, was born at Sirkali (in Tanjavur district, Tamil Nadu) -- a town hallowed by its association with Jnanasambandhar of the Devaram Trio, and the three great Tamil music composers, Arunacala Kavi (of Rama Nataka fame), Muttu Tandavar (a staunch devotee of Nataraja of Cidambaram) and Gopalakrishna Bharati (the author of the well-known Tamil opera on Nandanar). On the same calendar day in 1993 our family observed our father's birth centenary symbolically. It was our fervent wish that this book "Tillai and Nataraja" would be released to the public in April 1993 on his 101st birthday as a mark of homage to his sweet memory. The broad outline of my work was ready in early 1993. As I worked on the draft of my text, the scope of my book became wider and wider. This fact, of course, was no deterrent. I was determined to do full justice to my revered father's memory and to the wide canvas of the subject before me. It was a pleasant assignment which I laid upon myself — a subject dear to us — with the enthusiastic support and encouragement of my brothers.

My father was often heard to say, "a single life-time is not adequate to do justice to all that one would like to accomplish". My own experience — as every one else's would — only confirms that feeling. Writing in "The Story of Civilization — Our Oriental Heritage", Will Durant observed: "Many years of effort have made it clear that no one mind and no single life-time can adequately encompass the task."

While I cannot pretend that the treatment of every theme I have touched upon is exhaustive — each one of these themes would call for a separate monograph — I venture to believe that it is certainly comprehensive, subject undoubtedly to considerations of space; as far as I can see, no important or relevant aspect has been skipped in the presentation. An integrated approach to the historical, philosophical and cultural aspects has been attempted in three separate sections of the book. But I lay no claim to a perfect treatment of every one of these aspects.

Apart from catching up with the wide scope of the work, various other constraints delayed the printing and publication of this book. I could finalise the text of the last few chapters only by the end of June 1993, before my wife and I left for the United States of America on a private visit lasting four months. While my brothers, Dr.B.Venkataraman and Dr.B.Ramachandran, cheerfully undertook the task of overseeing the printing and correcting the early sets of proofs when I was away from the country between July and October 1993, the final proofs could be scrutinized only between November 1993 (after my return to India) and July 1994. We were keen that the book should be released before the close of the birth-centenary year 1993. We are happy that, at last, this has been possible by September 1994.

His Holiness Sri Mahasvamigal of Sri Kanci Kamakoti Pitham, Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati, the 68th Pontiff of the Matha, was born in 1894 — a year later than my father; and the world has celebrated 1993-94 as the birth centenary year of Sri Mahasvamigal. I had very much hoped that I would be able to place the first copy of this book at His Holiness's feet, as my revered father and I had done all along over the years with our earlier publications. With His attainment of *samadhi* on January 8, 1994, His holy presence in human frame has been denied to us. His spirit lives on and will continue to inspire us and comfort us. The first copy will of course be dedicated at His *Brindavan* in Kancipuram.

His Holiness had been deeply appreciative, over more than half a century, of our father's historical researches, and the latter was greatly inspired by His Holiness's grace, love and interest in his research work. It has been my privilege to be present at many of their discussions on Art and Archaeology. It is a happy coincidence that this book on "Tillai and Nataraja" — a theme very dear to His Holiness — should be released soon after the celebrations of the birth centenary of His Holiness.

Appropriately this book has been dedicated to the memory of our revered father. It was at Cidambaram that his long career in Archaeology began in 1920, when he moved to Cidambaram. Undoubtedly, Balasubrahmanyam was the first scholar ever to undertake, as early as 1922, a comprehensive, integrated and scientific study of the history of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram, drawing judiciously from the vast epigraphical and literary evidence that was available to him. Between 1922 and 1943, the results of his deep study of the Nataraja temple were embodied in many useful contributions to various journals on different aspects of its history. He was not only sound in his history, archaeology and temple architecture but was also a deep scholar in Tamil, with the added advantage of a sound knowledge of Sanskrit. He could count among his intimate friends and well-wishers Mahamahopadhyaya U.V.Swaminatha Iyer (the distinguished Tamil savant), Professor S.Vaiyapuri Pillai, Mahamahopadhyaya Professor S.Kuppusvami Sastri, equally distinguished in the field of Sanskrit learning, and Professor K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, the Cola historian, with whom he had a life-long association. The Right Honourable V.S.Srinivasa Sastri, who looked upon our father as "my dearest friend and well-wisher", was deeply appreciative of Balasubrahmanyam's work in the field of South Indian History and Archaeology. My father's association with Sir P.S. Sivaswami Ayyar, whose High School at Tirukkattupalli he administered for thirteen years, was close and memorable. With the passing away of Professor K.Swaminathan in May this year at the age of ninety-seven, our family's last link with the eminent intellectuals of that age has been snapped.

Balasubrahmanyam's discovery of the "Oldest inscriptions in the Anantisvaran temple" at Cidambaram, in 1940, was a landmark contribution to our knowledge on the subject. When he formally retired from his teaching career in 1956, Archaeology claimed his attention exclusively. Throughout his working life, he had set exacting standards of scholarship for himself and others; and even while he worked single-handed, with hardly any institutional assistance in his field-studies, he never ventured a conclusion without visiting the site or the monument. In his last years, of course, my brothers and I accompanied him on some of his study tours, as we had done earlier in our youth. Despite constraints of age and infirmity, he undertook extensive field tours in the Cola and Pandya country in the years 1960 to 1975. The five-volume series on "Cola Temples", published between the years 1965 and 1979, was the result of such intensive field-tours — a striking testimony to his love for the subject, his accuracy in scholarship, enormous industry, his intellectual integrity and pains- taking research. Particularly in the volumes "Early Cola Temples","Middle Cola Temples" and "Later Cola Temples", quite a few sections were devoted to a study of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram. His analysis of the six-fold enlargement of the Nataraja Temple complex at Cidambaram by the Later Colas is a vivid description of their astonishing achievements and magnificent contribution to Cidambaram.

Our father was averse to cocksure judgement. His evaluation was always based on reason, known and proven data, and he believed in precision in both the analysis and the presentation of his material. He was modest enough at all times to say that, while he arrived at his conclusions after an in-depth study of the material before him, other scholars need not feel fettered by his conclusions and should arrive at their own views, if they had the necessary supportive data. Some scholars, particularly in the latter half of the century, who came into the field long after him and pursued the study of the Nataraja temple, making use also of the wealth of Tamil literature behind it, had to lean heavily on Balasubrahmanyam's unrivalled knowledge of the subject and quoted him extensively in their publications, even if their conclusions were occasionally different. Dr.J.C.Harle referred to Balasubrahmanyam as "one of the few authorities of his time on Cola architectural style".

My brothers and I have been nurtured under Balasubrahmanyam's beneficent care, even in the field of history and archaeology. In retrospect, it is a comfort to us that our own modest, independent studies, during the last fifteen years, have only confirmed the unassailable validity of our father's conclusions and there has not been the slightest occasion for us to abandon his conclusions and set forth new ones instead. On the contrary, we have, in this book, only reiterated his points of view — with added force, where called for — to meet some varying perceptions that have surfaced after his passing away in 1981 at the age of eighty-nine.

That Balasubrahmanyam's work has stood the test of time and that many young scholars of today, who had never known him in flesh and blood, turn to his books as almost the only source material for their research to take off, points to his unquestionable position as an Archaeologist for all times; and this response from modern scholars gives us, the members of the family, a tremendous measure of gratification. Looking back on his life-long work in the field of Cola and Pandya history and Cola temple art, we feel happy that the President of India conferred on Balasubrahmanyam the honour of "Padma Shri" in 1968, in recognition of his outstanding work in the field of Archaeology.

We, in the Mudgala Trust, continue to be committed to the pursuit and publication of deeply-researched works on our art and culture in accord with the wishes of Balasubrahmanyam, the Founder-President of the Trust.

My earlier book on Cidambaram, "The City of the Cosmic Dance", was published in 1974. It was not intended to be anything more than a modest guide-book. I owed the opportunity of that book to His Holiness Sri Mahasvamigal, Sri Sankaracarya Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati Svamigal of Sri Kanci Kamakoti Pitham (the 68th pontiff). During one of our visits to Kanci during 1970, my father and I offered our respects to His Holiness, who was resting on the shores of a holy tank. I read out to His Holiness, at his bidding, the text of my father's article on the Srinivasa Nallur temple, which had appeared in an issue of *Lalit Kala*. His Holiness was doubtless impressed by the contents of the article and later put me a pointed question: "Are you interested in your father's subject, Archaeology?" I said, "Yes", and quickly added, "As I had been away in the North for nearly 22 years serving the Railways in senior management positions, I could not tear myself away for the required length of time for field work on temples in the South."

"You must start writing now", said His Holiness to me — a command which is a vivid memory. "The City of the Cosmic Dance — Chidambaram", published in 1974, was the result. When we in the Mudgala Trust published my two volumes of the text in Sanskrit and the transliteration, translation and commentary in English of Narayana Tirtha's "Sri Krishna Leela Tarangini" in 1988 and 1990, the first copy of each of these volumes was placed at His Holiness's feet. Some American pilgrim scholars – Victor Mansfield, Professor of Physics, Colgate University, New York State and his wife, Dr.Michael H.Eisman, M.D. and his wife, Ovid, N.Y.State, who came to the Kanci Math to pay their respects to His Holiness and sought light from His Holiness on Hinduism, later mentioned to me that they saw His Holiness deeply engrossed in the perusal of these two Volumes till late into the night with the aid of a torch and His Holiness warmly commended the two Volumes to them. There cannot be a better reward for my labours, and I feel more than blessed.

I was Divisional Railway Manager of the Southern Railway at Tiruchirappalli (1969-72) at the time I wrote "The City of the Cosmic Dance — Chidambaram", and was bedevilled by many wild-cat strikes which left me with little time for constructive academic work. However, I managed to steal an hour every night to write out the manuscript. I had attempted, in that compact volume, a farily full and reliable account of the history of the Cidambaram temple, based generally on my revered father's researches and my own independent studies. I had the benefit then — which I do not have now — of my father's close and continuous guidance in the preparation of that manuscript.

This little volume of 1974 on Cidambaram was received very well and excited considerable interest in its history, and its traditions in music and dance. It has run out of stock too. In view of the increasing interest in the subject, both in India and abroad, there have been many demands from scholars that I should write a fresh book on the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram covering a much larger canvas. This book "Tillai and Nataraja" is the result of that effort.

I have divided my presentation into three Sections: Historical, Philosophical and Cultural; and the titles of the thirty chapters are self-explanatory.

My acknowledgements are many.

My brother, Dr.B.Venkataraman, who retired from the Indian Administrative Service a few years ago and who was awarded a D.Litt. degree by the Utkal University for his monograph on Rajarajesvaram — the Great Temple of Tanjavur — has been closely associated with my father in editing the last three of his monumental volumes on 'Cola Temples'. He scrutinized my first section ('Historical') completely and made many useful suggestions. The six-fold expansion of the Nataraja temple complex in the Later Cola period, over a span of more than one hundred years, is a fascinating story. Venkataraman has traced the developments in Cola temple art during the periods of Kulottunga I, Vikrama Cola, Kulottunga II, Rajaraja II, Rajadhiraja II and Kulottunga III and pointed out how in the overlapping periods and the transitional stages of successive rulers, the evolution of the Cola temple art in this period has been subtle and continuous. A special chart which he has prepared on this aspect has been published in this book. At my request, he has embodied his views in a few Supplementary Notes at the end of some of the Chapters in the First Section, enhancing considerably the value of this study of a glorious period in the growth of the Cidambaram Nataraja temple. His sure grasp of epigraphical and historical details is fully reflected is these Supplementary Notes.

In recent years, he has made an in-depth study of Pandyan history. Chapter Six in Section One of this book is entirely his contribution. To facilitate reference, we have, in the Appendices, reproduced many of the inscriptions, of the Cola period, of Kopperunjinga of the Pandya period, and of the Vijayanagar period, which have a bearing on the history of Cidambaram and the temple of Nataraja. Apart from my earlier collection of inscriptions, Dr.Venkataraman has been of considerable help to me in selecting many more inscriptions for inclusion in this book. I have no doubt that they have enriched the value of the book and made it self-contained from the point of view of documentation. We have endeavoured to provide epigraphical evidence (apart from literary support) for every statement that we have made in respect of the history of the temple. Unmindful of his many urgent commitments in New Delhi, Dr.Venkataraman spent many months in Madras and a few weeks in Cidambaram recently and has given me a lot of additional information on the Nrtta Sabha and the Bharata Natya *karanas* sculpted in the Gopurams of the Cidambaram temple. His views have been embodied in appropriate chapters in this book. Apart from these, Chapter 30 on the Bharata Natya *karanas* in the Gopurams of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram is Dr. Venkataraman's contribution. He has prepared two 'Co-evality charts' on the Cola and Pandya rulers to substantiate the various interpretations we have offered in the body of the book on the historical aspects and the evolution of temple art under the Later Colas in the context of Cidambaram. Appendix XV (yet another useful note authored by Dr. B. Venkataraman) on the "Inscriptions in the Amman Shrine and on the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai" reinforces quite emphatically our stand that all the four main Gopurams of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram aligned on the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai had been firmly fixed in the period of the Later Colas themselves and Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai had been completed by the time of Kulottunga III himself.

Besides placing at my disposal his own valuable collection of photographs, Venkataraman has set up the entire section of illustrations in colour and in black and white and processed the collection with the printing press. The illustrations have been carefully chosen. He has been of considerable assistance to me in finalizing the jacket for this book. Many passages in my text have been clarified as a result of his helpful comments and constructive suggestions. I cannot give adequate expression to my sense of gratitude to him for his unstinted labour in the production of the book and the enormous physical strain to which he put himself in the process.

My text has had the benefit of careful scrutiny by my youngest brother, Dr.B.Ramachandran. For the degree of precision in presentation which I have been able to achieve in this book, the credit should go to him entirely. Operating from New Delhi, he undertook cheerfully the onerous task of checking the entire text before it went to the press and reading the proofs of such a heavy volume, particularly at a time when I was away from the country for four months in 1993. He has lightened my burden considerably. I have profited a great deal from his helpful comments. In the final stages of proof reading, his assistance was particularly valuable.

In the presentation of the "Historical" section of the book, I owe a great deal to our family friend, Mr.N.Sethuraman, Director, Raman & Raman Company Ltd., Kumbakonam. I have had many rewarding sittings with him at Kumbakonam, during which he threw much light on some of the less known aspects of my theme. He readily placed at my disposal the texts of many inscriptions relevant to my purpose and drew my attention to two important developments in the history of the Nataraja temple which have so far not received adequate attention: the copper plates at Tiruppanandal of Harihara and Virupaksha of A.D. 1383 and A.D.1386 (I have reproduced them here), which bring out how the temple rituals of Cidambaram had been affected for nearly 60 to 70 years by political disturbances, and describe the ultimate gilding of the Kanaka Sabha; the Tiruvarur Mahratha Copper plates 45 to 48 which refer to Nataraja's exile in Kudumiyanmalai and Madurai in A.D. 1649-1684, the gilding of the Kanaka Sabha and consecration in A.D.1686 during Sambhaji's tenure. Mr. Sethuraman has also allowed me the use of a lot of other material in this volume, particularaly regarding the Saiva sects.

Our family friend, Mr.R.Sambandam Pillai of Cidambaram, gave me valuable material on Nataraja's exile in Ambalappuli — an episode to which Mahamahopadhyaya U.V.Swaminatha Iyer has referred in detail. Mr. Sambandam Pillai has also placed at my disposal a lot of other literature in Tamil which helped to fix my ideas on the subject. I obtained many valuable tips on the history and traditions of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram from Sri A.V.Ramakrishnan, Retired Magistrate, Cidambaram.

To Sri V.S.Vaidyanatha Dikshitar, Sri G.Paramesvara Dikshitar and Sri T.Ramalinga Dikshitar, leading members of the Dikshitar fraternity of Cidambaram, I am thankful for much help in interpreting the philosophy of the Nataraja concept and the temple rituals.

Dr.A.V.Rangachari, Professor and Head of the Department of Economics, Annamalai University and Executive Trustee of Sri Tillai Govindarajasvami Devasthanam, Cidambaram, placed at my disposal a lot of historical data relating to the Govidaraja temple, which helped me to view the developments of centuries in the right perspective.

I am obliged to Sri T.N.Ramachandran of Tanjavur (Head of the Saiva Siddhanta Division of the Dharmapuram Adhinam) for much light on the Periya Puranam, Saiva Siddhanta, Tirukkovaiyar and Tiruvacakam.

Dr.S.S.Janaki, Adviser, Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras, lent me valuable material on the Agamas and Siva temple rituals.

Dr.R.Nagaswami gave me pamphlets, attractively produced, on the Natyanjali festival at Cidambaram, which is being organised there in recent years. I also had the benefit of discussions with him on some aspects of the philosophy of the Nataraja concept.

I am thankful to Dr.C.R.Srinivasan and Dr.C.A.Padmanabha Sastry of the Epigraphy Department, Archaeological Survey of India, Fort St.George, Madras for generously placing at my disposal the texts of many of the inscriptions which I needed for my study and which, with their permission, I have reproduced in these pages. I consider that the texts of the inscriptions have added considerably to the usefulness of the book. Since these reproductions are from reports published many decades ago, some of the impressions are faint; but they are valuable source-material for our study of this subject.

I have had a rewarding round of discussions with Sri T.S.Parthasarathy, my former colleague on the Railways and a respected friend for more than forty years now, Secretary of the Music Academy, Madras and an eminent musicologist and scholar, whose range and depth of knowledge I have always admired. He made available to me, at my request, the texts of many compositions on Nataraja of Cidambaram which have cast a spell on me right from my boyhood. I have quoted them in Chapter Twenty Six. Sri N.Srivatsa Mani readily placed at my disposal the texts of many songs of Marimutta Pillai, Muttu Tandavar and Gopalakrishna Bharati, which have been included in the same chapter, apart from the historic judgement of the Madras High Court in 1952 on the Dikshitars' ownership and management of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram, which we have reproduced in Chapter Twenty Three.

Sri A.S.Krishnamoorthy, Divisional Railway Manager, Southern Railway, Tiruchirappalli, was kind enough to lend me for my reference purposes, a few books on Periya Puranam from his personal library.

Sri K.V.Sankaranarayanan cheerfully undertook the stupendous task of typing out my entire manuscript, and helped also in processing the matter with the press. To him and his wife, Rukmini, I am deeply grateful for their enthusiastic help.

Dr. T.Satyamurti, Director of Archaeology, Trivandrum was kind enough to send me with his compliments a copy of an English version of Sri Soma Sethu Dikshitar's "History of the Chidambaram temple of Nataraja".

Our Trust is thankful to Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient, Centre d' Histoire et d' Archeologe, Pondicherry for permission to publish in this book the photographs of the Cidambaram temple for which they hold the copyright.

We place on record our acknowledgement of the courtesy of the Director of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu. Some of the photographs which he had permitted my father, S.R.Balasubrahmanyam, to publish in our Trust publication, 'Later Chola Temples', have been reproduced in this volume.

Sri K.Vaidyanatha Sastrigal and Sri K.P.Sikhagirisan of Pudukkottai gave me many useful hints on Kudumiyanmalai (near Pudukkottai) from where they hail.

I am greateful to my friend, Professor David Smith, Department of Religious studies, Lancaster University, Lancaster, (United Kingdom) for the trouble that he took, at my request, to get me from London a photo-copy of Part Two of my father's article on 'The oldest Cidambaram Inscriptions'.

We hope we shall be able to bring out in the next few months a companion volume on 'Kuncitanghristavam' -- "In praise of the Bent (and Lifted) Leg -- the Sanskrit text of 313 slokas composed by Umapati Sivacarya and our transliteration and translation into English of the entire text. This companion volume would make our study complete.

Let me now change the gear. In recent years, a disturbing trend is emerging, to which I must draw the serious attention of scholars, academic bodies and the Government. Some of the publications on our culture, particularly in the United States of America, publications of some of our academic institutions and research organisations in the field of Indology, have brought about a situation in which "Cidambaram" is spelt in English as "Citamparam", "Sambandhar" as "Campantar", "Jnana Sambandhar" as "Nana Campantar", "Sundarar" as "Cuntarar", and "Siva" as "Civa". Dr.Indira V.Peterson, in her recent book, "Poems to Siva", has used the same spellings but she has been careful to add that Campantar is pronounced as Sambandhar, Cuntarar as Sundarar, Cankam as Sangam, Murukan as Murugan etc.' As the Upanishad analogy mentions, the waters of the Bay of Bengal cannot be analysed into its elements, the streams that merge into it, as from the Ganga, the Mahanadi, the Godavari, the Krishna and the Kaveri !' It is an unceasing fusion of cultures over thousands of years and will be a continuous process till the end of time. Tirumular, Sambandhar, and Appar, to mention only a few, were aware of their inheritance and the beauties of the Tamil language and culture, but did not hesitate to use in their Tamil compositions what are regarded as Sanskrit words. Nor did they attempt any variations of such names and terms. The words now in use cannot therefore be viewed in isolation from the Sanskrit base or root from which they have been derived across the centuries. As for orthography, the Tamil alphabet does not provide separately for the sounds 'b', 'd', 'g', etc. While the present generation may have some lingering knowledge of the basic roots of words such as Cidambaram, Sambandhar and Sundarar, future generations of Tamil students and scholars, who will grow on the new fare, will be at a complete loss as to their derivation from what is essentially a Sanskrit base. Wisdom lies in recognizing the realities of the situation and providing for 'b', 'd', 'g' etc. in the Tamil alphabet. This process of assimilation and growth of the Tamil language would only enrich it and should not be frowned upon on extraneous considerations. The point I have brought up is far too serious to be dismissed as trivial or as a curiosity. The language has to grow and the enrichment of the alphabet does not detract from the ancientness of the Tamil alphabet or the grandeur of its culture and literature.

Yet another cause for disquiet. Recently I noticed at one of the Bharata Natyam recitals that the dancer decided to do away with the customary bedecked image of Nataraja on the right hand side of the stage and the auspicious lamp (*kuttu vilakku*) to which homage is paid by the dancer at the commencement of a dance recital as part of our hoary tradition. This sacred area on the *nrttaranga* was made totally void. The dancer perhaps felt that Nataraja and the auspicious lamp are dispensable! Yet another dancer apparently thought she would attempt a compromise by placing a mere lamp in the right hand corner and do without the figure of Nataraja! Such deviation from tradition is most undesirable and inauspicious.

In our age-long tradition, Nataraja, the Lord of Dance, is the acknowledged source of *Natya.* The eclecticism, proclaimed by Manikkavacakar and Tirumangai Alvar, should not be lost sight of. This situation should be mended at once, in the interests of the art itself; the younger generation should not be led into a wrong path in cynical disregard of a time-honoured tradition. A void on the stage cannot be condemned too strongly. If Boston and Cleveland could be proud of the Nataraja icon, I wonder why some of our dancing sorority have developed such inhibitions. This trend cannot be explained away in the name of innovation. Innovation — for what? The art and the stage are sacred in our ethos. Let us be true to the art and its tradition.

Our family's connection with Cidambaram has been long and intimate. It dates back to 1920, when my father went there to serve the Educational Foundation of Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar and his brother Dewan Bahadur Ramaswami Chettiar. When Professor k.A.Nilakantha Sastri was the Principal, my father was Assistant Secretary to the Trust of Sri Minakshi College, the nucleus of the present Annamalai University.

What my father wrote in 1978 in his 'Introduction' to his last book, 'Later Chola Temples', is worth reproducing here.

"In 1920, I had the good luck to get a footing in the Educational Trust of the Late Dr. Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad. He was a great and distinguished personality, a sound financier and an industrialist, an able administrator and an educational benefactor, and, above all, a gentleman. I served his Trust both as a teacher and as an educational administrator, especially during the crucial period of the conversion of the Sri Minakshi College and the allied institutions of his Trust as the nucleus of the Annamalai University. The College and the University situated so close to the ancient religious and cultural centre of Chidambaram, the home of Nataraja, gave me the necessary background for my academic development. The Nataraja temple is the key to the treasures of Chola art and architecture. I utilised the temple and the facilities of the College and University to the fullest in my self-growth in Archaeology. The Rajah Sahib has, by his charities, educational and cultural, become immortal. I pay my tribute to his great memory. I am glad that his worthy son, Dr. Rajah Sir M.A. Muthiah Chettiar, closely follows his illustrious father's footsteps."

I was born in October 1921. My maternal grandmother who, as she often told me later, had devoutly prayed to Lord Nataraja of Cidambaram for the arrival of the first grandson of the branch, thought it fit to name me after the Lord of Dance. Nataraja has thus been our family's comfort and strength over the decades.

I am grateful to my fellow Trustees for their help in this publication which commemorates our father's birth-centenary (1893-1993). Many friends and well-wishers of our family have asked me why my father named it the Mudgala Trust. We belong to the *Maudgalya gotra* and so the name is in homage to the *rishis* of old who have inspired our lineage over centuries. When my brother Venkataraman and I visited Tiruvenkadu (in the Tanjavur district) four years ago, we were delighted to learn that there were quite a few *brahmana* families of the *Maudgalya gotra* who had settled down in Sirkali, Sattanathapuram and Tiruvenkadu, in Tanjavur district. Sengalipuram S.Anantarama Dikshitar, the great exponent of our culture, who passed away in 1969 and whom we knew intimately, also belonged to the *Maudgalya gotra.* The *pandits* of these families, as indeed those of other *gotras,* are believed to have received royal patronage in the Tanjavur court under the Mahratha rulers. So they settled down in quite a large number of pockets in the Kaveri delta in Tanjavur district, which consequently built up a great tradition in Sanskrit learning (and music and dance).

I must make it clear that I must be held responsible for the conclusions I have reached in this book and for any possible errors that have crept in or remain. I am grateful to all friends who have helped me with material in the process of preparing this Volume and the Illustrations, particularly my old college-mate, S.Ramalingam of Cidambaram. We have received much help from Sri Umanatha Dikshitar of Cidambaram and his family in the matter of photographs.

Mr. V. Srikanth and Dr. B. Ramachandran readily placed at our disposal their sophisticated cameras to enable us to obtain first-rate photographs of many of the views of the Cidambaram temple. They have doubtless enriched the value of this book. We are deeply appreciative of Sri K.R. Prabhakar's unstinted assistance in respect of photographs. Photographer Gopinath of Madras made available to us an excellent colour transparency.

Mr.K.N. Subramanian has given us valuable help in regard to the art work and the preparation of the jacket.

Mr. M.R. Sundararajan helped us readily with the preparation of a map of South India and a rough plan of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram.

We are thankful to Sri T.V.Ramani and Sri T.C.Mouli of M/s Rajan & Co.,Printers, Madras for their help in printing this Volume. Sri. V.Vaithianathan and Ms.S.Maragatham, have taken considerable pains in composing the text and overseeing the mechanics of printing. We are deeply appreciative of the courtesy and help extended to us by Mr.D.T. Bakshi of Scantec, Madras, who have processed the text, the Appendices and the Illustrations.

We are thankful to Mr. V. Sairam, of Messrs. V.Perumal Chetty & Sons (into which the former Hoe & Co has now merged) for getting this volume 'bound' with their characteristic finish, as he did with my two volumes of 'Sri Krishna Leela Tarangini' by Narayana Tirtha.

I have provided a short 'Key' to International Diacritical marks in respect of most of the words in frequent use in the book. It is necessarily selective. I have limited the diacritical marks in the body of the text only to certain portions in Sections Two and Three. Likewise, the Indexing is also selective.

The bulk of this Preface was written in July 1993 during my stay in Granger, Indiana, U.S.A. I am thankful to my nephew, Dr.R.Ramanan, University of Notre Dame, Indiana, for his courtesy in getting it into shape.

To many generous-minded patrons, friends, well-wishers and organizations, who have facilitated this publication, our Trust expresses its deep gratitude.

In grateful remembrance of the compassion and grace His Holiness had shown to our father and us during the last seventy years, I reverentially place this Volume at the sacred *samadhi* of His Holiness Sri Paramacarya of Sri Kanci Kamakoti Pitham. I am grateful to His Holiness Sri Jayendra Sarasvati, the 69th Pontiff of Sri Kanci Kamakoti Pitham, and His Holiness Sri Sankara Vijayendra Sarasvati, for their constant encouragement and blessings in my academic pursuits.

May the Dancing Lord of Cidambaram, who has been our *Kulanayakam,* continue to confer His grace upon us and illumine our path!

"Kaveri"
12, Fourth Cross Street,
Ramakrishna Nagar,
MADRAS 600 028.

B. Natarajan

9th September 1994.
(Vinayaka Caturthi day)

B. NATARAJAN

ஓம் நமசிவாய

உலகெலாம் உணர்ந் தோதற் கரியவன்
நிலவு லாவிய நீர்மலி வேணியன்
அலகில் சோதியன் அம்பலத் தாடுவான்
மலர்ச் சிலம்படி வாழ்த்தி வணங்குவாம்.

— சேக்கிழார் பெரிய புராணம்

எங்கும் திருமேனி; எங்கும் சிவசத்தி;
எங்கும் சிதம்பரம்; எங்கும் திருநடனம்;
எங்கும் சிவமாய் இருத்தலால், எங்கெங்கும்
தங்கும் சிவனருள் தன்விளையாட்டதே.

— திருமூலர் திருமந்திரம்

திருச்சிற்றம்பலம்

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

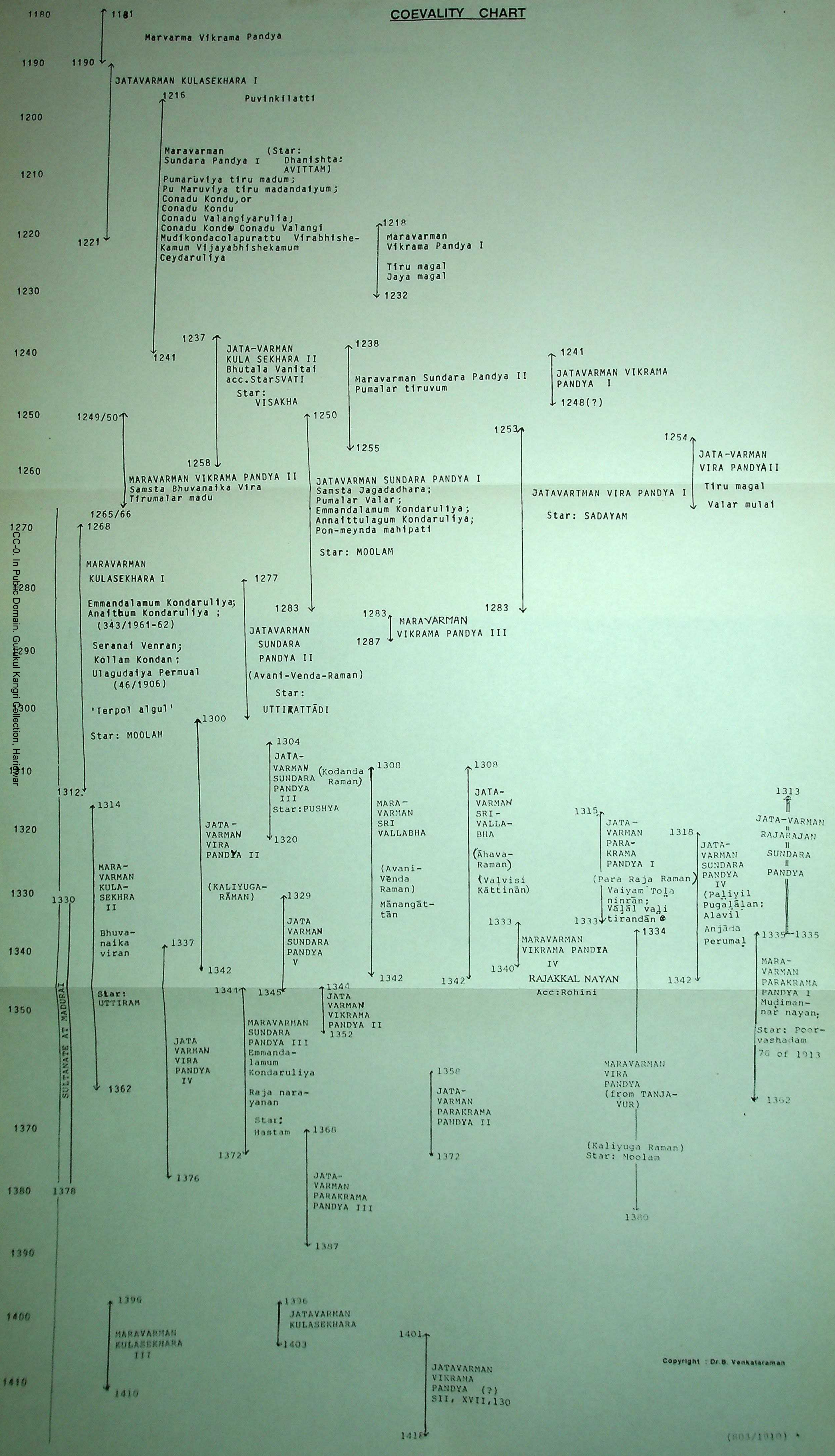
गुरवे सर्वलोकानाम्
भिषजे भवरोगिणाम्।
निधये सर्वविद्यानाम्
श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तये नमः।।

श्रुतिस्मृति पुराणानां आलयं करुणालयम्।
नमामि भगवत्पादं शङ्करं लोकशङ्करम्।।

कृपासमुद्रं सुमुखं त्रिनेत्रं जटाधरं पार्वतीवामभागम्।
सदाशिवं रुद्रमनन्तरूपं चिदम्बरेशं हृदि भावयामि।।

श्रीरामचन्द्रः श्रितपारिजातः समस्तकल्याणगुणांबुराशिः।
सीतामुखांभोरुह सञ्चरीकः निरन्तरं मङ्गलमातनोतु।।

COEVALITY CHART



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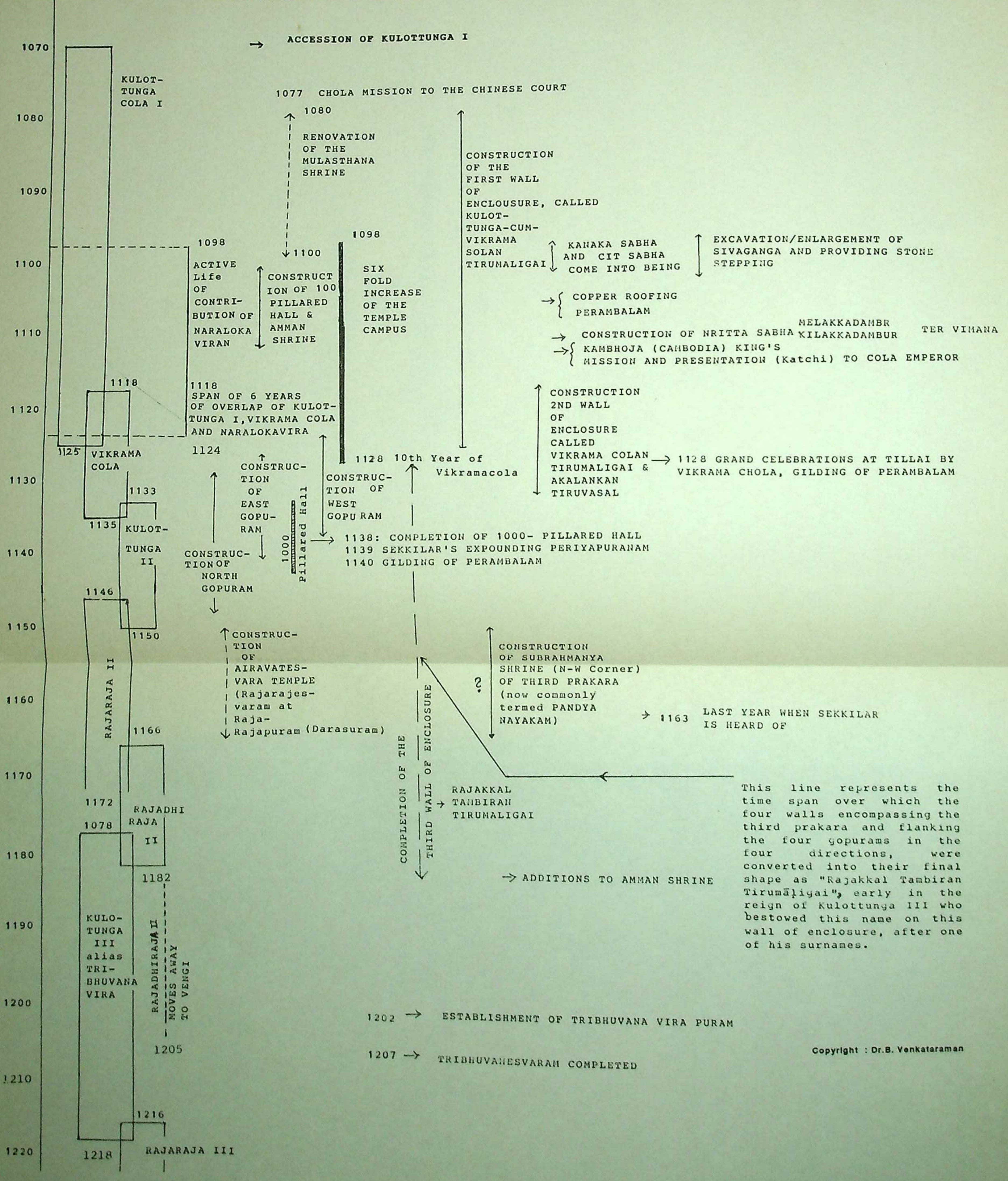
(803/1910) *

100 YEARS OF EXPANSION OF THE NATARAJA TEMPLE AT CIDAMBARAM



This line represents the time span over which the four walls encompassing the third prakara and flanking the four gopurams in the four directions, were converted into their final shape as "Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumāḷigai", early in the reign of Kulottunga III who bestowed this name on this wall of enclosure, after one of his surnames.

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SECTION I

The History of the Nataraja Temple
at
Tillai
(Cidambaram)

CHAPTER 1

The Origin of Tillai

(Cidambaram)

Cidambaram is the home of Nataraja — the Lord of the Cosmic Dance (His *Ananda Tandava*), Koyil (the House of God), Koyil *par excellence* (the Temple of temples). It is a centre sanctified by hoary traditions and rich associations over many centuries.*

It has been for ages a centre of Saivism and Vaishnavism, a stronghold of the Advaita philosophy of Sankara and the Saivasiddhanta of Meykanda Devar. Saints and scholars have enriched this place. The great synthesis of Dravidian and Aryan cultures and the grand philosophic conception of the Divine Dance evolved here impart a peculiar charm to this place in the minds of the pious Hindu.

"For the Indian," says Lord Ronaldshay (later, Lord Zetland), "Nataraja is the plastic presentation of a whole philosophy. In the whirl of dance, he sees the primal energy which gives life to all existence and so sustains the Universe."

J.E. Carpenter regards Nataraja as "the happy blend of the characters of the *Ascetic* and the *Dancer* in one figure and as the expression of that unstinted joy which Indian thought associated with infinite Reality and Intelligence." Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy sees in Nataraja "a synthesis of science, religion and art."

According to Hindu philosophy, the dance of Nataraja is only a dramatization of the *Panca Krtya*---the five activities of the Supreme Being, which constitute the world-process--*Srshti* (creation or evolution), *Sthiti* (preservation or continuation), *Samhara* (destruction), *Tirobhava* (illusion or concealment) and *Anugraha* (salvation or bestowal of grace).

This aspect of Nataraja is brought out clearly in a poem called *Cidambara Mummanikkovai* by Kumaragurupara Svamigal.

"பூமலி கற்கப் புத்தேள் வைப்பும்
நாமநீர் வரைப்பி னானில வளாகமும்
ஏனைப் புவனமு மெண்ணீங் குயிரும்
தானே வகுத்ததுன் றமருகக் கரமே
தனித்தனி வகுத்த சராசர பகுதி
அனைத்தையுங் காப்பதுன் னமைத்த பொற் கரமே
தோற்றுபு நின்றவத் தொல்லுல கடங்கலும்
மாற்றுவ தாரழல் வைத்த தோர் கரமே
ஈட்டிய வினைப்பய னெவற்றையு மறைத்து நின்
றூட்டுவ தாகுநின் னூன்றிய பதமே
அடுத்தவின் னுயிற்கட் களவில் பேரின்பமும்
கொடுப்பது முதல்வநின் குஞ்சித பதமே

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* Cidambaram is located at 11^{0} 24' 40" North latitude and 79^{0} 43' 51" East longitude in the present South Arcot District of Tamil Nadu. It is served by a railway station on the Villupuram-Mayiladuturai section of the Madras-Ramesvaram Main line of the Southern Railway.

இத்தொழி லைந்து நின் மெய்த் தொழி லாகப்
பாலுண் குழவி பசுங்குடர் பொறாதென
நோயுண் மருந்து தாயுண் டாங்கு
மன்னுயிர்த் தொகுதிக் கின்னருள் கிடைப்ப
வையமீன் றளித்த தெய்வக் கற்பின்
அருள்சூற் கொண்ட வையரித் தடங்கட்
டிருமாண் சாயற் றிருந்திழை காணச்
சிற்சபை பொலியத் திருநடம் புரியும்
அற்புதக் கூத்த !......"

Nataraja is a unique concept, among the noblest symbolisms of the supreme power. The *linga* of Cidambaram is of the ether(*akasa*) category, that is, the Lord without form. There are, in South India, five sacred spots, each housing a *linga* associated with one of the five elements, *Pancabhutas*: *Prthivi* (earth) at Kancipuram, *Appu* (water) at Tiruvanaikka, *Teyu* (fire) at Tiruvannamalai, *Vayu* (air) at Tirukkalahasti and *Akasa* (ether) at Cidambaram.

Various Names

The earliest name of this place was Tillai, after the tree of Tillai (*Excoecaria Agallocha*), which was once found in abundance about this place; the next important name by which it is known is Puliyur or Vyaghra Agrahara or Pura in Sanskrit, evidently named after Vyaghrapada, one of the primary devotees of this place. After its rise into celebrity in Saiva hagiology, it was changed into Perumparrappuliyur, i.e. Puliyur, which induces in the devotees supreme attachment to the Lord and frees them from their worldly ties.

Perumparrappuliyur means the City of the Tiger Saint (Vyaghrapada) who casts a spell of deep devotion; *parru* (not *pal*) is the term under reference. *Parru* means attachment or devotion on the part of the faithful. It is incorrect to interpret it as the town of the tiger with great teeth (see J.C.Harle's 'Temple Gateways in South India,' p.28. By inserting a query after this phrase, Harle rightly doubts the correctness of his own interpretation.)

After the introduction of the Nataraja cult, it became famous as the place of the ethereal *linga* of *Jnana-Akasa*. Hence the name *Cit Sabha* or *Dabhra sabha*. *Cit Ambalam* (= *sabha*) became Cidambaram —— also Cirrambalam and Tiruccirrambalam. *Ambalam* means '*sabha'* (or Hall) in Tamil, in Malayalam the word *Ambalam* means '*open space*' and also 'temple', while the Sanskrit word *Ambaram* means the open sky, ether. *Cit-ambaram* is another word for *Cit- akasa*.

Tillai is considered the *hrdayakamala* of the *Virat-Purusha* interaction. The works: Dahara vidya, Darsanopanishad, Suta Samhita, Devaram, Tiruvacakam, Tirukkovaiyar and the rest of 'Pannirutirumurai' (the twelve Books of the Tamil Saivite canon) contain numerous references to Cidambaram. The work "*Cidambara Tattva Nirnayam*" has the following sloka:

हृत्पुण्डरीके यद्गूढं वेदान्तैः प्रतिपाद्यते।
तज्ज्योतिः शक्यते द्रष्टुं पुण्डरीकपुरे द्विजाः॥

"Oh *Brahmanas* ! It is possible to perceive the *parabrahma jyoti* (the supreme effulgence) which is concealed in the lotus-shaped heart and which has been proclaimed in the scriptures, only in the *jnana-sabha* of Cidambaram which is the lotus-heart of the *Virat-purusha*". Cidambaram is for this reason called Pundarikapura. This is also why it is held that mere *darsana* at Cidambaram assures *mukti* (deliverance); mere thought of Tiruvannamalai, mere birth at Tiruvarur and mere death at Kasi (Varanasi) are likewise believed to assure *moksha* to the devotee. The ever-dancing Lord — the Ananda Tandavamurti — Nataraja is the *atma*, the *jyoti* in our heart.

On the cult and the concept of Nataraja, a detailed description has been given in Section Two of this book. Owing to the gilding of the *ambalam* first attributed to the *devas* (according to Appar) and later to a number of Cola rulers — chiefly Aditya I and his son and successor, Parantaka I — the place came to be called Hema Sabha (also Kanaka Sabha in Sanskrit or Ponnambalam in Tamil). After the recovery of the Devaram hymns at Cidambaram, it became the temple *par excellence* — Koyil, the temple of temples — of the Saivites. From the twelfth century A.D. onwards, Cidambaram is described, in local inscriptions of the period, as Perumparrappuliyur *alias* Cidambaram, a *taniyur* (equivalent to a modern municipality) in which were included twenty-three hamlets* said to have been situated in Rajadhiraja *valanadu*, a part of Colamandalam. (Whereas, in the case of villages, both the *nadu* and *valanadu* are given, only the larger geographical division is given in the case of a *taniyur*, though this distinction was not observed in later times. Perhaps the *taniyur* was a larger self-governing local unit similar to modern municipalities, as far as institutions of the past permit comparison with those of the present.)

In a Vijayanagar inscription (A.D.1510), the place is described as Alagiya Cidambaram in Araisur Kilparru, a sub-division of Vennaiyur nadu included in the Rajadhiraja valanadu which was in the province (*simai*) of Bhuvana-viran-pattinam (modern Bhuvanagiri, a town six and a half km. north-west of Cidambaram on the banks of the Vellar); and nearly thirty years later it is called Perumparrappuliyur in Vadutalam-pattu, a sub-division of Vennaiyur nadu in Rajadhiraja valanadu.

A curious confirmation of the traditionally wide extent of the Cidambaram township in medieval days is obtained from a private deed dated in the first decade of the nineteenth century; but, at the time of execution of this document (which is on an old *cadjan* leaf), the country had witnessed conflicts in which foreigners were involved. The local men, unaware of the political changes that had taken place in the country, still dated their documents in terms of Vijayanagar rule. The date of the document is given in three eras—Saka 1728, A.D. 1804 and Kaliyuga 4905. It records the sale of a house in South Sannidhi Street, and the following is the description of the boundaries of the city in the sale deed of this house:

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* The *taniyur* of Cidambaram is said to have comprised the following hamlets (*pidagai*): (i) Korrangudi *alias* Pavitra Manikkanallur (Kottangudi) or Korravangudi, east of the Chidambaram railway station: (ii) Midinikkudi *alias* Dana-vinoda-nallur (Minikudi); (iii) Visuppur *alias* Tillai-nayakanallur (Usuppur); (iv) Naduvirkarai *alias* Jananatha-nallur (Maduvakkarai); (v) Tiruvetkalam *alias* Jananatha-nallur (Annamalai-nagar or old Tiruvelvikalam); (vi) Parakrama sola-nallur in Kidarankonda-sola-perilamai nadu; (vii) Sivapuri; (viii) Pudu-madappattana-mannai-Kadantaka-nallur in Gangaikonda-sola-perilamai nadu; (ix) Kannangudi *alias* Mannaikondanallur in Perilamai nadu (same as viii?) (x) Kolam *alias* Sola-Kerala-devanallur; (xi) Panangudicceri *alias* Parakesari-nallur in Madurantakapperilamai nadu (Singarattoppu); (xii) Ilangur *alias* Sundara-sola-Pandyanallur in Gangaikonda-sola-perilamai nadu (four miles west); (xiii) Erukkatanjeri *alias* Jayankonda-sola-nallur in Madhurantaka-perilamai nadu or Kidarankonda-sola-perilamai nadu (8 miles west of Erukkarkattuppadugai); (xiv) Manalur *alias* Abhimana-meru-nallur in Madhurantaka-perilamai nadu or Jayankonda-sola-nallur or Gangaikonda-sola-nallur (same as viii or ix ?); (xv) Vikrama-pandyacaturvedimangalam *alias* Rajasikhamani-nallur (Puliyangudi on the banks of the Ponneri); (xvi) Ulagamuladudaiyal-caturvedimangalam *alias* Jananatha-nallur (Adur); (xvii) Karikkudi (Koraippadi?); (xviii) Koyil-pundi *alias* Kshatriya-Sikhamani-nallur in Kidaramkonda-sola-perilamai nadu (Koyilampundi or pettai); (xix) Vikrama-sola-nallur *alias* Akkan pallipadai (Pallippadai); (xx) Kadavacceri *alias* Tillai-nayaka-nallur in Gangaikonda-sola-perilamai nadu; (xxi) Irunidhicceri *alias* Candesvaranallur in Gangaikonda-sola-perilamai nadu, (xxii) Acceri Sattangudi *alias* Mahipala-kulakala-nallur in Gangaikonda-perilamai nadu; (xxiii) Muttai Ural *alias* Jananatha-nallur (Mutlur?).

> "வடகரை ராஜாதிராஜ வளநாடு வெண்ணையூர் வடுதலம்பட்டு சாவடி திருமணிமுத்தா நதி என்னும் வெள்ளாத்துக்கு தெற்கு, உபய புண்யகாவேரி நதி தீரத்துக்கு வடக்கு, வீரநாராயணனேரிக்கு கிழக்கு, குஹ்யதீர்த்தமான குணகடலுக்கு மேற்கு, இந்நான்கெல்லை சூழ்ந்த பூலோக கைலாசமாய் எப்புவனங்களிலும் மேலாய் விளங்கிய பெரும்பற்றப் புலியூராகிய சிதம்பரத்திலிருக்கும்............. எங்கள் பொது மனையாவது தெற்கு கோபுர ஸன்னிதி த்வார வீதியில் கீழ்ஸரகில் வீரப்ப நாயக்கர் மதிளுக்கு தெற்கு குலோத்துங்க சோழன் வீதிக்கு வடக்கு.........."

Translated: 'To the south of the Vellar *alias* Tirumanimuktanadi of Vennaiyur vadutalam pattu savadi, to the north of the bank of the Ubhaya-punya Kaveri (the Kollidam), to the east of Viranarayana-solan eri (the Viranam tank) and to the west of the eastern sea. Enclosed by these boundaries is the holy city renowned all over the world as Perumparrappuliyur *alias* Cidambaram.'

From this document we also learn that the South Car Street at Cidambaram was known as Kulottunga Colan Vithi. There is thus ample proof that Cidambaram of medieval times connoted an area much wider in extent than at present.

The *Tillai vana* (forest) concept has to be appreciated against its full background of the evolution of the 'forest' concept itself.

The Tamil classic *Silappadikaram* gives us clear evidence of there having been temples during that age, if a proper interpretation is to be given to the stories on Koc-cenganan. In a legend about Koc-cenganan, we are told that a spider wished to protect the Siva *linga* at Tiruvanaikka from the sun and rain and, for this reason, wove a cobweb over it every day. An elephant thought that this was an act of sacrilege and so poured water from the Kaveri over it every day. The spider got so vexed with the behaviour of the elephant that he prayed that in his next life he might be born a king so that he could build temples to which an elephant could have no access. The spider is said to have stung the elephant to death and then killed himself. The spider was born a Cola king in the next birth. That was Koc-cenganan.

This episode proves that the Siva *linga* was exposed to the elements, and there being no wall or any other structures, nothing could stop the elephant from going near the *linga* and doing what he chose to do with the *linga*.

Again, at Kalahasti, the hunter Kannappa would not have been able to go near the deity and offer meat to the Lord, if there had been a temple structure over and around the *linga*. We have legends such as a cow being in the habit of spouting out its milk straight from the udder in an act of *abhishekam* (holy bath) over the *linga*. This also would have been possible only if there had been no structure over the *linga*. Likewise there is a legend that petals fell from the branches of a *vilva* (வில்வ) tree on a *linga* at the foot of the tree — as the *linga* was roofless!

These accounts, embedded irrefutably in our long tradition, only lead to the legitimate conclusion that there should have been innumerable *lingas* which were not housed in a formal structure of a temple as we understand it now.

This also accounts for the fact that even today with every Siva temple there is associated a tree as the *kshetra vrksha* or the sacred tree of the temple.

In fact, it was the temple-tree that provided the necessary shelter to the devotees who needed it when they went to worship the deity — not for the latter, for He needed none's protection !

We can well conceive of a time when the worshippers flocked together to make their offerings to a deity, and after finishing their worship, took rest under the shade of a tree in the neighbourhood. That would become inseparably associated with the deity itself and so, in time, came to be regarded as the "temple-tree". Thus, the "temple-tree" acquired such a high degree of sanctity that there could be no question of removing the tree even after the temple was constructed. The temple-tree, so sanctified, became an integral part of the temple complex.

The Kadamba at Madurai, the Maruda at many temples, the Jambu at Tiruvanaikka, the Mango tree of the Ekamresvara temple at Kancipuram, are obvious examples, to name only a few.

Kavu (in Malayalam) and Ka (in Tamil) merely mean a tree. Even at the present day, most of the temples in Malabar (Kerala) are *Kavu's*. There can be no comparison from the point of view of structural amplitude between the temples of Kerala and those of Tamil Nadu, which has many magnificent edifices. It only establishes that the temple tree served, in the olden days, the purpose now served by the temple. Tirukkodikka, Tirukkolakka, Tirunellikka, Tiruvanaikka are striking examples.

Even during the days when the sixty-three Saivite saints covered the various Siva temples which are the subject of the Devaram hymns, considering that most of these temples were constructed after the period of Koc-cenganan, it seems doubtful if temples had been constructed in all the holy centres visited by these saints. This does not mean that worship was not conducted there. From the earliest times, several holy places would have been visited and the deities installed there worshipped. As a matter of fact, it would have been impossible to construct temples in certain holy places, because the deity there was 'invisible', not being a *linga*.

In his excellent treatise, "Origin and Early History of Saivism in South India", published in 1935, C.V.Narayana Ayyar* refers to the extensive, impenetrable forest immediately to the east of the Mukambika temple (Kollur in South Kanara), extending to a distance of nearly five miles where the forest is called "Amba vanam" , or the forest of Ambika. The people of the locality even now hold the belief that it is the residence of Ambika. He says:

> "Such must have been the 'Tillai Vana' before Koccenganan built the temple of Cidambaram."

C.V.Narayana Ayyar proceeds to mention a few other sacred shrines: Tiru Alangadu, Tiru Idumbavanam, Karaik-kadu, Kollikkadu, Sayyakkadu, Talai Alangadu, Tiru Maraikkadu, Tiruvenkadu, Tiruverkadu were quite clearly forests. If temples were constructed there, it should have been possible only after villages had developed round the original location of the deity. Similarly, as regards the holy centres with names ending in "*turai*" (resting place): Aratturai, Avaduturai; that such holy centres developed is a consequence of the spread of the *Bhakti* cult of Saivism and Vaishnavism.

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* C.V. Narayana Ayyar of the Presidency College, Madras, was a Fellow of the Department of Indian History and Archaeology in the years 1928-29 under Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri guided him later when his conclusions were formulated in this book.

The Tillai forest at Cidambaram has disappeared now. A few Tillai plants are available near the sea shore at Killai (nearly three miles away). A few saplings of the Tillai plant have in recent years been nurtured in an enclosed area near the East Gopuram at Cidambaram — to honour the tradition and satisfy the antiquarian's curiosity ; however, the saplings seem to wither away fast and need to be frequently replaced. The clean maintenance of this enclosure poses problems to the temple management. Nevertheless Tillai, the name, retains its hold and its charm and is inseparable from Nataraja, Govindaraja and Cidambaram.

The Legends

From 'Cidambara Mahatmyam' (a part of Skanda puranam), the 'Koyil Puranam' (a work in Tamil) and 'Kuncitanghristavam' (in Sanskrit) of Umapati Sivacarya, we have details of the earliest saints, Vyaghrapada and Patanjali, who are associated with the history of Cidambaram and who are said to have attained salvation here.

Vyaghrapada

He was the son of Madhyandina Munivar*. The father taught the son all the Vedas and Sastras and the *Pancakshara mantra* according to the *Saiva Agamas* and then inquired of him what else he wanted to learn. The son asked his father to instruct him in the best mode of penance. Taking the father's instructions, the son selected the sacred spot of Tillai for his penance. On reaching the place, he saw a Siva *linga* under a banyan tree near a sacred tank. He built for himself a hermitage on the west side of Tillai near another tank and consecrated another *linga* there and worshipped both the *lingas*. The sage found that the flowers were spoiled by honey bees when gathered after dawn and so prayed to the Lord that he might be provided with the eyes, claws and feet of a tiger to fulfil his desire of collecting flawless flowers for worship. His request was granted. Hence his name Vyaghrapada. After he had spent some time in such acts of devotion, his father got him married and, in due course, a son was born to him, Upamanyu by name. The child was fed by Arundhati on the milk of the divine cow, Kamadhenu. Even as the child reached Vyaghrapada's home, he wanted the divine milk. The Lord wrought a miracle and the ocean of milk of heaven** was brought to earth to feed the child of the sage. One day the sage, in a moment of yogic trance, had a vision of the Lord's Dance before the forty-eight thousand sages in the Daruka forest and longed to see it himself; and so awaited the great day when the Lord would exhibit His Divine Dance to him and other devotees at Tillai.

Since Vyaghrapada (Pulikkal Munivar in Tamil: the saint with a tiger's feet) devoted himself to the Lord of Tillai, the holy centre came to be known as Perumparrapuliyur — or Puliyur, in short, (whose praise Appar sang).

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* To the south of the town of Cidambaram there is now a temple that has a holy tank in front called Puli-madu, and is associated with Madhyandina Munivar. The renovation of this temple is referred to in an inscription of Naralokaviran, the General and Minister of Kulottunga I.

** Tirupparkkadal, the 'ocean of milk' referred to here, is located in the north-eastern side of Cidambaram town, close to the present Tillai-Amman temple. This small tank can hardly be recognised now and is in a dismal state.

"பாலனுக்காயன்று பாற்கடலீந்து" (4-107-6) - Appar

"பாலுக்குப் பாலகன் வேண்டியழுதிடப் பாற்கடலீந்தபிரான்" (Tiruppallandu)

The Sivalinga which Vyaghrapada worshipped was Sri Mulanathar, the sacred tank was Sivaganga to the north of the Sri Mulanathar temple. Appar refers to the Lord of Sri Mulasthanam (to use the Sanskrit term) as Tirumulattanattar.

பெரும்பற்றப் புலியூர் திருமூலட்டானத்தார் (6-51-6)

The banyan tree has been symbolised in a stone sculpture with the label "Karpaka Vrksha" on the western *prakara* of the present Sri Mulanatha shrine. (Some scholars hold the view that this stone sculpture represents the Tillai tree.) According to the Cidambara Mahatmyam, Siva confirms that on the southern bank of the holy Sivaganga tank, He performs the Ananda Tandava, and Mahadeva as *Svayambhu* (Self- evolved) *linga* in the Mulasthana shrine on the southern bank of the Sivaganga tank dispels sin and ensures liberation from *Samsara*.

On the western side of the great Cidambaram temple complex is the temple of Tiruppulisvaram with the Vyaghrapada-tirtham attached to this temple, which Vyaghrapada consecrated for his worship. It is known more popularly as the Ilamayakkinar temple — being connected with the episode of Tirunilakantha Nayanar, one of the Sixty-three Saivite saints (to which we allude later).

Patanjali

The story of the other saint, Patanjali, is equally fascinating. Vishnu, disturbed one day from his sleep on Adisesha atop the ocean of milk, sat up muttering, '*Hara Sankara*'. Lakshmi and Adisesha were terribly upset. To Ananta's (Adisesha's) enquiry as to why his Lord was in such an uncommon mood, Vishnu said that the previous day he had gone to worship Siva and that Siva, along with Vishnu, reached the foot of Kailasa; Siva asked Vishnu to take the form of a woman and both went to the Daruka forest to test the piety of the *rishis* there and to humble them. Siva, who assumed the role of Bhikshatanamurti, went a-begging. The wives of the *rishis* who came to give alms went mad with love and passionately pursued the divine beggar, while the *rishis* in turn went after Vishnu, who was in woman's garb as Mohini. Then the *rishis* met and cursed the beggar who was a threat to the modesty of their wives and performed an unholy sacrifice (*abhicara homa*).* A tiger, created and set up against Siva, was killed and its skin worn as a garment by the Lord. Then a serpent was created and hurled against Siva. The Lord wore it too as an ornament. Muyalakan (Apasmara purusha), an evil monster, who was created next and sent, was crushed under the Lord's feet. The tongue of fire hurled at Him lodged itself in the palm of His hand. Then the Lord danced. The *rishis* fell down exhausted and discomfited. Vishnu was filled with terror when he beheld the Ananda Tandava dance. Then Siva and Parvati appeared on their vehicle, Rshabha, and assuaged Vishnu's fear. Vishnu then resumed His original form. The forty-eight thousand *rishis*, who craved the Lord's pardon, were blessed, after which He disappeared from the scene.

Thus Vishnu explained the extraordinary experience he had had. Ananta thereupon developed deep devotion for Siva. Vishnu relieved him from His service and directed him to do penance to Siva. With a heavy heart, Ananta parted from his Lord and began his penance. Brahma appeared before him and asked him to spell out his wishes. Ananta would have nothing to do with Brahma and would see only Siva. Then he made known his intention to witness the divine dance of Siva, or, in the alternative, die. Then Brahma transformed himself into Siva and promised to re-enact the dance at Tillai. The Lord also told him that Ananta would be born on earth, with five hoods, as the son of Atri Muni and Anasuya. In due course, Ananta emerged from Anasuya's hand as a serpent. The frightened Anasuya dropped the hooded serpent and so it came to be known as Patanjali (one who had been dropped from the palm). In this form, he went to Tillai through the Nagaloka (*biladvara*) and joined Vyaghrapada, who was awaiting the great day of the Lord's manifestation and dance, and narrated his story. The tiger-sage was delighted, and the serpent-sage established himself in a hermitage in the western part of Tillai and consecrated a *linga* near his residence for worship. Both the saints worshipped their own personal deities at Pulisvaram and Anantisvaram respectively and then their common god, Tirumulanathar. They spent several years in this manner. On the appointed day, the Lord manifested Himself on a Tai Pusam, *guruvaram* (Thursday). Patanjali begged the Lord to display His dance for the benefit of His devotees and for all time. His request was granted.

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* '*abhicara*' is employment of magical spells for malevolent purposes.

Kali and Nataraja

Another local legend connects Cidambaram with the dispute between Kali and Siva and the triumph of the latter over the former in the matchless contest between them. The Urdhva Tandava dance which Siva performed silenced His rival, who admitted defeat. This may be regarded as the reconcilation of the two cults, Aryan and Dravidian. To the pious Hindu, the worship of these two deities. Kali and Nataraja, is indispensable. The Urdhva Tandava is associated with the Nrtta Sabha of the Nataraja Temple. We refer to this episode in detail later in the book. The Lord curbed Kali's pride.

Jaimini

Jaimini, the author of the *Purva Mimamsa Sutras* (the ritualistic cult), is said to have been one of the ardent devotees of Lord Nataraja. He set up a hermitage at Tillai, established a *linga* for worship and undertook penance in the hope of receiving Nataraja's grace and witnessing the divine dance. His prayer was answered when the Lord danced in the Cit Sabha.

Stone sculptures of Vyaghrapada and Patanjali are located in the *Ardha-mantapa* of the present Sri Mulanatha shrine, and a stone sculpture of Jaimini in the cloister of the northern part of the first *prakara* of the Nataraja temple, behind the Cit Sabha; apart from these, there is a small panel, just below this cloister, of Vyaghrapada, Patanjali and Jaimini. They rank high in the hierarchy of Nataraja's devotees. Jaimini is regarded as worshipping Nataraja from a 'rear' position.

Brahma's yagna — Ratnasabhapati

Legend has it that, on one occasion, Brahma wished to organise a sacrifice at Antarvedi and hoped that the Devas would participate in it, but he could not locate anyone to perform the invocation. By his divine intuition, Brahma realised that all the Devas had foregathered at Cidambaram and that only the `Tillai Three Thousand' *brahmanas* were competent to perform the sacrifice. Thereupon Brahma directed his son Narada to proceed to Cidambaram and personally invite all the Devas assembled there and the *Tri-sahasra muni*'s of Tillai to Antarvedi for the performance of the sacrifice.

Narada went to Cidambaram,worshipped Sri Mulanatha, Uma Parvati, Nataraja and Sivakami and extended an invitation on behalf of Brahma to the Devas and the 'Tillai Three Thousand' to the performance of the sacrifice at Antarvedi.

The 'Tillai Three Thousand'(the Dikshitars) pleaded that, as they were deeply immersed in the Ananda Tandava of Lord Nataraja, they did not have the heart to leave Tillai. Narada reported the result of his mission to his father.Thereupon Brahma himself went to Cidambaram, offered his salutations to Nataraja, Sivakamasundari, Sri Mulanatha, Uma-Parvati, Patanjali, Vyaghrapada, the 'Tillai Three Thousand' *brahmanas* and renewed the invitation. As Brahma himself had come down to extend the invitation, Indra and the other Devas relented. However, the 'Tillai Three Thousand' were still disinclined to leave Tillai as they felt that their worship of Nataraja should not be interrupted. Patanjali and Vyaghrapada assured the 'Tillai Three Thousand' that the two of them would take care of the worship of Nataraja till the latter returned from Antarvedi. On this understanding, the 'Tillai Three Thousand' accompanied Brahma to the sacrificial site at Antarvedi on the banks of the Ganga.

Ratnasabhapati emerges

The Dikshitars of Tillai embarked on the sacrifice at Antarvedi with the uncomfortable feeling that they were denying themselves the blessed vision of Nataraja. From the sacrificial fire emerged Nataraja in '*jyoti-svarupa*'. Having completed the sacrifice in accordance with the prescribed rituals, the Dikshitars returned to Cidambaram, bringing with them the Nataraja Who emerged from the sacrificial fire. The Dikshitars checked up whether their group had returned intact to Cidambaram and the count showed that one of the group was missing. Patanjali, Vyaghrapada and the Dikshitars were concerned over the missing one of their fraternity. An 'unembodied' voice (*asariri*) was heard to announce sharply: "The missing one is I. Count me too among your number. I am one among you." It was the voice of Nataraja. The Dikshitars, according to tradition, count Nataraja too, as one among them — of course, the greatest of them all. There was wonder and jubilation all round. (This version is given in the *Koyil Puranam* and *Cidambara Mahatmyam*, the latter being part of *Skanda Puranam*).

The Nataraja *murti* which the Dikshitars brought to Cidambaram from the *yagna* at Antarvedi is the Jyoti Nataraja, Ratnasabhapati, or Manikka Murti (the emerald image).

As for the identification of Antarvedi, which was the ancestral home of the Dikshitars of Cidambaram, there are two views: one is that it is located in the Ganga-Yamuna *doab* in North India. The other is that it is the present Antarvedi in the Godavari delta in Andhra Pradesh. Whatever the fact of the matter be, they are a distinct sect, whose roots have for centuries been firmly fixed in Cidambaram and the Nataraja temple.

We shall have occasion to deal with this aspect in greater detail in later chapters, in Section Two of this book.

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CHAPTER 2

Early History

Hiranya Varman

According to the *Sthala Purana* (the legends of the locality known as the *Koyil Puranam* authored by Umapati Sivacarya), the temple of Sri Nataraja was first built by Simha Varman *alias* Hiranya Varman, a Sembiyan or Cola who belonged to the solar race and had a tiger flag. He is said to have been a king of Gauda desa in the region of Bengal who, having heard of the fame of Tillai, had come down to South India in about the fifth century A.D. He was suffering from leprosy and so abdicated his throne in favour of his brother; after a halt at Kancipuram, he reached the Tillai forest, where Patanjali and Vyaghrapada resided and were offering worship to the *linga* of the Mulasthana (the central shrine), awaiting the promised day of manifestation by the Lord of Dance. At the instance of Vyaghrapada, Hiranya Varman bathed in the Sivaganga, the sacred tank of the place, and offered worship to the Lord, and was cured of his disease. Then, Vyaghrapada crowned him king of Puliyur and bestowed on him the famous tiger-banner. In gratitude for such divine grace, Hiranya Varman constructed a temple for the Lord at Cidambaram, instituted many festivals there and started an era of his own. (The Tiruvavaduturai school takes the view that Simha Varman *alias* Hiranya Varman was of the period A.D.430 - 458.)

கோயிற் புராணம் – ஹிரணியவர்மர் – திருவிழாச்சுருக்கம்

பொன்னணி மாதவ மாமணி யாதி பொருப்பாக
முன்னர் கொணர்ந்து குவித்தருள் பெற்ற முனிச் செல்வன்
றன்னிசை வோடுயர் வானவர் கம்மியர் தம்மைக்கொண்
டுன்னரு மம்பல மொன்று சமைத்தணி யொப்பித்து.

For the purpose of conducting the sacred services to the Lord, he brought the Tillai Muvayiravar — The Three Thousand *brahmanas* of great learning and spiritual merit — from Antarvedi* (the Ganga-Yamuna *doab*) to Cidambaram and settled them in the town. This group (now known as the Dikshitars) were entrusted with the organization of the rituals connected with the worship of Lord Nataraja.

From this legend we are led to conclude that the importance of this place grew after the days of Patanjali.

Some assert that the Patanjali of *Yogasutra* is different from the Patanjali of the *Mahabhashya*. Whether the Patanjali of *Mahabhashya* fame, said to be a contemporary of Pushya Mitra Sunga (of the second century B.C.), and the Patanjali of *Yogasutra* are identical with each other or with the

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* There is a view that the Antarvedi in question is the Godavari delta region in Andhra Pradesh. My father (the late S.R. Balasubrahmanyam) and I have held all along that it is the Ganga-Yamuna *doab*. We hold on to that view, based on what the late K.M. Rajaganesa Dikshitar, with his unrivalled grasp of the subject, had told us decades ago. 'Cidambara Mahatmyam' (19th Chapter) confirms our view.

Patanjali associated with Cidambaram, it is certain that this centre of worship took pride in being associated with a great name like Patanjali.

We are thus able to establish a lower limit for the antiquity of the Nataraja temple and cult, viz., the second century B.C.

Another legitimate inference is that the Nataraja cult was introduced by the Tillai Muvayiravar, who, having been brought over from the North and settled here, achieved a happy synthesis of Aryan and Dravidian cults in this part of South India. Venkayya and some other scholars have held the view that Hiranya Varman was a Pallava, and he could not have belonged to any regular line of Colas of the Sangam period or the post-Sangam period. Perhaps he belonged to one of the dynastic drifts after the fall of the Colas of the Sangam age.*

The upper limit for the origin of the Nataraja cult in Cidambaram is furnished by Tirumular and the hymns of Sambandhar and Appar. The last were contemporaries of the Pallava king, Mahendra Varman I of the seventh century A.D. But the temple should have come into existence at least two or three centuries earlier; it consisted then only of the Mulasthanam till it was reconstructed by the later Pallavas and Colas. Tirumular's *Tirumandiram* is built up on the Ananda Nataraja cult of Tillai and Tirumular's period has been determined as the Fifth/Sixth century A.D.

We may conclude: The oldest temple in Cidambaram is the Tirumulasthanam on the *bund* of the sacred tank, Sivaganga. The original temple with a *linga* under a tree was built by Hiranya Varman.

Regard being had to the facts that Koc-cenganan of the middle of the Third Century A.D. was crowned at Tillai, the home of Nataraja, and that Tirumular, Sambandhar and Appar of the 5th, 6th and 7th Centuries A.D. had made specific references in their hymns to the Ananda Tandava of Nataraja (Tillai-k-kuttu) at Tillai, it seems reasonable to infer that the 'Ponnambalam' complex of Nataraja (the Kanaka Sabha/Cit Sabha units) at Tillai in wood should have come into existence during the period of Koc-cenganan himself or a little earlier, while during the earlier period of Hiranya

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* In the Archaelogical Survey of India Report for 1904-5, Venkayya observed, "The mythical mountain Meru is supposed to be of gold and the Siva temple at Cidambaram probably got the name Southern Meru after its gilding either by the Cola Parantaka I, the king in whose reign the two subjoined inscriptions (of Uttaramerur) were engraved, or by the anterior *(Pallava)* King Hiranyavarman."

In the Subject-Index to the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy (of 20 April 1988), there is a wrong entry (on p.27) where the name Hiranya-Varman is given as a surname of Mahendravarman I as if it is mentioned in an inscription at Conjeevaram. Mahendravarman I ruled from about 600 to 630 A.D. and he had no such surname. The reference given in the Index (para 9) only mentions that "two fragments contain the names of two royal personages, Dantivarman Maharaja and Hiranyavarman Maharaja". These two fragments are evidently Inscriptions Nos. 34 and 37 of 1888 found in the Vaikuntha Perumal temple, Conjeevaram (S.I.I. Vo. IV), which refer to these two kings. There is nothing in this paragraph to suggest even remotely that the name Hiranyavarman was a surname of Mahendravarman I. How can Simhavarman *alias* Hiranyavarman of legends be equated with "Simhavarman II or (III) who reigned probably between 550 and 575 A.D." on the one hand and Mahendravarman I of the 7th century A.D. on the other? (See "Vignettes from the History of the Cidambaram shrine", pp.381-2, Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar Commemoration Volume.)

Varman, the Tillai scene should have been nothing more than a modest *linga* under a tree on the southern bank of the Sivaganga tank, without a formal structure, at the same spot where the renovated Mulasthana shrine now stands. It would therefore be fair to conclude that the Nataraja cult had been established at Tillai in the present Kanaka Sabha/Cit Sabha complex anytime between the 1st Century A.D. and 3rd Century A.D. It should be remembered that the constructions of the Vedic and the Buddhist periods (1st Century A.D. to 3rd Century A.D., at any rate) were of wood; and even today, it is noteworthy, the Kanaka Sabha and the Cit Sabha are substantially wooden structures. Some historians see the influence of the Kerala style of temple architecture in the wooden structures of Kanaka Sabha and Cit Sabha at Cidambaram. This view appears far-fetched. Koc-cenganan's intensive activity in temple building should have followed the installation of the Kanaka Sabha/Cit Sabha complex for Nataraja at Tillai.

Koc-cenganan:

Tillai is unknown to Sangam literature. The temple of Cidambaram is not referred to even once in the Sangam collections. "Argument from silence is not always safe." Against this background, the story of Koc-cenganan (of the last Sangam period), as it appears in the *Periya Puranam*, is valuable as it throws light upon the history of temple-building by Cola monarchs. While the *Kalingattupparani* places Koc-cenganan before Karikala, the *Muvar ula* places him after Karikala. His connection with Cidambaram is not mentioned in the contemporary works about him — *Purananuru*, *Narrinai* and *Kalavali*. C.V. Narayana Ayyar, in his comprehensive survey of 1935 on *'Saivism'*, has pointed out that the reference to Koc-cenganan in the *Purananuru* (verse 74) is in the colophon and not in the poem itself: and so, in respect of his date, it is doubtful if he lived in the age of the Sangam. This reference, however, justifies the presumption that Koc-cenganan could not have been very far removed from Ceran Senguttuvan, the central figure of the Sangam period. If the story is true (argues C.V. Narayana Ayyar) that Koc-cenganan was pleased to hear the *Kalavali* read out to him, the monarch should have been the contemporary of the poet Poigaiyar who sang it. Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar has argued (in his "Early History of Vaishnavism in South India") that this poet was none other than Poigai Alvar and the view that he held was that the second century A.D. is the age of Poigai Alvar. The determination of the period of Koc-cenganan thus appears to depend on that of the period of Poigai Alvar !

If this theory of the second century A.D. were correct, Koc-cenganan should have lived in the century of Ceran Senguttuvan, possibly a few years after him. "Accepting these conclusions, we must hold," adds C.V. Narayana Ayyar, "that Koc-cenganan built some Siva shrines and some houses for the *brahmanas* of Cidambaram in the second century A.D., for these are mentioned in the *Periya Puranam*." These *brahmanas* may be taken to be the "Tillai Three Thousand".

Some scholars have held the view that Koc-cenganan belongs to the middle of the third century A.D.

Here is a stanza from *'Kalavali'* on Koc-cenganan.

வெள்ளி வெண்ணாஞ்சிலான் ஞாலமுழுவன் போல்
எல்லாக் களினு நிலஞ்சேர்ந்த பல்வேற்
பிணைமுழங்கு போர்த்தானைச் செங்கட்சினமால்
கணைமாரி பெய்த கணத்து

Koc-cenganan is mentioned in the *Devaram* hymns of Appar (Tirukkurukkai *padigam*) and Sambandhar (Tiruvanaikkaval *padigam*); and these two saints belonged to the seventh century A.D. It is felt that considerable time should have elapsed between Koc-cenganan's period and the period of these two great Saiva saints.

It has been argued by some scholars (including the late Dr. T.V. Mahalingam) that Koc-cenganan should have been a contemporary of Simhavarman of the Pallava line (6th century A.D.)

In his "History of the Pallavas of Kanchi" (1928 A.D.), R. Gopalan pointed out that it would not be wrong to assign Koc-cenganan to the period succeeding the age of Karikala (3rd century A.D.) and immediately preceding the advent of the Pallavas of Kanci.

While it is known that seventy temples came into being in the period of Koc-cenganan, the number of temples covered by Appar and Sambandhar in their Devaram hymns (7th century A.D.) is nearly five hundred. These figures point to intense activity in the Tamil country in the construction of temples in the period between Koc-cenganan and the 7th century A.D., especially in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. Tirumular, too, refers in his *Tirumandiram* to *sphatika lingas*, *lingas* of gold, emerald and sand. Tirumular's period also appears to coincide with the age which witnessed the transition from the construction of temples with wood and bricks to stone (3rd to 6th century A.D.).

S. Vaiyapuri Pillai had, in his Madras University publication (1945), '*Tirukadugam* and *Sirupanjamulam*', expressed his finding that *Kalavali* should have been written between 450 and 500 A.D. In the middle of the fifth century A.D. Buddhavarman had to fight against the Colas "with an army resembling the ocean". Again at the end of the sixth century A.D., Simhavishnu defeated the Colas. This has led some scholars to conclude that during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., the Colas were a force to contend with in the South, backed by a powerful standing army and capacity to recuperate fast after defeat. References in *Kalavali* and by Tirumangai Alvar (Vadapulakkon, ruler of the northern region) seem to suggest that the powerful Cola ruler in question should be Koc-cenganan and it would not be wrong to infer that Koc-cenganan belonged to the middle of the fifth century A.D. This conclusion fits in with S. Vaiyapuri Pillai's views on the date of *Kalavali* (A.D.450-500).

If Koc-cenganan was, in point of time, very near to Ceran Senguttuvan and his Cola contemporaries and, at the same time, we do not have a reference to Cidambaram in the Sangam literature, two explanations are possible: Either (a) the temple did not exist before the days of Koc-cenganan or (b) the poems referring to it might have been lost. The latter is possible because not all the *Paripadals* are available. For the mere reason that the *Siva Puranam* and other pieces of literature do not mention Cidambaram, "we cannot be positive about the comparative modernity of the place." It would be perhaps safe, while granting its antiquity, to conclude that it was not as celebrated at the time as other important centres of Saivism.

The *Periya Puranam* account about Koc-cenganan by Sekkilar in the twelfth century A.D. mentions Koc-cenganan's connection with Cidambaram. Subhadeva, the Cola king, and his queen Kamalavati, were spending their time worshipping Lord Siva at Cidambaram. Since Lord Siva was pleased with the queen's prayer for a son, a spider which had done many acts of piety in its previous birth and been an ardent devotee of Siva, came to be born as her son. The birth was forcibly delayed till an auspicious hour arrived, and the child was born with reddish eyes. Hence his name Koc-cenganan (the red-eyed king). The mother died after the child was born. Subhadeva brought up the son with care and crowned him "there" (at Cidambaram) and passed away.

C.V. Narayana Ayyar rightly raises the question why Subhadeva, king of the ancient Colas that he was, was not described as having his capital at Uraiyur. After Ceran Senguttuvan's defeat of the Colas, who were therefore under pressure from the Pallavas in the north and the Ceras in the south, followed a period of decline of the Cola greatness. They must have chosen an intermediate centre politically suitable at the time and settled down at Cidambaram which is midway between Tanjavur and Kancipuram. Because the Lord of Cidambaram blessed the supplicant father, the son (Koc-cenganan) was crowned "there", and the tradition of crowning Cola Kings at Cidambaram continued even after Uraiyur was recaptured by the Colas. The choice of Cidambaram was therefore as important strategically as from the religious point of view. Since the Lord of Cidambaram conferred His grace on Koc-cenganan, the latter would have provided every facility for regular worship in the Cidambaram temple. (C. V. Narayana Ayyar also hazards the view that Koc-cenganan could very well have been the king who brought in the 'Tillai Three Thousand'.)

According to the Tirunaraiyur hymns of the Vaishnava saint, Tirumangai Alvar (8th Century A.D.), Koc-cenganan is said to have built seventy temples to Lord Siva and many mansions for the "learned Three Thousand of Tillai," which was "the abode of the Lord of Dance". I am inclined to the view that since Koc-cenganan had lavished so much attention on the 'Tillai Three Thousand' and was crowned at Cidambaram, the Mulasthana shrine —

பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் திருமூலட்டானத்தார்

as Appar described the Lord — must have existed in some shape in his time, facing east, very close to and south of the present Sivaganga tank. (The present Mulasthana shrine should have been evolved from that temple complex, as we shall show in a subsequent chapter.)

C.V. Narayana Ayyar rightly adds:

"Since the ritual in the Cidambaram temple resembles more that of domestic worship than the one commonly followed in other large shrines, the Tillai Three Thousand must have come in a body from some place far remote from the immediate vicinity of Cidambaram. Somebody ought to have invited them. Very probably, it was Koc-cenganan. It is perhaps this fact that is alluded to in the *Periya Puranam* when it says that Koc-cenganan built mansions for *brahmanas*.

வருவாய்மை மறையவர்க்கு மாளிகைகள் பல சமைத்தான் (verse 16)

"Such efforts of the monarch were bound to have an important effect on the development of Saivism in South India.

"Cidambaram became a place of great religious importance in Saiva history."

It is possible that the Tillai Three Thousand *brahmanas* came over to Tillai in Hiranya Varman's period and that Koc-cenganan provided sumptuous residential facilities to the Dikshitars, who crowned this Cola monarch at Tillai.

The following extracts from Nambi Andar Nambi's *Tiruttondar Tiruvandadi* and *Tiruttondarpuranam* of Sekkilar on Koccengat-Cola Nayanar are relevant in this context.

நம்பியாண்டார் நம்பி – திருத்தொண்டர் திருவந்தாதி

"செம்பொ னணிந்துசிற் றம்பலத் தைச்சிவ லோகமெய்தி
நம்பன் கழற்கீ ழிருந்தோன் குலமுத லென்பர்நல்ல
வம்பு மலர்த்தில்லை யீசனைச் சூழ மறைவளர்த்தா
னிம்ப நறுந்தொங்கற் கோச்செங்க ணானெனு நித்தனையே."

சேக்கிழார் – பெரிய புராணம்

"தொன்மைதரு சோழர்குலத் தரசனாஞ் சுபதேவன்
தன்னுடைய பெருந்தேவி கமலவதி யுடன் சார்ந்து
மன்னுபுகழ்த் திருத்தில்லை மன்றாடு மலர்பாதஞ்
சென்னியுறப் பணிந்தேத்தித் திருப்படிக்கீழ் வழிபடுநாள். (verse 7)

மக்கட்பே றின்மையினான் மாதேவி வரம்வேண்டச்
செக்கர்நெடுஞ் சடைக்கூத்தர் திருவுள்ளஞ் செய்தலினான்
மிக்கதிருப் பணிசெய்த சிலம்பிகுல வேந்துமகி
ழக்கமல வதிவயிற்றி னணிமகவாய் வந்தடைய (verse 8)

மந்திரிகள் தமைஏவி வள்ளல்கொடை அனபாயன்
முந்தைவரும் குலமுதலோ ராயமுதற் செங்கணார்
அந்த மில்சீர்ச் சோணாட்டில் அகனாடு தொறுமணியார்
சந்திர சேகரன் அமரும் தானங்கள் பலசமைத்தார். (verse 14)

அக்கோயில் தொறுஞ்சிவனுக் கமுதுபடி முதலான
மிக்கபெரும் செல்வங்கள் விருப்பினால் மிக அமைத்துத்
திக்கனைத்தும் தனிச்செங்கோல் முறைநிறுத்தித் தேர்வேந்தர்
முக்கண் முதல் நடமாடும் முதற்றில்லை முன்னினார். (verse 15)

திருவார்ந்த செம்பொன்னின் அம்பலத்தே நடஞ்செய்யும்
பெருமானை அடிவணங்கிப் பேரன்பு தலைசிறப்ப
உருகாநின் றுளங்களிப்பத் தொழுதேத்தி உறையுநாள்
வருவாய்மை மறையவர்க்கு மாளிகைகள் பலசமைத்தார் (verse 16)

தேவர்பிரான் திருத்தொண்டிற் கோச்செங்கட் செம்பியர்கோன்
பூவலயம் பொதுநீக்கி ஆண்டருளிப் புவனியின்மேல்
ஏவியநற்றொண்டு புரிந்திமையவர்கள் அடிபோற்ற
மேவினார் திருத்தில்லை வேந்தர் திருவடி நிழற்கீழ் (verse 17)

S.R. Balasubrahmanyam has observed: "This late testimony of Sekkilar and the absence of contemporary evidence on this question should make us hesitate, for purposes of history, to accept the connection of Koc-cenganan with Cidambaram. We do not know even whether Cidambaram was or was not one of the seventy temples said to have been built by this almost last great Cola king of the Sangam age."

Even supposing we could accept this late testimony as valid, we have to ascribe it to the end of the 3rd or the 4th century A.D., which must be taken as the outer limit for the Sangam age; and there is nothing improbable in this, allowing a period of two or three centuries for Cidambaram to develop till we reach the age of Sambandhar who can definitely be placed in the early 7th century A.D. Between Koc-cenganan and Parantaka I the *Kulottunga Colan Ula* places a certain Cola king who is said to have established himself at (literally: "seen") at Tillai after splitting through the chest of Brahmavarka. The story is too brief to be of any value for historical investigation.

"................................. வேறு
பரம வரக்க ளகலம் பிளந்து
பரமர் திருத்தில்லை பார்த்தோன்."

Tirumangai Alvar, the Vaishnava saint, in one of his hymns on Tirunaraiyur (*Periya Tirumoli* VI, 6) makes the achievements of Koc-cenganan and his worship at Tirunaraiyur the refrain of his song. This great Saiva devotee is reputed to have constructed seventy temples to Siva, besides offering worship to Vishnu in Tirunaraiyur. That it became the practice of the Colas to get crowned at Cidambaram by the 'Tillai Three Thousand' is evidenced by the story of Kurruva Nayanar in the *Periya Puranam*.

A Chieftain of the Kodumbalur area (Pudukkottai District), Kurruva Nayanar, became powerful enough to take possession of large areas of Pandya and Cola territory and he desired to be crowned by the 'Tillai Three Thousand', as was done to the Cola kings. But they swore their loyalty to the Cola line and refused to crown Kurruva Nayanar. For fear of persecution by him, these *brahmanas* took shelter with the Cera monarch. Siva "crowned" Kurruva Nayanar in a dream; and, after his time, the Tillai Three Thousand returned to Cidambaram.

தில்லை வாழந்தணர் தம்மை வேண்டவ வருஞ்செம்பியர்தந்
தொல்லை நீடுங் குலமுதலோர்க்கன்றி சூட்டோமுடியென்று (Stanza 4)

It is known that Koc-cenganan attached equal importance to Siva and Vishnu and that the temples he built were of mortar and brick, whose life was about three and a half centuries. C.V. Narayana Ayyar thus assigns Koc-cenganan to the middle of the third century A.D. for the reason, among other things, that Mahendravarman built his temples of stone, going by the fate of Koc-cenganan's brick structures.* S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, too, placed Koc-cenganan in about the 3rd or 4th Century A.D. We concur with this view.

That there was music in Cidambaram particularly during temple-worship is seen from Sambandhar's *Padigam* 259.

இசை பாடுவ பாரிடமா நட்டமே நவில்வாய் - 259-2 (Sambandhar)

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* Mahendravarman broke the earlier practice of temples in brick, wood and mortar and switched over to stone. Mandagappattu was the trend-setter.

Koc-cenganan did a lot to systematize worship in the temples and, with him, music and dance became as essential a part of Siva worship as recital of the Vedas.

Koc-cenganan's period is thus a turning point in the evolution of temple culture in the Cola country — from the Siva *linga* under a tree or in a forest, to a regular temple structure; and his close association with Tillai by his coronation there at a very early phase of its glorious history is noteworthy.

Acyuta's rule at Tillai:

One work closely following the Sangam works in time is the *Manimekhalai* by Sattanar. This work is set in an atmosphere of the predominance of Buddhism in the Tamil land. Curiously, this coincides with a dark period in South Indian history often associated with a historical phenomenon known as the *Kalabhra Interregnum,* when the curtain was closed for nearly three centuries. Many theories have been propounded about the origin of the Kalabhras, but none is satisfactory.*

It is enough to state that they played a powerful role in South India before the middle of the 6th century A.D. and, as a consequence of their aggression, the Cola, Pandya and Cera rulers were for a time under eclipse. Both Simhavishnu of the revived Pallava power of Kanci and Kadungon, the founder of the first empire of the Pandyas, established their political ascendancy on the ruins of the Kalabhras by about A.D. 550. One of these kings, Acyuta Kalappalan, is connected with Cidambaram. Tillai was his capital and he is said to have kept in prison, in the palace at Tillai, the three Tamil kings Cera, Cola and Pandya. There are five stanzas in the *Tamil Navalar Caritai* which describe the songs supposedly sung by the Tamil kings while in prison at Tillai. (K.A. Nilakanta Sastri describes the Kalabhras as evil rulers — a mysterious and ubiquitous enemy of civilization who upset the established political order.)

I venture to think — I cannot cite any source material for my conclusion — that during this dark period, Buddhism and Jainism had gained the upper hand against the forces of Hinduism, while the questionable activities of certain unrefined sects had aggravated this confused situation.

அச்சுத களப்பாளன் தளையிட்டபோது மூவேந்தர் பாடியவை

(சேரன்)

தினைவிளைத்தார் முற்றந் தினையுணங்குஞ் செந்நெல்
தனைவிளைத்தார் முற்றமது தானாம் - கனைசீர்
முரசுணங்கச் சங்குணங்கு மூரித்தேர்த் தானை
அரசுணங்கு மச்சுதன் முற்றத்து.

(சோழன்)

அரசர் குலதிலக னச்சுதன்முற்றத்தில்
அரச ரவதரித்த வந்தாள் - முரசதிரக்
கொட்டிவிடு மோசையினுங் கோவேந்தர் காற்றளையை
வெட்டிவிடு மோசை மிகும்.

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* B.G.L. Swamy connects them with the Gangas of modern Karnataka. Some scholars hold that their original settlement was around Sravanabelagola in Karnataka.

(பாண்டியன்)

குறையுளா ரெங்கிரார் கூர்வே விராமன்
நிறையறு திங்க ளிருந்தான் - முறைமையால்
ஆலிக்குந் தானை யலங்குதா ரச்சுதமுன்
வாலிக் கிளையான் வரை.

இது பாடியபின்பு ஒரு விலங்கு கூடப்போட்டபின் பாண்டியன் பாடியது

குடகர் குணகடலென் றார்த்தார் குடகர்க்
கிடகர் வடகடலென் றார்த்தார் - வடகடலர்
தென்டல லென் றார்த்தார் தில்லையச்சு தானந்தன்
முன் கடைநின் றார்க்கு முரசு.

களப்பாளன் வெற்றிச் சிறப்பு

படுபருந்துஞ் சூர்ப்பேயும் பல்விலங்கு நாயும்
கொடியுங் கழுகுமிவை கூடி - வடிவுடைய
கோமான் களப்பாளன் கொல்யானை போமாறு
போமாறு போமாறு போம்.

A Buddhist writer called Buddhadatta is said to have composed his work when *Acyuta Vikanta* of the *Kalabhra kula* was ruling the earth. It is very likely that this Acyuta Vikanta of Buddhadatta is identical with *Acyuta Kalappalan* of the *Navalar Caritai*. Buddhism seems to have been predominant in the 4th and 5th century A.D. And *Acyuta* is regarded as a great patron of Buddhism in this part of the Tamil country, and Ceylon, we learn, was the land of inspiration for the South Indian Buddhists of this age. Buddhism is said to have entered Tamil Nadu from Andhra Pradesh via Kancipuram and from Ceylon (Sri Lanka) via Nagapattinam. There was a general decline in Buddhism and a revival of Hinduism in the early half of the sixth century A.D. We shall soon see how it happened.

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CHAPTER 3

The Four Samayacaryas, Tirumular and Sankara

The word `Devaram' (applied to the hymns of Sambandhar, Appar, and Sundaramurti Nayanar) is derived from Deva and *aram* (garland to the Lord — Siva). Many interpretations are, of course, offered. Of the Twelve *Tirumurais* of the Saivite canon (called `*Panniru-Tirumurai*' in Tamil), the first three books contain the Devaram hymns of Sambandhar; the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth books comprise the Devaram hymns of Appar; the Seventh book of the series carries the Devaram hymns of Sundaramurti; Manikkavacakar's Tiruvacakam and Tirukkovaiyar constitute the Eighth book; the Tenth book contains all the nine *Tantrams* of Tirumular's *Tirumandiram*; the Ninth and the Eleventh books are a miscellaneous collection and Sekkilar's *Periya Puranam*, as the Twelfth book, completes the series.

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When the environment in the Tamil country inspired the Devaram hymns, the Tamil countryside also witnessed the simultaneous emergence of numerous temples round which the Saivite faith grew.

The general decline in Buddhism and Jainism and the revival of Hinduism, and Saivism in particular, from the early half of the sixth century A.D. should be attributed to the emergence on the South Indian scene of some of the greatest Saiva saints: Tirumular, Manikkavacakar, Sambandhar, Appar (Tirunavukkarasu) and Sundaramurti Nayanar.

Tirumular is regarded as having moved from Kailasa in the North to South India roughly in the sixth century A.D. (We deal with Tirumular's life, his *Tirumandiram* and the evolution of the Saiva Siddhanta philosophy, in Section Two). In his 1935 work, "Origin and Early History of Saivism in South India", C.V.Narayana Ayyar took the view that Tirumular lived in the fifth century A.D., probably in the first half of the fifth century A.D.

From the contemporaneity of Mahendravarman (Pallava) and Appar, it has been rightly concluded that Appar and Sambandhar lived in the first half and the middle of the seventh century A.D. (The former lived longer.)

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय

Sambandhar's strong anti-Jain stance is noticeable from the tenor of his Devaram *padigams*. We may therefore assume that the sixth century A.D. was the period of Jain predominance in the land. According to Sambandhar, the Jains of the sixth century A.D., for whom the Hindus had developed a dislike, were disbelievers in the Vedas and were ignorant of Tamil literature. Appar and Sambandhar lived at a time when the Jains were powerful and kept the Saivas on a low key and this explains the anti-Jain stance of Appar and Sambandhar.

The forces of Buddhism and Jainism which had gained ascendancy in South India during the dark period of the Kalabhra Interregnum (say from A.D. 450 to A.D. 550) could be effectively checked only when Sambandhar and Appar came on the scene in the Seventh Century A.D. and espoused the cause of Saivism by their miracles and their immortal and soul-stirring hymns.

Appar lived long, for eighty-one years, usually taken to be between A.D. 600 and 681; Sambandhar for only sixteen years taken to be between A.D. 644 and 660. (Some scholars hold the view that Appar's period was A.D. 573 to 654 and Sambandhar's A.D. 638 to 654.)

Sundaramurti (Sundarar for short) lived for only eighteen years, sometime between A.D. 710 and 735 according to some scholars, among them C.V. Narayana Ayyar. We place Sundarar in the early part of the 9th century A.D.

The date of Manikkavacakar has been the subject of interminable debate among scholars, judging by the research publications on it issued throughout this century!

C.V. Narayana Ayyar holds the view — for good reasons — that Manikkavacakar lived for thirty-two years and this period was A.D. 660-692. We are inclined to the view that the period could be fixed as being between Tirumular and Appar and Sambandhar, sometime in or before the seventh century A.D.*

The Dharmapuram edition (1957) of the '*Tirumurais*' takes the same view as we do. (Tirunavukkarasar's Fourth *Tirumurai* - Tiruvarur *padigam* - stanza 2; page 37).

"நரியைக் குதிரை செய்வானும் நரகரைத் தேவு செய்வானும்"

(நரியைக் குதிரை) செய்வான் முதலிய
ஐந்து வினைப்பெயரும் இயைந்து
அம்மானே எனக்கொண்டு முடிந்தன.
நரியைக்குதிரையாக்கிய வரலாறு
மாணிக்க வாசகர் பொருட்டு நடந்தது.
மூவர்க்கும் முந்தியவர் மாணிக்கவாசகர்
என்பதற்கு இஃது ஒரு சான்று.

'நரியைக்குதிரைப் பரியாக்கி" — திருவாசகம்

One major consideration for the fixing of Manikkavacakar's age is the unmistakable reference made to the miracles associated with him of converting jackals into horses and back again into jackals, in the Devaram hymns of the Tamil Nayanar, Appar; in the whole of Saivite tradition, the earliest instance of such a miracle is associated with Manikkavacakar. What is equally relevant is the fact that Manikkavacakar is credited with the overthrow of Buddhists from Ceylon in a religious disputation at Cidambaram, which could have taken place only after the period of the Kalabhras (when Buddhism was on the ascendant in South India). This incident would appear to have occurred before the days of Appar, who also launched into tirades against both Buddhism and Jainism in almost all his hymns.

The name of a king called Varaguna occurs in the hymns of Manikkavacakar. Since there are Pandyan rulers of that name in the eighth as well as the ninth centuries A.D., Manikkavacakar is ascribed by some scholars to the reign of one or the other of these kings.

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* The French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry (A.D. 1984) seems to question the wisdom of tacitly accepting the life-spans attributed to the four Saints by an old anonymous poem: Sambandhar 16 years, Appar 81, Sundarar 18 and Manikkavacakar 32, on the ground that a mythical statement does not have to be historically true. This view, however, cannot affect the relativity of the periods of the four Saints.

Another argument that has made a great appeal to scholars, and that has been at present taken to be proof positive of Manikkavacakar having lived in the ninth century A.D., is based upon two stanzas of Manikkavacakar appearing in his Tirukkovaiyar, where the name Varaguna appears. The stanzas, translated, are as follows:

"Though it advances against the enemy's army, the car of him who is like a lion will not stay in a strange place. He of Cidambaram, *who is praised by the Pandya Varaguna*, is the oldest of all the Devas. His consort similarly has not any other god before her."*

"To-day, His (Siva's) face appears beautiful after destroying the great wall (of the three cities). It shows His great wrath through the eye (of the forehead) which resembles the fish (flag) planted on the mountain (the Himalayas) by the lord of black, tall, furious elephants, Varaguna, who praises Cidambaram, (the seat) of Him (Siva) who wears in His braid the waters of the Ganga."**

Another reason for placing Manikkavacakar earlier than the ninth century A.D. is found in the epigraphical evidence obtained from the inscriptions in the Sundaresvara temple at Sendalai (called therein, Candralekhai-Caturvedi-mangalam), near Tirukkattuppalli, Tanjavur district. The temple is described as being that of Tirupperunturai Mahadevar, and this name is found in the inscriptions of Aditya I and Parantaka I, of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., in the Sendalai temple. The name Tirupperunturai is hallowed by its association with Manikkavacakar. There should have been an appreciable time gap of half a century or more between the emergence of the original Tirupperunturai, the spiritual home of Manikkavacakar, and the establishment of a new temple bearing that name at Sendalai.

In his "Ancient India", published as early as A.D. 1911, Dr. S.Krishnaswami Aiyangar pointed out: "The date of Manikkavacakar cannot yet be regarded as a settled fact of history. Varying dates are ascribed to him, as often with as without evidence. Some refer to the fifth century A.D.; others to the ninth century A.D.; others again to an antiquity not definitely ascertainable. That Sundaramurti does not include him among the *Tiruttondar's* is one fact all are agreed upon; and that he was a contemporary of a Varaguna Pandyan is also a tradition accepted on all hands. The epigraphist would keep him to the Varaguna of the eighth century A.D. The literary critic sees quotation and adaptation from Manikkavacakar in the works of the earlier Adiyars of the Saiva hagiology."

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* மன்னவன் றெம்முனைமேற் செல்லுமாயின் மாலரியே
நன்னவன்றேர் புறத்தல்கல் செல்லாது வரகுணனாந்
தென்னவனேத்து சிற்றம்பலத்தான் முற்றைத் தேவர்க்கெல்லா
முன்னவன் மூவலன்னாளு மற்றோர் தெய்வமுன்னலளே. (Tirukkovaiyar, 306)

** புயலோங்கலர் சடையேற்றவன் சிற்றம்பலம் புகழு
மயலோங்கிருங் களியானை வரகுணன்வெற் பின்வைத்த
கயலோங்கிருஞ் சிலைகொண்டு மன்கோபமுங் காட்டிவருஞ்
செயலோங் கெயிலெரிசெய்த பினின்றோர் திருமுகமே. (Tirukkovaiyar, 327)

Most of the research scholars in the latter half of this century who have gone into this subject of the date of Manikkavacakar have been guided by the Varaguna reference and adopted the same series of arguments for and against and indicated their preference for the view that Manikkavacakar belongs to the ninth century A.D.; some scholars have placed him even in the tenth century A.D. So the last word on the subject is yet to be said ! Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, too, puts Manikkavacakar a century after Sundaramurti (" A History of South India", 1966, p.425).

The fact that Manikkavacakar does not find mention in *Tiruttondattogai* by Sundarar along with other *Tondar's* has been used as an argument that Manikkavacakar came on the scene only after the Muvar (the great three, Sambandhar, Appar and Sundarar). C.V. Narayana Ayyar rightly argues that the *Tiruttondattogai* list of *Siva-bhaktas*, or, for that matter, even of the Saivite shrines could not, obviously, be exhaustive. For example, Madurai and Sirkali are absent in Sundarar's list. C.V. Narayana Ayyar, like many other scholars before and after him, rightly raises the query: How could Appar have alluded to the Manikkavacakar episode of the conversion of jackals into horses unless Appar (in the course of his long life) had come to know of this episode in Manikkavacakar's life — perhaps the only episode of its kind in the known Saivite tradition ?

The Rev. G.U. Pope expressed the view in A.D. 1900 that Manikkavacakar lived somewhere about the seventh or eighth century A.D. He was, however, not consistent in this view. Dr.Pope has also said that Manikkavacakar could be reasonably assigned to the tenth century A.D. or earlier. He hints that Sambandhar came on the scene 'a century later'. The latter statement could, of course, be acceptable if our theory of the sixth century A.D. for Manikkavacakar is accepted. Dr. Pope saw the influence of Manikkavacakar on Appar's hymns also. But these are different kinds of excellence and it is difficult to hazard any view as to who influenced whom !

We reaffirm our view that Manikkavacakar's age could be fixed sometime between Tirumular and Sambandhar, in the sixth century A.D. — perhaps towards its close. He could have been a close but earlier contemporary of Appar and Sambandhar. We are aware of the conflicting views of scholars on the subject.

While Sambandhar and Appar ensured the Saiva triumph over the Jains, Manikkavacakar's writings do not make any reference to Jains. On the other hand, Manikkavacakar is credited with the overthrow of Buddhists in a disputation at Cidambaram and this may be justifiably connected to the period when the Kalabhras were on the decline. Thus the three of them played a mutually complementary role towards the promotion of Saivism against the onslaught of Jainism and Buddhism. Till the sixth century A.D. Buddhism was a factor to contend with.

Manikkavacakar was born in Tiruvadavur near Madurai. He was a *brahmana* — of *Amatya* lineage (councillors). Early in life he attained a high level of proficiency and erudition in state-craft, religion and philosophy. He became a Minister of the Pandya king, Arimardana Pandyan, and enjoyed the respect and confidence of the ruler. On his account, Siva as the presiding deity of Madurai is said to have performed many miracles.

When the State was in need of horses to strengthen its army, the king gave him a large sum of money and sent him out to Perunturai (modern Avudaiyarkoil near Arantangi, Pudukkottai district) on this purchase mission. At Perunturai, Manikkavacakar met his *Guru* — Lord Siva Himself, in disguise — under a sacred *kurundai* tree and in obedience to his teaching, Manikkavacakar spent the royal funds on religious charity and temple building at Tirupperunturai. Meanwhile, the king grew impatient and sent for Manikkavacakar, who underwent the painful ordeal of having to explain his failure to produce before the king either the money or the horses. In response to the devotee's prayers, the Lord converted jackals of the forest into horses and led them before the royal presence. Overnight, however, the re-transformation of horses into jackals took place and the king subjected Manikkavacakar to severe ordeals, and Lord Siva, in order to save his devotee, wrought another miracle by swelling the Vaigai river with sudden floods. The countryside was overrun and every citizen was asked to contribute his mite to strengthen the river *bund*. One old lady, for example, needed a servant to help her in this task and the Lord Himself assumed the form of one; the work suffered as He was not serious about it, and the king dealt Him a blow which was visited on every being including the king himself ! The king then saw the work of the divine hand in these events, released Manikkavacakar, asked for his forgiveness and set him free to pursue his divine mission. Tiruvidaimarudur, Cidambaram, Tirukkalukkunram and Tiruvannamalai were among the other important Saivite centres that Manikkavacakar visited.

It is the traditional belief that Manikkavacakar lived at Piccaivaram which is close to the sea near Cidambaram, and Lord Sundaresvara of Madurai appeared before Manikkavacakar in the form of an old man, requesting him to dictate to him the text of two books. Afterwards, at night, he placed the texts of the two books in the sanctum of Lord Nataraja (near the *Pancakshara* steps) and left. When the day dawned, the temple priests noticed the books in the sanctum, carried them to Manikkavacakar and asked him to expound the meaning of the books. The saint is said to have explained to them that the Lord (Sabhapati) was the true meaning of the books. Manikkavacakar entered the hall thereafter and attained beatitude.

The words of the Rev. G.U. Pope are well worth recalling in this context:

> "South India needed a personal God, an assurance of immortality and a call to prayer. These are found in Manikkavacakar's compositions."

As we have seen already, we are on firmer ground in fixing the ages of Appar and Sundarar. Appar is supposed to have been an elder contemporary of the Pallava king Mahendra Varman I (A.D. 600-630). The Pallava king is said to have been converted from Jainism to Hinduism by Appar as attested by the Tiruchirappalli upper rock-cave inscriptions and the *Periya Puranam*. Owing to the recent discovery of some hero-stone (*virak-kal*) inscriptions of the early Pallavas in North Arcot district, under the auspices of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu, the chronology of the Pallavas of Kanci is in the melting pot. Evidence of the existence of Hinduism — both Saivism and Vaishnavism — as a flourishing and revitalised religion, with Cidambaram as one of its important centres, is found in the hymns of these two great saints. Their hymns also contain many expressions of denunciation of the heretical sects of Buddhism and Jainism. It is, of course, known that the seventh century A.D. was an age of Hindu revival and Jain decline.

The temple at Cidambaram, like other temples, is likely to have been conceived of as one dedicated to the Trinity — Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. Even now, there are shrines for the three gods in this temple. Particular reference is made to Siva assuming the form of fire in order to discomfit Brahma and Vishnu. Appar refers to this place as the great city of Tillai — Tillaimanager — famous for Vedic chants and sacrificial smoke. It is said that the *devas* of heaven worshipped the Lord of Cirrambalam, praised Him and gilded the hall of the Lord.

முழுதும் வானுல கத்துள தேவர்கள்
தொழுதும் போற்றியும் தூயசெம் பொன்னினால்
எழுதி மேய்த்த சிற்றம்பலக் கூத்தனை
இழுதை யேன்மறந் தெங்ஙன முய்வனோ.
அப்பர் தேவாரம் – திருக்குறுந்தொகை. (Fifth Tirumurai)

As already mentioned, Ponnambalam and Perumparrappuliyur are other names of Cirrambalam. Sambandhar refers to the 'storeyed houses of the wealthy people of Tillai' — an indication of the prosperity of Cidambaram in that period.

On Manikkavacakar, K. V. Soundararajan, in 'The Art of South India — Tamil Nadu and Kerala' (1978) points out:

"It is seen that Buddhism had a firm root in the Pallava realm at Kanci during the term of Mahendravarman and it is also independently attested by Hiuen Tsang. The hymns of Appar, Jnanasambandhar and Sundaramurti Nayanar (the Devaram Trio) and Tirumangai Alvar (of the Vaishnavite Alvars) have references to Buddhists and their practices and doctrines, often sneering, the range of time being the 7th-8th century A.D. The oft-cited role of Manikkavacakar, the author of Tiruvacakam, as the opponent of Buddhism, occurs at a slightly later period when, during the time of Rajaraja and Rajendra, there appears to have been a recrudescence of Buddhist advocacy and monuments — a period during the early part of which it is safe to put Manikkavacakar. These disputations between the Ceylonese Buddhists and Manikkavacakar are already part of Tiruvacakam.

"From Sambandhar's references and other references, the Buddhists are of the Therava school of Ceylon (Sri Lanka), and, unlike Jainism which came from the North in its Digambara traditions and had settled down in different parts of Tamil Nadu right down from Kanci, Buddhism moved from Ceylon (where it had arrived from North India by sea) into lower Tamil Nadu after the 5th century A.D. and it had a rootless existence here for a while in the 7th-9th century A.D.".

Nagapattinam was a notable Buddhist centre, apparently because of its proximity to Sri Lanka.

(Of course, there is the other traditional view that Buddhism spread to Kanci from Andhra territory, where it was prevalent in a big way in that period.)

Tillai Govindaraja Shrine:

Writing in "The Colas" (1955 Edition, page 643), Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri observed:

"There were several temples which contained shrines of both Siva and Vishnu side by side, the most conspicuous instance being that of Cidambaram."

The Saivites regard this deity of Govindaraja at Tillai as admiring the divine dance of Nataraja. It is inferred that this deity must have been housed on an elevated platform in the *prakara* of the

Nataraja temple in front of the Nataraja shrine. Hence the place of abode of Vishnu is called *Terri Ambalam* or *Tiru citra kutam*. In early times and at least upto the days of Tirumangai Alvar and Kulasekhara Alvar, the worship of the two deities, Nataraja and Govindaraja, was in the hands of "The Three Thousand of Tillai".

The co-existence of Nataraja and Govindaraja is clearly documented by Manikkavacakar. Manickkavacakar is the author of two works--Tirukkovaiyar and *Triuvacakam.* Tirukkovaiyar is a subjective poem — in *Ahapporul* — on the Lord of Tillai. In this we find a stanza which refers to the position of the twin Gods, Siva and Vishnu thus: "He (Vishnu) who tried in vain by splitting open the earth, in order the see the two feet of Him who destroyed the Tripura, begged of Siva with extended hands to show them, out of mercy, for worship. Then the Lord, moved somewhat, showed Vishnu one of his legs. Thereupon Vishnu lay prostrate (*bhoga sayana*) in the Hall of Tillai in order that his prayers to see the other leg might be granted."

புரங்கடந்தானடி காண்பான் புவிவிண்டு புக்கறியா
திரங்கி டெந்தாயென்றி ரப்பத்தன்னீ ரடிக்கென்னிரண்டு
கரங்கடந்தா னொன்றுகாட்ட மற்றாங்கதுங் காட்டிடென்று
வரங் கிடந்தான் றில்லையம்பல முன்றிலம் மாயவனே. (verse 86)

This is only the poetic imagery of a Saivite poet reflecting the fact that these two Lords of the Trinity dwelt together in the Hall of Tillai.

The view that the Govindaraja cult was introduced at Cidambaram only in the eighth century A.D., the age of the Alvars, does not, therefore, seem to be acceptable, on the basis of our view that Manikkavacakar should be assigned to the 6th or 7th century A.D. and that if Nataraja had been introduced into this complex before the 6th century A.D., Govindaraja could not have lagged behind. The installations should have been simultaneous.

Some scholars hold the view that the Govindaraja shrine in the Nataraja temple complex was set up by Nandivarman Pallava (A.D. 731-796).

Tirumangai and Kulasekhara Alvars:

Nearly a century later, we come to the period of the Vaishnavite Alvars — Tirumangai and Kulasekhara. Tirumangai Alvar should be ascribed to the period of the Pallava king, Nandivarman II. (The Vaishnavite cult had been established at the same time as the Nataraja cult, as we have just seen, even though the Alvars came into the picture later.)

The following extracts are of interest in this context:

வெம்பும் சினத்துப் புனக்கேழ லொன்றாய்
விரிநீர் முழுவெள்ளம் உள்புக் கழுந்த
வம்புண் பொழில்சூ ழுலகன் றெடுத்தான்
அடிப்போ தலைவான் விருப்போ டிருப்பீர்
பைம்பொன்னும் முத்தும் மணியும் கொணர்ந்து
படைமன் னவன்பல் லவர்கோன் பணிந்த
செம்பொன்மணி மாடங்கள் சூழ்ந்த தில்லைத்
திருச்சித்ர கூடம் சென்று சேர் மின்களே.

மாவாயி னங்கம் மதியாது கீறி
மழைமா முதுகுன் றெடுத்தாயர் தங்கள்
கோவாய் நிறைமேய்த் துலகுண்ட மாயன்
குரைமா கூழல்கூ டும்குறிப் புடையீர்,
மூவாயிர நான்மறை யாளர் நாளும்
முறையால் வணங்க அணங்காய சோதி
தேவாதி தேவன் திகழ்கின்ற தில்லைத்
திருச்சித்ர கூடம் சென்று சேர்மின்களே.

திருமங்கை மன்னன் – பெரிய திருமொழி – ஊன்வாடவாட (3–2–3)

(Tirumangai Alvar - Periya Tirumoli) - (Eighth century A.D.)

வந்தெதிர்ந்த தாடகைதன் உரத்தைக் கீறி
வருகுருதி பொழிதரவன் கணையொன் றேவி
மந்திரங்கொள் மறைமுனிவன் வேள்வி காத்து
வல்லரக்கர் உயிருண்ட மைந்தன் காண்மின்

செந்தளிர்வாய் மலர்நகைசேர் செழுந்தண் சோலைத்
தில்லைநகர்த் திருச்சித்ர கூடந்தன்னுள்
அந்தணர்கள் ஒருமூவா யிரவ ரேத்த
அணிமணியா சனத்திருந்த அம்மான் தானே.

குலசேகரப்பெருமாள் திருமொழி அங்கணெடுமதில்.

(Kulasekhara Perumal Tirumoli) - (probably Ninth century A.D.)

The extract from Tirumangai Alvar indicates "that a Pallava ruler made some costly dedication to the temple"; that "Vishnu was in a lying posture on his serpent couch"; and that "The Tillai Three Thousand" were in charge of the worship of the 'God of Gods' according to orthodox rites (Dr. S.K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, 1911, page 318). The extract from Kulasekhara Alvar sings the praise of Govindaraja and Sri Rama and the main incidents in Srimad Ramayanam (killing of Tataka and protecting Visvamitra's sacrificial altar, etc). "It also refers to Vishnu being recumbent on a throne, with the 'Three Thousand *brahmanas*' chanting His praise in the Chitrakuta of Tillai city, surrounded by cool and shady gardens, smiling with flowers and tender shoots." (Dr. S.K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, 1911, page 318).

Dr. S.K. Aiyangar concludes: "Thus, then, in the days of the two Alvars and Manikkavacakar, the Vishnu shrine occupied the position that it does now."

Nandivarman II (Pallavamalla) (A.D. 731-796):

This staunch Vaishnavite ruler, the builder of the Vaikuntha Perumal temple at Kancipuram, had a long reign of sixty-five years. In Tirumangai Alvar's hymns in praise of the Vaishnavite Lord of Tillai Tiruccitrakutam (Sri Govindaraja), a Pallava king is said to have made gifts of gold and precious stones to the deity. The Pallava ruler referred to is probably the great Nandivarman (Pallavamalla). Tirumangai Alvar also mentions that Sri Govindaraja, the Lord of Tiruccitrakutam, was worshipped by the Tillai Muvayiravar. It is clear that the worship of the two Lords of this place, Nataraja and Govindaraja, was conducted by the Dikshitars of Tillai during that age. Sectarianism and bigotry were a later phase. (We make a detailed reference to the history of the Govindaraja shrine in Chapter Ten.)

Sundaramurti Nayanar:

Sundaramurti is usually reckoned as the last of the Devaram Trio, the three great Tamil Nayanmar. Sundaramurti refers in the following hymn to a Pallava ruler, a devotee of Siva, with Whose grace he punished the refractory feudatories reluctant to pay him tribute. (Sundarar lived for eighteen years, roughly in the period A.D. 710 to 735, according to C.V. Narayana Ayyar's arguments.)

> கருமையார் தருமனார் தமர்நம்மைக் கட்டியகட் டறுப்பிப் பானை
> அருமையாந் தன்னுலகந் தருவானை மண்ணுலகங் காவல் பூண்ட
> உரிமையாற் பல்லவர்க்குத் திறைகொடா மன்னவரை மறுக்கஞ் செய்யும்
> பெருமையார் புலியூர்ச்சிற் றம்பலத்தெம் பெருமானைப் பெற்றாமன்றே
> சுந்தரர் தேவாரம் – மடித்தாடும் அடிமைக்கண்.

This Pallava ruler may be identified with Dantivarman, son of the famous Nandivarman II, Pallavamalla, the contemporary of Tirumangai Alvar. Sundaramurti is the author of *Tirut-tondattogai*, sung at Tiruvarur, which is the first brief survey of the lives and deeds of the Sixty-Three Tamil Saivite saints (Nayanmar). Sundaramurti begins the song with the well-known line, *Tillai val andanar tam adiyarkkum adiyen.*

He was a contemporary of Ceraman Perumal Nayanar. After a lifetime of devotion to Siva and extensive pilgrimage throughout South India, both these saints, it is said, reached Kailasa about 825 A.D. from their last resting place — Tiruvanjikkalam (Tiru Angaikkalam), modern Kodungolur (or Musiri of Sangam literature).

Sri Sankaracarya:

Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri assigns the period 788-820 A.D. (thirty-two years' span) to Sankara, the great founder of *Advaita Vedanta*, commonly referred to as Adi Sankara.

There is a view that the great Sankara presented to the Nataraja temple the Candramauli *sphatika* (crystal) *linga* used in daily worship in this temple. But, according to the Dikshitars with whom I have discussed the matter, such a view presupposes that prior to Sankara's days the Nataraja temple did not have a crystal *linga* for worship — a proposition that cannot be entertained. They contend that the *sphatika linga* of Candramauli, to whom *abhishekam* (holy bath) is made six times daily, is as old as the temple itself — in the same way as the Ratnasabhapati image in emerald is under daily worship. The traditional belief is that the *sphatika linga* emerged from the crescent moon on the head of Nataraja. (The daily rituals are described in Chapter 11.)

Some scholars have also indicated that it was perhaps during the period of Sankara that the Sri Cidambara Cakram, a modification of the Sri Cakra Yantra — a mystic diagram with the figures of Nataraja and His Consort superimposed — was installed — what is now known as "Cidambara Rahasyam". (See Chapter 15.)

It appears, however, reasonable to assume that the crystal *linga* and the 'Cidambara Rahasyam' are as ancient as the temple itself — as they are inherent in the concept of Nataraja itself.

Speaking of the *Yantra*, Havell says:

"In the Sri Chakra Yantra which is said to have been used by Sri Sankaracharya, the metaphysician develops this primitive mountain worship methodically. Mount Kailasa becomes the centre of the Yantra, the *vindu* which represents the first manifestation of creative power when one becomes the many. Then the divine unity expands and becomes the mystic three, the *Trimurti* or the innermost triangle standing on its apex which symbolises the three powers of *Sakti* — will (*iccha*), knowledge (*jnana*) and action (*kriya*), also the three *gunas* and the three *devatas*, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. Brahma, the creative power, proceeds upwardly from the apex of the triangle; Siva, the power of involution, moves inwardly towards the apex; and Vishnu, as the static power representing the horizontal side, keeps the equilibrium between these two opposites."

This is the limited glimpse we obtain of Cidambaram during the Pallava age.

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CHAPTER 4

Evolution of the Cidambaram Temple-City complex under the Imperial Colas(850-1290 A.D.)

We move on now to the grand epoch of the Imperial Colas of the Vijayalaya house.

Cidambaram, during the Pallava age, was a centre of some importance in the philosophical and religious life of the people of South India, but, in the days of the Imperial Colas of the Vijayalaya house, its importance grew and it became the temple of temples, the *Koyil* of the Saivities.

The Cola period was a land-mark in the growth of Saivism in Tamil Nadu. I cannot do better than quote here, by way of an indication of our approach to the subject, what S.R.Balasubrahmanyam had clearly enunciated in his "Early Cola Temples" (1971, p. 263) as to how expansions of temple complexes have taken place in South India over the centuries.

" There cannot be two plans for the same sanctum. If the original plan of the sanctum is interfered with, it will offend orthodoxy. Hence it is that later benefactors and philanthropists either added· new shrines to, or enlarged, the original temples in the centres of great antiquity and celebrity and made them temple-cities as we find in Srirangam, Tiruvarur and Cidambaram."

This statement may appear to labour the obvious but it is exceedingly important to enable us to understand the evolution of our temples.

Describing the growth of the great temple-cities in South India, S.R. Balasubrahmanyam observed ("Later Cola Temples", 1979, p.23):

"Great Temple-Cities"

"In the Early Cola period, there was vigorous and enthusiastic temple-building activity during the reigns of Aditya I and Parantaka I; similarly, in the Middle Cola period, the reigns of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I witnessed the building of the largest number of temples belonging to this period; so also, the reigns of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Cola in the Later Cola period saw the erection of a large number of temples — much more than in those of their successors. It has to be mentioned that each period recorded certain distinct and remarkable features of stylistic development.

"One important feature of this development in the Later Cola period was the expansion of the area of the temple-campus. Cidambaram was one of the sites of this great experiment. During the time of Kulottunga I and of Vikrama Cola, his son and successor, the temple area expanded nearly six times. Two walls of enclosure, Kulottungasolan Tirumaligai and Vikramasolan Tirumaligai, were erected. Later, a third wall of enclosure was started on in the reign of Kulottunga II and was virtually completed in the reign of Kulottunga III; it came to be called Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai, after a surname of the latter. The four car streets were also formed about this period. But the fourth wall of enclosure, called Virappa Nayakan Tirumaligai — and the moat also perhaps — was the contribution of one of the Nayak rulers of the seventeenth century.

"The seven-storeyed *gopurams* were also the handiwork of the Later Colas in addition to the erection of the 100 - and 1000 - Pillared halls and the independent Amman shrine outside the precincts of the shrine of the main deity. Cidambaram became the first of a series of great temple-cities.

"Soon after, other great celebrated centres of religion followed suit; among them may be mentioned the Brahmapurisvarar temple at Sirkali, the Tyagarajar temple at Tiruvarur, the Jambukesvaram at Tirvanaikka, and the Ranganatha temple at Srirangam."

This summary perhaps anticipates my presentation in this chapter of the growth of the Cidambaram temple under the Imperial Colas. The details of the story of this growth are equally fascinating.

The Early Colas

From the available internal evidence, it is obvious that the original shrine was the Sri Mulasthanam in the Tillai forest, and the Nataraja shrine is a later addition; at the time of Vijayalaya Cola, both shrines were in existence, though there are no original inscriptions of Vijayalaya either in the present structures of the two shrines or in their environs. In the Epigraphical Report of 1914 (Part II, paragraph 88), it was pointed out that "it is a curious fact that though the history of Cidambaram goes back to the Pallava times, no records of the Early Colas are forthcoming from that place." Prior to 1940, the earliest original inscription recorded from the Nataraja temple was of the 44th year of Kulottunga I. There is an inscription copied from the 'Edirambalam'* (or Mulasthanam shrine) when it was renovated and its inscriptions re-engraved on the north wall of the Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai (the wall enclosing the two shrines, of Nataraja and Govindaraja). It is a confused account of the 24th year of Rajendra but the *prasasti* is a combination of those of Rajendra I and Rajendra II. There are fragments of earlier inscriptions of Rajaraja I, Rajendra I, Rajendra II and Raja Mahendra embedded in different positions in the newy constructed parts of the temple (Eleventh century A.D.). So far, no inscriptions relating to a Cola ruler earlier than Rajaraja I have been found in the present structure of the Nataraja temple. The earliest inscriptions in Cidambaram, discovered by S.R.Balasubrahmanyam in 1940, were found on the walls of the Anantisvaran temple in the western part of the town before the renovation of the temple was undertaken. Three of these inscriptions could be assigned to the period of Vijayalaya and one to that of Parantaka I, thus to the ninth and early tenth centuries A.D. A fragmentary inscription of Parantaka I was discovered on a slab embedded in the pavement of the *prakara* in the Nataraja temple east of the Hundred-pillared hall. Another fragmentary inscription of Rajendra I is found embedded on the western wall of the Navalingam shrine situated north of the Sivaganga tank. The earliest inscription on the walls of the old Anantisvaran temple refers to a gift of 60 *kalanjus* of gold made in the third year of Kop-parakesari-panmar(identified with Vijayalaya) for the feeding of devotees.**

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* Some identify 'Edirambalam' with the Deva Sabha —— incorrectly, in our view (see our later discussions). See the the temple-plan also for details, as also the texts of the inscriptions given in the Appendices to this Chapter.

** "The Oldest Cidambaram Inscriptions," Journal of the Annamalai University, Vols. XII & XIII. For details of these Inscriptions see pp 77-79 of this Chapter.

Aditya I (A.D.871-907):

Successive Cola kings have enriched Cidambaram. Aditya I, Vijayalaya's son and successor, conquered the Kongu desa even during his father's lifetime and administered it as Viceroy. Overthrowing the Pallava ruler, Aparajita, Aditya I brought Tondaimandalam under his rule in his own good time. Aditya I was a follower of Siva; the Anbil plates of Sundara Cola say of him that he built large stone temples for Siva on both banks of the Kaveri from the Western Ghats (Sahyadri) to the sea. The pure gold brought by him from Kongu desa after its conquest was utilized for the gilding of the hall at the Cidambaram temple, which came therefore to be known as the Kanaka Sabha; and the work begun by Aditya I was completed by his son, Parantaka I, who, therefore, is generally credited in all later accounts with the gilding of the Kanaka Sabha. Idangali Nayanar, a Velir chief of Kodumbalur (formerly of Pudukkottai State and now in the district of the same name) and one of the sixty-three Nayanmar, was a staunch devotee of Siva and is said to be an ancestor of the Cola king, Aditya I. There is a story told in Sekkilar's '*Periya Puranam*' that one day someone entered the granary of Idangali Nayanar in the darkness of the night and began to loot the paddy there. The thief was caught by the watchman, but, when the king learnt on enquiry that the thief's motive was to feed Siva devotees, he not only set him free but called upon all Siva devotees, to enter his treasury and granary and help themselves to as much money and paddy as they wished.

Parantaka I (A.D.907-955):

Parantaka I,* the son and successor of Aditya I, was, according to the Kanyakumari stone inscription of Virarajendra Cola (A.D.1063-69), the abode of the Goddess of Valour (*Vira Sri*); he destroyed the Pandyan king and his entire army, seized all his wealth and burnt his capital, Madhurai. For this achievement he received the title of 'Madurantaka' or 'Madurai-konda Parakesari'. This king was as bright as Arjuna, conquered in battle the as yet unvanquished Rashtrakuta king Krishnaraya, and thereby added to his own glory. In recognition of this fact he was given the title 'Vira-Cola'. Parantaka I, who was respected by all kings, called together his army, crossed the sea and defeated the king of Simhala(Sri Lanka), who was waiting on the shore to give him battle, and thereby received the surname 'Simhalantaka'. "Who could stand comparison with this king, the abode of all qualities? Who can describe the traits of this monarch who conquered his enemies in battle and who was the only repository of prowess? This destroyer of enemies, Parantaka I, brought into existence superior villages of great wealth like Viranarayanam (Kattumannarkoyil of the Leyden Grant) just as Brahma created *svarga*, and allowed it to be enjoyed by the learned *brahmanas*".

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* Parantaka I's act of piety in gilding the Cit Sabha was the subject of the following verse from his son Gandaraditya's '*Tiru Isaippa*' (No.202):

வேங்கோல் வேந்தன் தென்னன் நாடும் ஈழமும் கொண்ட திறற்
செங்கோற் சோழன் கோழிவேந்தன் செம்பியன் பொன்னணிந்த
அங்கோல் வளையார் பாடி ஆடும் அணிதில்லையம் பலத்துள்
எங்கோன் ஈசன் எம் இறையை என்று கொல் எய்துவதே

Parantaka I was a staunch devotee of Nataraja of Cidambaram. The Tiruvalangadu copper plates of Rajendra I describe him as a 'bee at the lotus feet of Purantaka (Siva)', and aver that he built, in place of the silver mountain (Kailasa), a golden house called Dabhra Sabha. Thus, Cidambaram became Hema Sabha, Hiranya Sabha, Kanaka Sabha or Ponnambalam;* and Parantaka I acquired the title of 'Pon Veynda Perumal' — the great one who covered with gold (an obvious reference to the roof of the Dabhra Sabha or Cit Sabha of Cidambaram). From this time on, Nataraja (or Adalvallan, to give Him his picturesque Tamil name) became the *kulanayakam* or the family deity of the Colas.

(It is well to remember that Koc-cenganan was perhaps the first Cola ruler to be crowned at Cidambaram, and his benefactions to Cidambaram have already been noted. In a real sense, Koc-cenganan may be regarded as the fore-runner among the Cola rulers in adopting Cidambaram as the focus of their dynastic religious loyalty. We refer later to a document in which Koc-cenganan has been described as one of the ancestors of Anapaya (Kulottunga II). (The word Anapaya is itself derived from one of the names of Siva, meaning 'the Imperishable One').

Royal patronage under Parantaka I brought Cidambaram great prestige. For a detailed discussion on the Nataraja cult, in the context of Parantaka I, see Chapter 20 (in Section Two).

The Leyden Grant,** the Tiruvalangadu plates,*** the *'Vikrama Colan Ula'* **** of Ottakkuttan, the *'Kongudesattu Rajakkal'* and Gandaraditya's '*Tiru-Isaippa*' credit Aditya's son Parantaka with the act of covering with gold the Siva temple of Cidambaram. But there are other literary allusions ascribing this very act of piety to Aditya. There is one way of reconciling these apparent contradictions: The gold brought by Aditya from Kongudesa after its conquest was utilised for the gilding of the Kanaka Sabha, and the work begun by Aditya was brought to completion by his son Parantaka, who, in consequence, in all later accounts, is generally credited with the gilding of the Kanaka Sabha.

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* Since Appar has referred to

"தூய செம்பொன்னினால்-எழுது மேய்ந்த சிற்றம்பலம்" in Tirumurai (5.3.8)

Cirrambalam had come to be called 'Ponnambalam' (the gilded hall) even by Appar's time — perhaps from the largesse of Hiranyavarman, "to whom the tiger-flag was assigned by the 'Tillai-Three-Thousand'."

** Leyden Grant. - lines 35-36, verse 17. "Sva-ba[hu]-vi[i] ryavajita-akhil-asa-mukh-opanit-amala-hatakena-samavrinon mandiram-Indumauler- Vyaghragrahare-Ravi-vamsa-ketuh." With the pure gold brought from all the quarters, which were subdued by the prowess of his own arm, this banner of the Solar race (i.e., Parantaka) covered the mansion of Indumauli (Siva) at Vyaghragrahara (Cidambaram).

*** Tiruvalangadu plates, verse 53: "He built for Purari (Siva), Who was before (this) on the silver mountain (Kailasa) a golden house called Dabhra Sabha and (thus) put to shame His (Siva's) friend, the Lord of Wealth (Kubera), by (his) immense riches."

**** "Vikrama Colan Ula": கண்கொண்ட
கோதிலாத் தேறல் குனிக்குந் திருமன்றங்
காதலாற் பொன்வேய்ந்த காவலனும்"

Gandaraditya (A.D.950-957)

Gandaraditya, son of Parantaka I, was a poet of some merit and he has to his credit a *padigam* of ten verses on the Lord of Cidambaram in the collection called *Tiru-Isaippa*, in the Ninth *Tirumurai*. In his hymns, it is claimed that Parantaka I conquered the Pandya country and Simhala, and gilded the Nataraja temple. The author calls himself the king of Koli (Uraiyur) and Tanjavur and says that many gifts of bronze icons and of land and gold were made by him to several temples. Deeply devoted to the Lords of Tillai and Tiruvarur, he was a great *Siva-Bhakta*. He refers to the "Tillai Three Thousand" with all humility and reverence. Gandaraditya's queen, Sembiyan Mahadevi, survived him by many years and devoted her wealth and time to building many Cola temples and endowing many more.

The following extracts will be of interest.

(1) நம்பியாண்டார்நம்பி–திருத்தொண்டர் திருவந்தாதி–இடங்கழிநாயனார்
"சிங்கத்துருவனைச் செற்றவன் சிற்றம் பலமுகடு
கொங்கிற் கனக மணிந்தவா தித்தன் குலமுதலோன்
றிங்கட் சடையர் தமரதென் செல்வ மெனப்பறைபோக்
கெங்கட் கிறைவனிருக்கு வேளூர்மன் னிடங்கழியே."

(2) சேக்கிழார்–பெரியபுராணம்–இடங்கழிநாயனார்
"அந்நகரத் தினிலிருக்கும் வேளிர்குலத் தரசளித்து
மன்னியபொன் னம்பலத்து மணிமுகட்டிற் பாக்கொங்கிற்
பன்னுதுலைப் பசும்பொன்னாற் பயில்பிழம்பா மிசையணிந்த
பொன்னெடுந்தோ ளாதித்தன் புகழ்மரபிற் குடிமுதலோர்"

(3) உமாபதி சிவாசாரியார் – திருத்தொண்டர்புராண சாரம்
"கோநாட்டுக் கொடும்பாளூ ரிருக்கும் வேளிர்
குலத்தலைவ ரிடங்கழியார் கொங்கிற் செம்பொ
னானேற்றார் மன்றின்முகடம் பொன்வேய்ந்த வாதித்தன்
மரபோர் நெற்கவர்ந்தோ ரன்பர்..."

The Middle Colas

Rajaraja I (A.D.985-1014):

The reign of Rajaraja I witnessed the heyday of South Indian glory in all fields of human endeavour, and Cidambaram attained the place of supremacy in the Saivite world. Rajaraja's conquests were wide and paved the way for the greater conquests of his son and successor, Rajendra I (Gangaikonda Cola). Rajaraja I initiated the elaborate practice of recording one's deeds in a *prasasti* (*meykkirti*), and made his an indispensable historical introduction to all documents and inscriptions recording the gifts and endowments made during his reign. This is of great value to historians of South India. Side by side with his conquests went the work of consolidation and efficient administration. A land survey was started and a bureaucracy effective both in peace and in war was trained to administer the extensive empire. He made it a regular practice to build new temples in the conquered countries. The Cola empire under Rajaraja I extended from

Sri Lanka in the south to the Tungabhadra river in the north. He conquered not only Sri Lanka but also the little islands in the Arabian Sea to the south-west of India. Towards the end of his reign, he raised in his capital at Tanjavur an edifice in stone, the Rajarajesvaram temple, which serves at once as an embodiment of the glory of Rajaraja's achievements, a monument to his deep devotion to Siva and as the grandest achievement in Dravidian art in the sphere of structural temples. Rajaraja I was an ardent follower of the Saivite faith and was particularly devoted to Nataraja of Cidambaram, the family deity of the Colas.

Curiously, there is an erroneous impression among some scholars that nothing spectacular happened in respect of Cidambaram or the Nataraja temple during the reign of Rajaraja I, undoubtedly the greatest of the Cola rulers. There is ample proof that Nataraja dominated the thoughts of Rajaraja I.

In the corridor corresponding to the second storey of the *adhitala*(of the vertical wall portion) of the *srivimana*, of the Rajarajesvaram built at Tanjavur by Rajaraja I, there is a set of panels of stone sculptures in high relief depicting 81 *karanas* of Bharatanatyam, out of the total of 108; this would really mark the first (known) plastic representation of these *karanas* anywhere in India. Against the remaining unrepresented *karanas*, there are mere blank blocks of stones. Labelled sculptures of all the *karanas* prescribed in Bharata's 'Natya Sastra' are found in the *gopurams* of the Later Colas — at the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram in the inner faces of the east and west gateways, and at the Sarngapani temple at Kumbakonam on the upper tier.

The four walls of the *garbhagrha* of the Rajarajesvaram temple comprise an inner(*antara*) and an outer *(bahya) bhitti* (wall) creating a narrow gallery between the two concentric walls. Corresponding to the upper and the lower tiers of the *garbhagrha* wall, there are two circumambulatory passages created by the corridor. The upper corridor has the *natya karanas*; and the lower half has extensive Cola paintings, overlaid with later paintings. It is this lower portion that deserves special notice for our immediate purpose.

The vestibule of the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur consists of fifteen chambers. We refer here to chamber no.9 of this series.

Chamber No.9: Rajaraja and his three Queens worshipping Lord Nataraja:

In this chamber, the entire canvas is covered with a panel showing the temple of Nataraja at Cidambaram, the four walls running along the sides of the panel, framing it as it were. We are able to derive a clear idea of the *gopurams* on the four sides as they should have existed in the days of Rajaraja I, i.e., before the present ones came up during the days of the Later Colas. They are very much like the Rajarajan Tiruvasal in Rajarajesvaram, with a broad base and a small *gopuram*. They are found one on each of the four sides. The wall of enclosure is simple and has no *tiruc-curru-maligai*; the Cit Sabha is shown in magnified dimensions to accommodate the figure of Nataraja, which dominates the scene; the dome is similar to what we see now; the Kanaka Sabha, shown respectfully smaller, accommodates Rajaraja and his three Queens; what is noteworthy, among others, is the fine handling of the drapery of the Queens, who are shown wearing fine quality *saris* with lines and dots and decorative designs on them. The legs are revealed through the fineness of the diaphanous drapery.

This panel is indeed a masterpiece of the Cola artist, who was as versatile in handling the human form as in portraying Nature in all her facets. The figure of Nataraja (Adavallan) is exquisite in workmanship and enormous in proportions, comparable in size to some of the man-size bronzes of Nataraja cast in this period, with emphasis on poise and balance. The *dhatura* flower is enchantingly natural, while the cobra wriggles and dangles from the divine body in all its sinuousness and colour; the outline of the shrine of Nataraja is possibly a representation of the Cit Sabha at Cidambaram as it existed then.

The panel in the wall opposite to this also belongs to the Cola period but is much damaged and worn out; however rows of dancing figures are discernible, as also a miniature (Nataraja?).

One of the deities of the Rajarajesvaram was named Adavallan. Weights and measures, too, were called 'Adavallan'. Rajaraja I also earned the title 'Sivapadasekhara' in recognition of his interest in and devotion to Saivism.*

One of Rajaraja's achievements was the recovery of the Devaram hymns. (A detailed reference is made to this event in Chapter Fourteen.)

Rajendra I (A.D.1012-1044) :

The age of Rajendra I, son of Rajaraja I, marked yet another period of Cola greatness and prosperity. The empire reached its farthest limits: in the region of the Ganga to the north, Sri Lanka (Ceylon) to the south, Kadaram to the east (Kedah in the Malay peninsula and the adjoining Indonesian islands) and Mahodai (Musiri of the Sangam age or modern Cranganore) to the west. To commemorate his *digvijaya* (conquests in all four directions), Rajendra I established a new capital at Gangaikonda-colapuram or Gangapuri, a couple of miles east of what is now Jayankondan in Tiruchirapalli district and north of the Kollidam river. He raised in it a palace called Cola Kerala Maligai, and, to match the House of God which his father had built at Tanjavur, Rajendra I built a glorious edifice, Gangaikonda-Colisvaram, at his new capital. With the establishment of the new Cola capital at Gangaikonda-colapuram, Cidambaram became more closely knit with the royal house. Though there is not much inscriptional evidence of Rajendra I's association with Cidambaram, there is a fragmentary inscription embedded in the wall of the modern Navalinga shrine to the north of the Sivaganga tank inside the Cidambaram temple complex. Copper plates now with the Karandai Tamil Sangam mention that while camping at Vyaghra-Agrahara (Cidambaram) King Rajendra made, in the eighth year of his reign, a gift to one thousand and eighty Vedic scholars of Tribhuvana Mahadevi Agraharam, so named after his royal mother, and made up of fifty-one villages, situated in Vira Cola Valarashtra. The chief administrative head of the *Agraharam* was one Narayana of Krishnapuram, who is described as a very learned *brahmana* and a *yajnan*. The Tamil portion of the grant opens with the royal command addressed to the officials, the heads of *nadus*, *nagarams* and *brahmadeyams* and others, on the 107th day of the eighth year of the king's reign. The gift of the village of Tribhuvana Mahadevi Caturvedimangalam is announced from his seat in the hall (*mantapa*) called Rajendra Cola Brahmadhirajan while camping at Perumparrappuliyur (Cidambaram). After the completion of the ceremonial investiture of the *Agraharam*, the gift village was declared as *brahmadeya* with effect from the same year of the king's reign.

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* We have no evidence that this title was conferred on the king by the authorities of the Cidambaram temple, as Venkayya held. This view is also held by Mr. J.M. Somasundaram in his book, "The Great Temple at Tanjore", p.50. The following view, expressed in the revised Gazetteer of the South Arcot District, also lacks evidence: "The temple at Chidambaram was extended and enriched by Rajaraja I, who in consequence assumed the title of Sivapadasekhara."

The structure of the Nataraja shrine as it existed in the days of Rajendra I has disappeared, with its renovation in the days of Kulottunga I and his successors. Hence, we have lost all but two fragments of the epigraphs of Rajaraja I and his successors upto A.D.1070. A fragment of the historical introduction of Rajaraja I, on the east side of the first wall of enclosure, and a portion of the *prasasti* of his son Rajendra I, found on a stray stone built into the back of the present-day Navalinga shrine to the north of the Sivaganga tank, already mentioned, are the only ones that have survived (A.R.E.551 of 1918). Fragments of the inscriptions of Parakesari Rajendra II (A.D.1052-64, A.R.E.610 of 1929-30) and Rajamahendra Deva (A.D.1060-63, A.R.E.612 of 1929-30) were recovered on the platform of the Govindaraja shrine when it was demolished in the course of the reconstruction of the *mantapam* by Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar around 1934.

Vira Rajendra (A.D.1063-69)

The Kanyakumari inscription of Vira Rajendra Cola tells us the that Vira Rajendra (also called Vira Cola and Karikala) made a gift of a valuable ruby known as the Trailokyasara to the Lord of Dance in the Dabhra Sabha at Cidambaram.

The Later Colas

Kulottunga I (A.D.1070-1120) :

The next great epoch in the history of Cidambaram is that of Kulottunga I, an Eastern Calukya prince and grandson of Rajendra Cola I, who, in A.D. 1070, inherited the thrones of the houses of both the Eastern Calukyas and the Colas. Ubhayakula Abhayan, Jayadharan, Jayatungan, Kalippagaiyan, Kulottaman and Rajendran are his other surnames. During his time and that of his successors, the history of Cidambaram is almost synonymous with the history of the Colas.

In the grand epic poem eulogising his conquest of Kalinga — *Kalingattupparani* — sung by his immortal court-poet Jayankondar, we are given a vivid picture of the state of anarchy that prevailed in the country at the time of Kulottunga's accession. Dispelling the darkness of *kali*, Abhaya is said to have come to the rescue of the world like the sun rising above the roaring sea and driving away darkness before it. One of the king's inscriptions describes this event with almost poetic fancy by mentioning that Lakshmi, the wealth of the southern country, had become 'common' because she was ownerless, and the land of the Kaveri had become forlorn because the Cola succession had failed, and that Kulottunga 'put on the pure jewelled crown by right so as to put an end to the "commonness" of the Goddess of the sweet-smelling lotus flower(Lakshmi) and the loneliness of the good earth-maiden who had the Ponni (Kaveri) for her garment.' The Kalinga country was conquered. The Calukyas were held in check on the banks of the Tungabhadra. Sri Lanka was however lost after a bitter fight. Cola rule was re-established in the Pandya and Cera countries. An attempt was even made to re-establish Cola ascendancy, dating back to his grandfather's days, over the Sailendra king of Kadaram. Friendly relations were established with the South-East. A Tamil Merchant Guild established itself there, to which testimony is borne by the Lobe Toewa Tamil record of such a Guild called *Nanadesis*,* found in Sumatra. At home, Kulottunga abolished tolls and was therefore surnamed 'Sungam tavirtta Colan'.

As will be seen from Appendix XIV (Extract from S.R. Balasubrahmanyam's 'Colar-kalai-p-pani'), Kulottunga I, dutifully assisted by his Queen Solakulavalli, laid the foundations for the embellishment of Ponnambalam in the *Saka* year 1018, corresponding to A.D. 1096 i.e., in his 26th year, on Mula star day in the Tamil month of Ani (according to *Peruntogai*).

The six-fold expansion of the Nataraja temple complex during the period of Kulottunga I was a remarkable phase in its history. Vast building activities were undertaken at Cidambaram. Lord Nataraja had already become the patron-deity of the Colas. The original *linga* shrine, known (early on and now) as the *Mulasthana*, came to be known as the *Edirambalam* — 'the shrine opposite' (to the Nataraja shrine), as Nataraja had become the centre of greater attraction. The Mulasthana shrine was renovated in this period, and the inscriptions of the 46th and 47th years of Kulottunga I, originally engraved on the walls of this shrine, were later re-engraved on the (outer face of the) northern wall of the newly-built first wall of enclosure of the Nataraja shrine.

The inscription of the 47th year of Kulottunga I is said to be "a copy of an inscription originally engraved on the opposite shrine (Edirambalam)": it concerns a gift of land by purchase for supplying garlands of red lotuses to the temple (A.R.E. 290 of 1913).

The structure and architectural features of the existing Nataraja temple took their shape in this period. The (innermost) first wall of enclosure of the Nataraja temple (surrounding the shrines of Nataraja and Govindaraja) was called both Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai and Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai. The second wall of enclosure came to be called Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai. The work started by Kulottunga I must have been continued by his son, Vikrama Cola, and supplemented by their General and Minister, Naralokaviran.**

Even though the original *linga* shrine, known as the Mulasthana shrine, has undergone reconstruction and renovation (in the days of Kulottunga I, as pointed out earlier), its location to the north of the Nataraja shrine has given it the appellation 'Edirambalam' (literally: the shrine opposite). In our view, 'Edirambalam' is to be identified with the Mulasthana shrine, which is north of the Nataraja shrine, the latter having become the centre of greater attraction and festivities.

In addition to the reference in A.R.E. 290 of 1913 cited above, there are two plausible reasons why the Mulasthana shrine should be accepted as the 'Edirambalam':

(1) The Mulasthana shrine faces east, though not exactly in the same east-west alignment as the East Gopuram; there is a huge Nandi in stucco (housed in a *mantapa*) directly east of the shrine though separated from it by the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai (second wall of enclosure

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* The word *Nanadesi* has been used by Valmiki in the Balakandam of Srimad Ramayanam.

** It was also called Naralokaviran Tirumaligai.

of the Nataraja shrine). (2) The inscription of the 44th year of Kulottunga I, inscribed on the outer face of the northern wall (Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai or Naralokaviran Tirumaligai) of the first *prakara* of the Nataraja temple, faces the Mulasthana shrine.

There have been suggestions identifying Edirambalam with the *Nrtta Sabha* on the ground that it is located directly in front of the *Cit Sabha*. There is no evidence to support this theory. Some scholars hold the view that *Edirambalam* is the *Deva Sabha*. We do not agree with this view either. Professor K.Vellaivaranar has propounded the theory that Edirambalam is the *Kanaka Sabha* (abutting on the *Cit Sabha*). This theory, too, is untenable, as we shall show in a later chapter.

Nor can we support yet another, extreme, view that *Edirambalam* cannot be identified with any of the existing buildings in this temple complex!

We are firmly of the view that Edirambalam should be identified as the Mulasthana shrine. (T.V.Sadasiva Pandarathar has sought to identify *Edirambalam* with *Perambalam*, which is the Deva Sabha, east of the Nataraja shrine. Perambalam is not Edirambalam or the Mulasthana shrine).

The following stanza in 'Koyil Puranam' by Umapati Sivacarya refers to the fact that the Cit Sabha is to the south of the Mulasthana shrine of the temple.

"நாடரு நடுவினாடி நலங்கினர் தில்லை நேர்போய்க்
கூடு மங்கதனின் மூலக்குறியுள ததற்குத் தென்னர்
மாடுறு மறைகள் காணாமன்னு மம்பலமொன்றுண்டங்
காடுது மென்று மென்றா னென்னை யாளுடைவையன்"

Now to go back to Kulottunga I. In the 20th year of his reign, an embassy was received from the Sailendra king of Kadaram for the issue of a copper plate charter granting exemption from certain taxes and dues on the lands made over to two Buddhist monasteries, Rajarajapperumpalli and Rajendra Cola Perumpalli, built by the King of Kadaram in Solakulavalli-pattinam (Nagapattinam) — vide the Smaller Leyden Grant — and a Cola embassy was even sent to distant China to establish better trade relations between the two kingdoms. Throughout the long period of fifty years of this ruler, the Lord of Ponni, An-porunai, Kanni and Gangai, the temple of Nataraja received the homage of and magnificent gifts from the king, his relatives and chiefs.

Ever since the conquest of the Pandya country by Rajaraja I and Rajendra I, there was effective Cola control over it. This success was due to the wise administrative measures taken by Rajendra I such as stationing a standing army at military stations like Brahmadesam and Kottaru and appointing Cola princes as viceroys, bearing the title of 'Cola-Pandya', in charge of the conquered land. The system seems to have broken down about the time of accession of Kulottunga I in the face of a struggle for independence in the Pandya country. There is evidence of two wars to quell the resistance having been fought in the reign of Kulottunga I. The first was directed against the 'five Pandyas' followed by the overthrow of the Ceras with their bow emblem, the capture of Vilijnam, the destruction of their fleet at Kandalur-Salai and the occupation of the land of the Podiyil mountains and of the pearl fisheries. At Kottaru, sixteen kilometres north of Kanyakumari, a military station was established.

There is a *Grantha* inscription engraved on the outer face of the east wall of the innermost *prakara* of the Cidambaram temple referring to these conquests. It consists of two verses in the *Sragdhara* metre, each of which eulogises the victories of Kulottunga Cola over the 'five Pandyas'. The first verse further states that the king burnt down the fort of Korgara (Korgara durga=Kottaru) and defeated the Keralas. Korgara is probably a Sanskritised form of Kottaru in the present Kanyakumari district. The second verse records that Kulottunga Cola placed a pillar of victory on the Sahyadri mountain, i.e., the Western Ghats. This he must evidently have done after his conquest of the Keralas which is mentioned in the first verse.

The following is a translation of these two verses: (Verse I): Hail! Prosperity! Having defeated the five Pandyas by an army which discharged numerous arrows, having burnt, like straw, the fort of Korgara, just as (Arjuna) the son of Pandu burnt the Khandava (forest), and having crushed the extremely dense army of the Keralas, the illustrious Kulottunga Cola, who resembled Siva in splendour and Indra in might, placed a pillar (commemorative) of his conquest of the three worlds on the shore of the ocean. (Verse 2): (Having placed) a pillar (commemorative) of (his) conquest of the three worlds on the sacred peak of the Sahyadri (mountain), and having defeated the five Pandyas with masses of powerful armies, the illustrious Kulottunga Cola, whose fame is voluntarily sung by the tender women of the Parasis, and who has driven away armies, made the trembling crowd of kings subject to his orders."(See S.I.I., Vol. 1.)

The Sanskrit text of this Inscription (No. 115 of 1888 : E. I. - V, p.103) is given below. The reference to the singing by Parsi girls may be seen in the text of the inscription. Both the *'Vikrama Colan Ula'* and the *'Kalingattupparani'* refer to these events, including the destruction of the Cera fleet at Kandalur Salai. (See Dr. B. Venkataraman's Note in Appendix I)

(१) स्वस्तिश्री।। पाण्ड्यान्दण्डेन जित्वा प्रचुरशरमुचा पञ्चपञ्चाननश्री: दग्ध्वा कोट्टारदुर्गन्तृणमिव स यथा

(२) खाण्डवं पाण्डुसूनु:। विष्ट्वा तत् केरळानां बलमतिबहुळम् श्रीकुलोत्तुङ्गचोळश्चक्रे
शकप्रतापस्त्रिभुवनविजयस्तम्भमम्भोधितीरे।

(३) पुण्यं सह्याद्रिशृंङ्ग त्रिभुवनविजयस्तम्भमम्भोधिपारे स्वच्छन्दम् पारसीनान्तरुणयुवतिभिर्गीयते यस्य
कीर्ति:

(४) स श्रीमानस्तशत्रु: प्रवलबलभरै: पञ्चपाड्यान्विजित्य क्षुभ्यत् क्ष्मापालचक्रं सविधिक–
मकरोच्छ्रीकुलोत्तुङ्गचोळ:।।

But, in spite of these measures, political unrest was not altogether eliminated; there was a second Pandya War in about the 28th regnal year of Kulottunga I (A.D.1098). The conduct of this second Pandyan War was in the hands of Naralokaviran, a General, who claims in his inscriptions to have conquered the Tennavar (the Pandyas), the Malaimannar(the Ceras), and other northern kings (*enai vada-mannar*).

The existence of a Cola palace at Cidambaram during this reign is referred to in a Kancipuram inscription which mentions that 'the king, while he was seated in a hall at Perumparrappuliyur, made a grant, as a tax-free *devadana*, of the village of Puduppakkam to Tirukkacci Udaiyar of Kancipuram' (A.R.E. 68 of 1921). This Cola palace might have existed at Korravankudi, the modern Kottangudi, east of the Cidambaram railway station and contiguous to the present Annamalai University complex. (E.I., XVII, 38th and 46th years of Kulottunga I).

From a Nidur inscription it is learnt that one Kandan Madhavan — styled the Lord of Karigaikulattur, the *vel* of Milalai nadu and the protector of Tondai nadu and a nephew of the chief who had commissioned Amitasagara to write the 'Karigai' ('Yapparungalakkarigai', a work on Tamil prosody) — built a *vimana* of stone, in the 38th year of Kulottunga I, for Siva at Nidur, which resembled the white Kailasa hill, and that, in the 46th year of Kulottunga I, the same Kandan Madhavan constructed a shrine in stone for Sonnavararivar (i.e., Ceraman Perumal Nayanar) in the north-eastern part of the hall at Tillai as well as an enclosed pavilion for the exposition of the *Puranam*. We are further told that a copy of this inscription, now found at Nidur, was also 'caused to be engraved' on the north-eastern side of the *ambalam* at Cidambaram. Unfortunately, neither the original grant nor the said copy of the inscription exists at Cidambaram now.

The above facts are also reflected in 'Peruntogai', verses 1219 and 1218 respectively. These verses are reproduced below:

எண்டிசை யுலகை யொருகுடை நிழற்கீ ழிருத்திய குலோத்துங்க சோழற்
கியாண்டொரு முப்பத் தெட்டினிற் சோணாட் டிசைவள ரித்தளூர் நாட்டு(ள்
உண்டை) நீ டியநீ டுருமை யோடு (மு)லாவின் (சிவபெரு மானுக்)
குவந்து (வெண் கயி)லை மலையெனச் சிலையா லுத்தமவிமானமிங் கமைத்தான்
தண்டழி ழமித சாகரமுனியை சயங்கொண்ட சோழமண் டலத்துத்
தண் சிறு குன்ற நாட்டகத் திருத்தி(ச்சந்த) நூற்காரிகை யவனாற்
கண்டவன் மருமான் காரிகைக்குளத்தூர்க் காவல னிலா வினா னெவர்க்குங்
கருணையு(நிதியுங்) காட்டிய மிழலை நாட்டு வேள் கண்டன்மா தவனே. (1219) - பெருந்தொகை

(ஆ)ரிய யுலக மனைத் தையுங்குடைக்கீழ் ஆக்கிய குலோத்துங்க சோழற்
காண் டொரு நாற்பத் தாறிடைத் தில்லை யம்பலத் தேவட கீழ்பால்
போரியன் மதத்துச் சொன்னவா றறிவார் கோவிலும் புராண நூல் விரிக்கும்
புரிசைமா ளிகையும் வரிசையால் விளக்கப் பொருப்பினான் விருப்புறச் செய்தோன்
நேரியற் கண்டோ ரஞ்சுடன் மூன்றில் நிகரிலாக் கற்றளி நீடூர்
நிலாவினாற் கமைத்த நிலாவினா னமுத சாகர னெடு(ந்தமிழ்த்) தொகுத்த
காரிகைக் குளத்தூர் மன்னவன் றொண்டை காவலன் சிறுகுன்ற நாட்(டுக்)
கற்பக மிழலை நாட்டுவே (ளாண்மை கொண்)டவன் கண்டன்மா தவனே. (1218)
– பெருந்தொகை

Another valuable record of this ruler (No.119 of 1888, Epigraphia Indica, Vol.V, p. 105: see the Appendices) is found on the outer north wall of the second *prakara* of the Nataraja-

Govindaraja shrines. It is an important record in many respects. We reproduce its (Tamil) text below:*

The following important record of Kulottunga I gives three different names, Kulottunga, Jayadhara and also Rajendra, for the ruler.

ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீதிரிபுவன சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீகுலோத்துங்க
சோழதேவர் திருத்தங்கையார் ராஜராஜன் குந்தவை யாழ்வார்
ஆளுடையாருக்குத் தண்ணீர் அமுது செய்தருள இட்ட
மிண்டம் ஒன்றினால் குடிநற்கல் நிறைமதுராந்தகன் மாடையோ
டொக்கும் பொன் ஐம்பதின் கழஞ்சு.
நானிலத்தை முழுதாண்ட ஜயதரற்கு நாற்பத்து நாலா மாண்டில்
மீன நிகழ் நாயிற்று வெள்ளிபெற்ற உரோகணிநாளிடபப் போதால்
ஏனவரும் தொழுதேத்தும் ராஜராஜன் குந்தவைபூ விந்தையாளே
தில்லை நாயக தேவதற்குத் திருக்கண்ணாடியும் இட்டார்
ராஜேந்தர சோழ தேவற்கு காம்போச ராஜன் காட்சியாகக்
காட்டின கல்லு. இது உடையார் ராஜேந்தர சோழ தேவர்
திருவாய் மொழிந்தருளி உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார்
கோயிலில் முன்வைத்தது. இக்கல்லு திருவெதிரம்பலத்துத்
திருக்கல் சரத்தில் திருமுன்பத்திக்கு மேலைப்பதில்யிலே வைத்தது
—முதலாம் குலோத்துங்க சோழன் கல்வெட்டு.

It mentions the gift of a gold water-vessel weighing 50 *kalanjus* of gold and of a mirror by Rajarajan Kundavai Alvar, a younger sister of Kulottunga I, who also claims to have gilded the temple of Tillainayakan (Nataraja). The name Rajarajan Kundavai Alvar was apparently assigned to her to distinguish her from senior relatives of the same name. The concluding portion of this inscription mentions the ceremonial presentation (*katci*) of a precious stone, made by the king of Kambhoja to King Rajendra (Kulottunga I), which was fixed on the cross-beam over the main door way of the shrine of Edirambalam. This gift reflects the friendly relations with the powerful Khmer kingdom (Kambhoja) across the seas. It would appear that by about this time the Mulasthana shrine had been renovated and all the old inscriptions on the walls of this shrine were re-engraved on the outer face of the northern side of the wall enclosing the first *prakara* of the Nataraja shrine.**

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* Also of lines of 5-9 of verse 802 of 'Peruntogai':

"நானிலத்தை முழுதாண்டசயதரற்கு நாற்பத்து நாலா மாண்டில்
மீனநிகழ் நாயிற்று வெள்ளிபெற்ற உரோகிணி நாளிடபப் போதாற்
றேனிலவு பொழிற்றில்லை நாயகர்தங் கோயிலெலாஞ் செம்பொன் வேய்ந்தாள்
ஏனவருந் தொழுதேத்து மிராசராசன் குந்தவைபூ விந்தை யாளே."

** See the texts of the inscriptions, given in the Appendices and the Note at the end of this Chapter, wherein the re-engraving, in the time of Kulottunga III, of some of the inscriptions of the time of Kulottunga I etc, is discussed.

Perhaps the process of re-engraving of the Inscriptions from slabs lying strewn about in the premises of the Mulasthana shrine (Edirambalam) was carried forward after the period of Kulottunga I up to that of Kullotunga III —— a question which has been dealt with in detail in the Note at the end of this Chapter.

In the 46th year of Kulottunga I, Madurantaki Alvar, a younger sister of the king, made a gift of land for a flower-garden and for the erection of a *matha* for feeding Mahesvaras (A.R.E. 117 of 1888).*

Solakulavalli was one of the queens of Kulottunga I. From a Kancipuram inscription, we learn that her full name was Adittan Anda Kuttiyar *alias* Solakulavalliyar (A.R.E. 39 of 1921). Perhaps it was after her that Nagappattinam was called Solakulavallippattinam, as mentioned in the Leyden Grant. There are two verses on the East Gopuram of this place, which were perhaps engraved on it at a later date (A.R.E.173 of 1892-S.I.I., IV, No. 621). They mention that in Saka 1018 (A.D.1096) a village called Solakulavallinallur was established. Another local inscription registers an order of one Vira Pandya Vanadhirayan which mentions a (*tiruvodai*) lotus pond at Solakulavallinallur (A.R.E.320 of 1913). The same village is also referred to in another inscription in this place (A.R.E.341 of 1913).

Tiruvalangadu Urdhva-Tandavesvarar temple:

Of the temples of the time of Kulottunga I, the narration will not be complete without a reference to the Urdhva-Tandavesvarar temple at Tiru-alangadu in Tiruttani taluk of Tamil Nadu, very near Arakkonam and about 60 km. west of Madras.

It is closely linked in legend and history with the neighbouring village of Palaiyanur, about 1.5 km. east of it. One story associated with these places is that seventy *vellalas*, who had given their word to protect the person of one Palaiyanur Nili's husband, performed self-immolation by drowning when the husband was murdered, apparently despite their vigilance. Sambandhar sings:

'Vanjap padutti orutti vanal kollum vahai kettu
Anjum Palaiyanur Alangattu Amman adihale'.

Tiru Alangadu and Cidambaram are two places associated with the *urdhva-tandava* of Siva in His dance-contest against Kali. (A *Purana* describes this legend thus: *'idakkal nitti Arputan Kali torkka adiyatu idu'*: 'The dance performed by the wonderful Lord to defeat Kali, by raising aloft His left leg'). Appar refers to this legend in his local hymns: *"Adinar Kali kana Alangattu Adihalare"*. Sundarar sings of *"Palaiyanur meviya Attan Alangadan"*. This celebrated temple thus dates back at least to the 7th century A.D. Yet another of the Sixty-Three Nayanmar, also intimately associated with this place, is Karaikkal Ammaiyar. When her married life came to an unhappy end, she wandered as a devotee of Siva, assuming a non-human form; after going up to Kailasa in the north, she reached this place on her return and found eternal rest at the feet of the Lord here. In her two *Mutta-t-tiruppadiyams* (Eleventh Tirumurai), she sings the glories of this Lord.

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* "தனியூர் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையாற்குத்
திருநந்தவனப் புறமாகவும் மாஹேசுவரர்க்கு திருவமுது செய்ய
மடப்புறம் நம்பெருமாள் திருத்தங்கையார் மதுராந்தகியாழ்வார்... விலைகொண்ட நிலம்."

This religious centre is one of the five *Sabhas* associated with the Nataraja cult, being called the Ratna Sabha (the Emerald Hall). The others are Cidambaram (Kanaka Sabha), Madurai (Rajata Sabha), Tirunelveli (Tamra Sabha) —— respectively the Golden, Silver and Copper Halls —— and Tiruk-kurralam(Citra Sabha).

In the local inscriptions, Alangadu is described as located in Palaiyanur nadu, in the Melamalai division of Jayangonda Cola mandalam.

Naralokaviran:

The most munificent gifts made during Kulottunga I's reign and in the early years of that of his son and successor, Vikrama Cola, are associated with the name of Naralokaviran. He has been wrongly identified as a feudatory of Parakrama Pandya by the Government Epigraphist, and this wrong view has been further confounded by the author of the Supplement to the South Arcot Gazetteer.*

On page 89 of "The University's Environs, Annamalai University" by J.M.Somasundaram,** Naralokaviran is wrongly described as 'a devout vassal and Chief under Kulottunga III (A.D.1178-1216)'; also, he built the Hundred-Pillared Hall, not the Thousand-Pillared one.

Naralokaviran had a number of names and titles: Sabhanartakan, Kalingarajan, Manavataran, Manavil val kuttan, Arumbakka kilan, Porkoyil Tondaiman, Madhurantakan Ponnambalakkuttan and Arulakaran, among others. From about the 26th year of Kulottunga I to about the sixth year of Vikrama Cola, he figures in inscriptions scattered over the Tondai, Cola and Pandya *nadus* —— Tiruppulivanam (Chingleput), Siddhalingamadam (South Arcot), Tiruppattur (Ramanathapuram), Attur (Tirunelveli) and Nanguneri (Tirunelveli). He claims to have distinguished himself in the Cola wars against Vengi and Kalinga but chiefly in those against the Pandyas and the Ceras. Later in his life, this soldier-statesman sheathed his sword and devoted himself to works of religious merit. Though his acts of piety embraced the whole land, they were concentrated in the main at two great centres, Cidambaram and Tiruvadigai (near Panruti, South Arcot district). His Cidambaram inscription consists of thirty-one Sanskrit verses and thirty-six *venbas* in Tamil. In the Sanskrit portions of the inscription, the following works of merit are mentioned: In addition to providing for various services, the gilding of Ponnambalam and Perambalam; the provision of street-lights and the watering of the main streets on festival days; the raising of flower-gardens and areca-palm groves; the construction of a road to the sea to take the Deity in procession for the *Masi Makham* festival (to the bathing ghat at Killai), of a *mantapa* to house the Deity there, and of a fresh-water tank near it; the construction of a wall of enclosure called after him (Naralokaviran Tirumaligai), with two tall towers, the hall resting on a hundred pillars, for Pasupati and His Consort,* the shrine of the Goddess, with towers and walls of enclosure; the building of a flight of stone-steps for the Sivaganga (the sacred tank); the installation of an image of Sambandhar in a shrine and the construction of a hall for the recitation of his Devaram hymns, the engraving of the songs of the three Devaram hymnists on copper-plates; and the construction of a sluice to a large irrigation tank in the neighbourhood of Cidambaram. Very probably, this last item is a reference to the Viranam tank (Viranarayanan *eri*), which was considered then as almost the northern boundary of the *taniyur* of Perumparrappuliyur (Cidambaram).

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* According to this author, the 1000-Pillared *mantapa*, to the east of the Sivaganga tank, was 'built by a king called Naralokaviran', who is identified as Parakrama Pandya of the 13th century A.D. !

** A.R.E. 190 of 1907, taken by this author as the basis of his conclusion, is an inscription of Kulottunga III *alias* Tribhuvana-vira-deva at the temple at Tribhuvanam (built by him), and has nothing to do with Naralokaviran, contemporary of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Cola.

All these are repeated in the Tamil *venbas* and they further mention that the hymns of the *Devaram* Trio were engraved on copper plates.

The several benefactions of this Cola General, Naralokaviran, are listed in a long inscription found on the third *prakara* wall in the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram; it is in verse form and contains thirty-one verses in Sanskrit and thirty-six in Tamil (SII, Texts, Vol IV). The Tamil portions, at many places, repeat and confirm the statements contained in the Sanskrit portion.

1. The first verse forms a preamble and states that, to describe the benefactions of Manavatara (another name of Naralokavira), to Sabhapati (Nataraja) performing the Cosmic Dance for the welfare of the three worlds and whose form encompasses both heaven and earth, even a hundred mouths would be inadequate, and beseeches the reader to 'hear' them at leisure.

2. The second verse states that he set up innumerable street lights (*vithi-dipa*) to dispel darkness and make the place resplendent as if with eternal sunshine.

3. The third verse says that he provided for watering the streets of the city on festival days (with waters of the holy *tirthas*), when Siva, the destroyer of Manmatha, the Lord of Love, was taken out in procession.

4. According to the fourth verse, he, in his infinite devotion to the Lord, planted fifty thousand areca palms, and watered them as it were with the waters of the Ganga flowing from the matted locks of Siva as they tossed about when He danced. The Tamil portion gives their number as a hundred thousand.

5. The next verse, which is a continuation of the previous one, mentions that he raised a sacred flower-garden (*nandavana*), extending upto the limits of the sea, with trees tall as the sky and full of fragrant flowers; it was filled with the bustle of the gods who came to witness the dance of Siva.

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* மல்லற் குலவரையா னூற்றுக்கான் மண்டபத்தைத்
தில்லையபிரானுக்குச் செய்தமைத்தான் கொல்லம்
அழிவுகண்டான் சேரன் அளப்பரிய ஆற்றற்
கழிவுகண்டான் தொண்டையா ரேறு.

— தில்லைக் கல்வெட்டு நரலோகவீரன்

6. The sixth verse says that he erected a *mantapa* near the sea whose massive waves rolling towards the shore seemed to invite the devotees as it were with its hands; further he opened a broad road from the city to the sea coast for the *tirthayatra* of Nataraja. From the Tamil portion, we see that the *tirthayatra* took place in the month of Masi.

7. The seventh verse says that near that *mantapa*, he excavated a big tank of sweet water which appeared like the heart of the sea, with a large banyan tree that stood near it like a *mantapa*, spreading its branches over the bank to provide shade and shelter to the pilgrims flocking thither for the *tirthayatra*.

8. The eighth verse mentions that he constructed, round the temple of Lord Sabhapati Who took a vow to burn the three cities of the Asuras, a great wall called after his name Naralokavira, with tall towers, on which resplendent flags were flying; the flags flew so high that, when they became hot with the scorching sun so close, they cooled themselves lapping up the waters of the clouds.

9. The ninth verse refers to the same theme as the previous one; and adds that he also built two tall towers reaching to the sky, from which flags flew majestically as if inviting people from different parts to take shelter under their shade from the scorching heat of the sun.

10. The tenth verse says that Naralokavira, whom the poets call Arulakara (the 'ocean of piety and grace'), justified the name by constructing a hall with a hundred pillars, Dabhra Sabha, i.e., a 'little hall', where Pasupati (Nataraja), seeing that it was a place meet for His dance, disported Himself with His Beloved.

11. The eleventh verse refers to the sacred tank in the temple and the flight of stone steps that he built round it, which looked as if it were the path by which his fame was to descend to the nether world. On either side of the golden gateway on the southern side (of the temple), he set up auspicious lamps (*mangala dipas*), which dispelled from the subjects the darkness of earthly life.

12. In the twelfth verse, it is said that the priests of the temple, who performed the worship of the Lord having the Nandi banner, were the recipients of rich endowments from him. Further, he erected a fine hall of gold for the constant recitation of Kumarastotra, a reference to the Devaram hymns of Jnanasambandhar, known also as Aludaiya Pillaiyar (see also verse 26 below). From the Tamil verse, it is learnt that he made the lands in the village of Tyagavalli and others tax-free, and constructed an *agrahara* for the *brahmanas* to live in.

13. The next verse states that he constructed a sluice for the big tank for irrigating the lands of the *brahmanas* known as the 'Three Thousand of Tillai' *(Tillaimuvayiravar).*

14. From this verse, it is understood that he covered 'the Great Hall' ('*mahatim sabham*', which refers to the Perambalam) with copper. The import of the latter half of the *sloka* is not clear.

15. This verse says that he constructed a golden vehicle with the Nandi mounted on it, and on this vehicle the deity was taken in procession during the *Bhikshatana yatra* (the procession of Siva as a mendicant).

16. The sixteenth verse says that a bugle inlaid with gold, intended to announce the arrival of Devadeva (the Lord of Lords, Siva), was presented by him to the temple. The verse adds that, on hearing the bugle note announcing the arrival of Siva, even the hands of Indra automatically folded in adoration over his head, touching his crown.

17. The seventeenth verse says that, for the worship of the 'Dancer in the Hall', he made arrangements for the supply of fresh flowers which bestowed grace both on humanity and on the celestial beings; he also offered gold vessels to keep offerings vying with nectar in quality.

18. The eighteenth verse says that Naralokavira, who knew the essence of Siva worship, gave precious jewels, which were pure and blemishless like the hearts of sages, to adorn the sacred body of the Lord of Dancers, of the Hall.

19. The nineteenth verse says that he made provisions for the offering of the nectar of milk with sugar-candy to the Lord of Gauri, to Whom the celestial beings had (only) given poison to drink. In the Tamil part, Naralokavira is referred to as Tondaiyar-kon, the Lord of the people of Tondai.

20. This verse mentions that he endowed the temple of Dhurjati (Siva) with ten perpetual lamps (*nitya dipa*), lit with camphor, whose fragrance pervaded the whole earth.

21. This verse says that Naralokavira presented to the Lord a water-pot (*kalasa*) and many other vessels made of gold, the brilliance of which proclaimed to the world that unfailing service and devotion to the feet of Hara brought merit.

22. This verse states that he presented one thousand milch-cows to the God in the temple for conducting His *abhisheka* with milk that resembled nectar.

23. This verse states that he set up an image of Nandi (the sacred bull) who, by his constant and unceasing devotion to Sambhu, had obtained His grace *(priti)* and from whom permission to enter is sought by the Lord of Vaikuntha (Vishnu) and the other gods coming there for worship every morning; he also presented to the temple an image of the Goddess.

24. This verse says that Naralokavira presented to the temple many beautiful jewels set with precious stones and also gave away a village, after making it tax-free, to meet the expenses of *arcana* (worship).

25. This verse says that he made a provision of one thousand measures of *ghee* for performing *abhisheka* every year to the God enshrined in the *sanctum sanctorum (mulasthana)* (Tiru-Mulanatha). From the Tamil part it is learnt that the *abhisheka* was to be performed with one thousand *nalis* of *ghee*.

26. This verse states that he set up a golden image of Kumara Tiru - Jnanasambandhar, who drank milk from the sacred breast of Girija (Parvati) and obtained the grace of Sarasvati and danced and sang the praise of Srikantha (Siva), and that he also made provision for the offering of *payasam* (sweetened milk-drink) to the deity.

27. The twentyseventh verse states that he set up an image of Bhattacharya, who was the chief among the *brahmanakula* and who had defeated in debate the adherents of religions outside the Vedic lore and established the Saiva religion on earth. (The word 'Bhattacharya' may refer to a temple priest of that day. Could it refer to Adi Sankara ?).

28. This verse says: he erected a *prakara* and a *mantapa* at the shrine (*Tiruk-kamak-kottam*) of the goddess Parvati, Whose image was adorned from head to foot with fine jewels befitting the dancing hall of Her Lord ('*svapati natanasthana yogyam*').

29. This verse says: he presented to the goddess enshrined in the *Kamakoshta* (or *Tiruk-kamakkottam,* i.e., to Sivakami Amman) of the temple, a *pitambara* (yellow robe) made of gold, the brilliance of which pervaded everywhere like the smoke emanating from the forest-fire (immolating) the wives of the enemies conquered by him, Naralokavira.

30. This verse states that Naralokavira erected for the shrine of the Devi *(Tirukkamakkottam)* a high outer-wall of stone, the tower of which touched the clouds.

31. This, the last verse, states that Naralokavira gave a perpetual endowment for the daily supply of oil and milk for children, to signify the universal motherhood of the Goddess. The poet further adds that this item should receive the first attention of a person who intends to make charity.

The Tamil portion of the inscription gives some further information about Naralokavira: (1)that he covered with gold several parts of the Sabha, (2) that he presented an elephant to the temple, and (3) that he built of stone the temple of *Sudalaiyamarndan* (i.e., He who took His abode at the crematorium), namely Siva, at Tillai.*

So much for Naralokaviran's inscription at Cidambaram, which gives us a wealth of detail on the growth of the temple complex of Nataraja. The Tirukkamakkottam udaiya Periyanacciyar (Sivakamasundari Amman) temple here is a trend-setter and is the oldest independent Amman temple in Tamil Nadu.

It is likely that the reference made to the erection of the shrine of Parvati pertains to the independent Amman shrine, to the west of the holy tank. It has since been renovated. We are not in a position to identify either the Naralokaviran *Mantapa* 'with two tall towers reaching out to the sky', or the hall for the recitation of the Devaram hymns engraved on copper plates.**

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* Nos.1303 to 1324 of South Indian Temple Inscriptions, Vol. III, Part II of the Madras Government Oriental Series CLVII.

** Please see our observations in Chapter 10 on "The Govindaraja Shrine". Parenthetically, it is not known yet what happened to the copper plates on which the Devaram hymns of the great Trio are said to have been engraved.

The Hundred-Pillared hall however still stands. It threatened to collapse some years ago and has since been repaired. On some of its pillars, there are inscriptions with the labels 'Svasti Sri Vikrama Colan Tirumantapam', and the architectural features of some of the pillars confirm their age. There is also a loose pillar containing the name Akalankan, a surname of Vikrama Cola. Thus the Hundred-Pillared hall built by Naralokaviran and named after his overlord, Vikrama, has survived but with slight modifications. There is a similar hundred-pillared hall built by him at Tiruvadigai.

It is not possible to say whether Naralokaviran did all this out of his funds for his own merit, or for that of his master out of public funds. We are inclined to the former view. In any event, the present structure of the Nataraja-Govindaraja shrines belongs to the age of Kulottunga I and his son. The first two walls of enclosure, that is, the second and third *prakara* walls enclosing these two shrines, are known by the names of Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai and Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai respectively. In some inscriptions, the first enclosure is referred to by both these names.

The western gateway, with a steep ascent, leading from the second to the third *prakara* at the back of the Nataraja-Govindaraja shrines, is called Akalankan Tiruvasal, after one of the surnames of Vikrama Cola. The construction of the main gateway of the West Gopuram--the oldest gopuram among the four --- must have started during his time and, in any event, completed before the days of Kulottunga II.*

Some of these building activities, credit for which is claimed by the junior Kundavai and Naralokaviran, also form part of the claims of achievements made by Vikrama Cola in his *prasasti*. One way of reconciling these conflicting statements is to interpret them to mean that Naralokaviran carried out these activities for his master. But it appears to us likely that Vikrama's claim is based on his completing what had already been begun by Naralokaviran.

To sum up : Naralokavira was a native of Arumbakkam and the Chieftain of Manavil, south of the Palar in the modern North Arcot district. From the existence of two inscriptions found at Tiruppattur (Ramanathapuram district), of the 3rd and 12th years of Maravarman Parakrama Pandya-deva, which mention Naralokaviran *sandhi* and Naralokaviran *mantapa,* the Government Epigraphist had made the inference that he was a Pandyan chieftain. This is opposed to facts. In fact, Naralokaviran claims victories over the Tennavar (Pandyas), the Malaimannar (Ceras) and the Vadamannar (the northern kings). So, he must have been a Cola General of distinction associated with these wars, especially the war with the Pandyas. What Karunakara Tondaiman did in the war with Kalinga, Naralokavira must have achieved in the Cola war against the Pandyas; his title of Madhurantakan is significant in this context.

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* J. M. Somasundaram holds a different view, in *'The University's Environs'* , p.47. He writes, 'In point of time, it (the East Gopuram) is the earliest,' and ascribes it to 'Cola Kulottunga II (A.D. 1133-1243) of the thirteenth century.' The dates of Kulottunga II are A.D. 1133-50 (that is the twelfth, not thirteenth century). Apparently, the year has been wrongly printed as A.D.1243. It should be A.D.1150. 'Thirteenth century' is obviously wrong. J.C. Harle, in his *Temple Gateways in South India*, pp. 42 and 66, holds, as we do, that the West Gopuram is the oldest of all the present four *gopurams*. It may be added that this (West Gopuram) is unique in South India as it is the only *gopuram,* as far as we know, which has all its sculptures labelled.

More than for his military exploits, Naralokavira is best remembered for his benefactions to temples, chiefly at Cidambaram and at Tiruvadigai.

Vikrama Cola (A.D.1118-1135)

Vikrama Cola ascended the throne as co-ruler in A.D.1118 and counted his regnal years from that date even though his father Kulottunga I continued to live for at least two (or, according to some recent reckoning, seven) more years after that date. His asterism was *Uttirattadi* in the month of *Ani*. His *prasastis* take two forms, a shorter form commencing with *pu-madu* (or *-magal*) *punara*, and the other (longer) with *pu - madu midaindu*; it is from the modified later form of his longer *prasasti* that we come to know of his benefactions and temple-building activities in Cidambaram and we could date them as having taken place in or before his tenth regnal year (A.D.1128).

He bore many titles, the most frequently used one being *Tyagasamudram* (the ocean of sacrifice/generosity), occurring both in his inscriptions and in the 'Vikrama Colan Ula'. This also takes the variant form, *Tyagavarakara.* Akalankan ('one without blemish ' or 'spotless') is also applied to Vikrama Cola, though mainly Kulottunga I bore this title (Ep. Ind., VI, pp.227-30). Very often he assumed to himself the titles of his father even including the 'Rajakesari', though by Cola practice he was a Parakesarivarman. Mukkokkilan and Tyagapataka are among his better-known queens, the former being the chief, and on her death (A.D.1126-27), the latter became the chief queen. Nampirattiyar Nariyan Madeviyar was perhaps a third queen.

The late 11th and again the first three quarters of the 12th century A.D. were prolific in quasi-historical literature. The court poet Ottak-kuttan who adorned the Cola court during the reigns of the three emperors, Vikrama Cola, Kulottunga II (Anapaya) and Rajaraja II, wrote an *ula* on each of them; he also composed a *parani* (heroic poem) on the Kalinga war of Vikrama Cola. This work is unfortunately lost to us: but reference to this is found in the *Ulas* on the latter two kings.

With the accession of Vikrama Cola in A.D.1118 and his shifting his headquarters from Vengi, that province came under the administrative control of the Velanadu prince, Choda (son of Gonka I). The Western Chalukya, Vikramaditya VI, took advantage of the departure of Vikrama Cola from Vengi and established suzerainty over the Velanadu chief; but this was short-lived, and with the death of Vikramaditya VI in A.D.1126, the region was brought back under the control of the Colas. Similarly, Vikrama Cola re-established, to a large extent, Cola authority over Gangavadi, which had been lost to the Colas during the closing days of Kulottunga I.

Vikrama Cola was a great devotee of Lord Nataraja of Cidambaram. In his 10th year (A.D.1128), he diverted a substantial portion of the revenues of the State to meet the cost of extensive additions to the structures of the Cidambaram temple. Apart from the liberal grants made for worship and offerings to this family deity, he also bestowed considerable attention on the Vishnu (Ranganathasvamin) temple at Srirangam.

The '*Vikrama Colan Ula*' mentions a large number of feudatories who were closely associated with the peaceful administration of the empire. Among them are Karunakara Tondaiman (the conqueror of Kalinga), the General Solakkon and the great General Naralokaviran (Kalingar-kon), the last of whom distinguished himself in the wars in Pandi nadu, Tondai nadu, Malai nadu and Vengi during Kulottunga I's days and who served his master with loyalty, devotion and distinction. Naralokaviran's son was also a prominent Chief in the days of Vikrama Cola, and bore the name of Surai Narayanan *alias* Madhavarayan, son of Arumbakkakkilan Ponnambalakkuttan *alias* Naralokaviran. The Sengeni Chiefs who bore the title of Sambuvaraya were prominent feudatories, whose descendants were to become quasi-independent ruling Chiefs in the Tondaimandalam region as Cola authority waned in the 13th century.

The reign of Vikrama Cola was one of peace and tranquillity, of consolidation of the empire and of great activity in the field of temple-building, which mostly took the form of enlargement or expansion of existing temples. A few new temples also came into existence during this period. But his greatest contribution was in Cidambaram.

Alangudi :

On the walls of the Apatsahayesvarar shrine at Alangudi, a village about 15 km. south of Kumbakonam, in the Papanasam taluk of the Tanjavur district, there is an inscription of Vikrama Cola which mentions that, in the eleventh year and fifteenth day (after accession), seated on the throne in the hall of Akalankan in his palace at Vikrama Colapuram and having resolved (to that effect) after two visits, on the 115th day and the 313th day respectively of the tenth year of his reign, to Perumparrappuliyur (i.e., Cidambaram), the king was pleased to issue an order that, in lieu of royal revenue (*kadamai*) due from the village of Jananatha saruppedimangalam = caturvedimangalam (which was the old name of the village of Alangudi) in Mudikondacola valanadu, the said village should pay old paddy fit for consumption (*ponagap-pala-nel*) amounting to 1,181 *kalams*, 2 *tunis* and 2 *nalis*, 'as long as the sun and the moon endure,' towards the maintenance of daily worship in the temple of Nataraja at Cidambaram. It was further stipulated that the paddy should be carted and conveyed in safe custody and handed over to the authorities of the temple treasury known as "Udaiyar koyil Ponmeynda Perumal Bhandaram", correct to the standard measure of the temple known as 'seppukkal tiruccirrambalamudaiyan'. This order (*ulvari*) was signed by a number of royal officers, and after it had been entered in the account books, it was communicated to the Great (*Perunguri*) Assembly, whose members met in full strength. With the approval of their representatives, the royal order was "caused to be engraved" on the walls of the Tiruvirumpulai* Udaiya Mahadeva temple of Jananatha caturvedimangalam.

An inscription of his 12th year from Tirumanikuli mentions that the king's order was issued while he was staying at Colakkon at Perumparrappuliyur (ARE 163 of 1902). At the request of the king's daughter through Tennavan Brahmarayan and the temple authorities of Perumparrappuliyur, the Assembly of Talacangadu made a grant (in the 16th year of the king) of tax-free land for growing betel leaves for services to the Goddess at Punjai-Kidaram Kondan (ARE 181 of 1925).

In fact, most of the inscriptions of Vikrama Cola after the tenth year mention, as in this case, the benefactions of the king to the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram. From a close reading of the text, one is almost tempted to conclude that, in the tenth year of his reign, there must have been a grand celebration (a coronation or a *durbar*) on his birthday, which was attended in large numbers by his subject princes, who brought heaps of precious gifts (*porkuviyal*) and poured them at the feet of their emperor. These tributes were utilised by the king for the construction of buildings for his 'family god' (*tan kula nayakam*) Nataraja at Cidambaram. Possibly, the tenth year was very significant in the life of Vikrama Cola. He was preoccupied in the first ten years with the task of retaking the territories which had been lost to the empire in the closing five years of his father's reign; and having restored the empire to its original extent, he apparently celebrated his achievement by gathering his feudatories and subordinate princes at Cidambaram and ceremonially accepting their tokens of fealty.

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* Irumpulai or Tiru-Irumpulai or Tiruvirumpulai was another old name for the present-day Alangudi village.

Cidambaram — Nataraja Temple :

Vikrama Cola, who participated along with his father in the closing years of the latter's reign in the various temple-building and other activities, continued the expansion of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram, so elaborately started by his father. It must be noted that during this period the combined efforts of these two rulers and their famous General Naralokaviran brought about a six-fold expansion of the campus of the temple. As mentioned in the earlier paragraphs, he brought these constructional activities to a successful conclusion, which should have been around the tenth year of his reign, and presumably decided to inaugurate the remodelled temple of Nataraja in a fitting manner, to which we have made reference, as contained in the Alangudi inscription mentioned earlier. Vikrama is reported to have given away all the tributes paid to him by the feudatories in his tenth year towards the building and embellishment of the shrine of Nataraja, his *kulanayakam*, the tutelary deity. Among the structural additions he made out of these funds, he mentions:

1) the *tirumaligai* (wall of enclosure round *Ponnambalam*),
2) the *gopura-vasal* (tower-gateway),
3) the *kuta salas* (halls), and
4) the *balipitham*, which he covered with gold.

We are not sure if Vikrama Cola made all these contributions during his reign, or was only totalling up the contributions made during the closing years of his father's by the three of them — his father, the General Naralokaviran and himself (SII, V, 458).

An inscription found at Cidambaram registers a gift of land made by a native of Tiraimur for a flower-garden at Manarkudi-kattalai, a hamlet of Jayangonda Cola Caturvedimangalam. It also mentions another gift of land in Panangudicceri *alias* Parakesarinallur, a hamlet of Perumparrappuliyur, with four tenants, for maintaining the garden and for providing the *mantrapushpa* to the temple of Tiruccirrambalam Udaiyar (A.R.E. 268 of 1918).

An inscription of his fourth year from Tiruvengadu mentions a gift of land made for a flower-garden by the Assembly of Irukkaiyur (modern Erukkur) in Nangur nadu (now in Tanjavur district) to Tiruccirambalam Udaiyar at Perumparrappuliyur (A.R.E. 508 of 1918).

These building activities may have been undertaken by way of completion of continuing construction work on the second wall of enclosure, the gateway of the western tower (*melgopuram*) and the Hundred-Pillared Hall, which had been started on by Naralokaviran, his feudatory and

General. The western entrance to the temple through this second wall of enclosure, which is a grand gateway, was completed and named the 'Akalankan Tiruvasal'. This second wall encloses the Nataraja shrine-complex comprising the Kanaka Sabha and the Cit Sabha, the Govindaraja shrine, the *dhvajastambham*, the *balipitham*, the Nrtta Sabha built during the days of Kulottunga I south of the shrine of Nataraja, the Edirambalam (the original temple of Tiruccirrambalam), the *yaga-salai* and the famous site (chamber) from which the Devaram was recovered and salvaged by Nambi Andar Nambi.

Among his other contributions to this temple should be mentioned the gift of a temple-car to carry the Divine Dancer in procession during the great festival instituted and named the *Perum Peyar Vila* after the king, the laying of a street also named after him, and the gifts of a *kalpaka* tree, a necklace of pearls, and dishes made of pure gold. All these gifts were made on the 15th of April, A.D.1128. The king takes great pride in calling the Lord of Dance, Nataraja of Cidambaram, his *Kulanayakam*. He also constructed a large number of big mansions (*nilai mani maligaigal*) along the road by which Lord Nataraja is said to have been taken in procession for the sacred bath in the eastern sea about eight km. east of the city of Tiruccirrambalam.

In spite of the foundation of the Gangaikondasolisvaram temple in the new Cola capital by Rajendra I, the temple of Nataraja at Cidambaram, which had won the homage and patronage of Parantaka I and other Early Cola kings, and had acquired a halo of glory after the recovery of the Devaram hymns of the Trio during the days of Rajaraja I, began to exercise a strong fascination over princes and people alike, and the special devotion of this royal house to Nataraja reached the greatest heights in the reigns of Vikrama Cola (1118-1135 A.D.) and his son Kulottunga II (1133-1150 A.D.).

By the end of Vikrama Cola's reign, the completion of the first (inner) wall of enclosure, called Kulottunga- and also Vikrama- Colan-tirumaligai, the construction of the second wall of enclosure (Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai), the completion of at least the main Amman shrine and the building of the Hundred-Pillared Hall, at Cidambaram, had taken place. The campus had expanded considerably and was to expand still more in the succeeding decades.

We reproduce below the *meykkirtti* part of Vikrama Cola's inscription :

வாழி வாழியிம் மாநிலங் காக்கத்
திருமணிப் பொற்றோட் டெழுதுபத் தாண்டு
வருதிறை முன்னே மன்னவர் சுமந்து
திருநிறைத்துச் சொரிந்த செம்பொற் குவையாற்
றன்குல நாயகன் தாண்டவம் பயிலும்
செம்பொன் அம்பலம் சூழ்திரு மாளிகையும்
கோபுர வாசல் கூடசா லைகளும்
உலகு வலங்கொண் டொளிவிளங்கு நேமிக்
குலவரை உதயக் குன்றமெடு நின்றதெனப்
பசும்பொன் வேய்ந்த பலிவளர் பீடமும்
விசும்பொளி தழைப்ப விளங்குபொன் வேய்ந்து
இருநிலந் தழைப்ப இமையவர் களிப்பப்
பெரியதிருநாட் பெரும் பெயர் விழாவெனும்

உயர்பூரட்டாதி உத்திரட்டாதியில்
அம்பலம் நிறைந்த அற்புதக் கூத்தர்
இம்பர் வாழ எழுந்தருளு வதற்குத்
திருத்தேர்க் கோயில் செம்பொன் வேய்ந்து
பருஉத்திரள் முத்தின் பயில்வடம் பரப்பி
நிறைமணி மாளிகை நெடுந்தெரு வீதிதன்
திருவளர் பெயராற் செய்துசமைத் தருளிப்
பைம்பொற் குழித்த பரிகல முதலாச்
செம்பொற் கற்பகத் தொருபரிச் சிந்நமும்
அளவி லாதன வொளிபெற அமைத்துப்
பத்தா மாண்டிற் சித்திரைத் திங்கள்
அத்தம் பெற்ற ஆதிவா ரத்துத்
திருவளர் மதியின் திரயோதசிப் பக்கத்து
இன்ன பலவும் இனிதுசமைத்தருளி
ஒருகுடை நிழற்கீழ்த் தலமுழுதுங் களிப்ப

Commenting on this *meykkirtti* of Vikrama Cola, Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri ('The Colas', Revised Edition,1955, pp.344-5) observes:

Gifts at Cidambaram

"In A.D.1128, Vikrama Cola signalised his devotion to his family deity, Nataraja of Cidambaram, by devoting the bulk of the revenue derived in the year to meet the cost of extensive additions to the structure of the Cidambaram temple and of sumptuous gifts to the shrine. The event is recorded in his inscriptions dating from the eleventh year in the following terms:

" 'Out of the heap of pure gold which had been brought and poured out before him by kings as tribute due for the tenth year (after the time) when a gold leaf (set with) royal gems was engraved (with the words): "May (the King) live long (and) protect this great earth", (he) covered (with) fine gold the enclosure, the gate towers, halls and buildings surrounding the shrine of pure gold where his family-God (viz. Natesa) practises the *tandava* (dance), as if the splendid circular mountain surrounding the earth were combined with the Eastern mountain; covered (with) splendid gold the altar on which offerings abound, so that the light of heaven was reflected (by it); covered (with) pure gold and adorned with numerous strings of large round pearls the sacred car-temple, in order that, conferring long life on the delighted people, the miraculous Dancer (viz. Natesa) Who occupies the (golden) hall might be drawn in procession (at) the great festival called 'the festival of the great name' (*Perum-peyar-vila*) of the great (days of) *Purattadi* and *Uttirattadi*, so as to cause prosperity (on) the great earth (and) joy to the Gods; was pleased to build a long temple street of mansions covered with jewels(!) and called (it) after his royal prosperous name; and made numberless splendid insignia, beginning with dishes cut of fine gold, together with a *Kalpaka* (tree) of pure gold. Having been pleased to make gladly many such (gifts) in the tenth year of his reign, (in) the month of *Sittirai*, on a Sunday which corresponded to *Hasta*, (on) the thirteenth *tithi* of the fortnight of the auspicious waxing moon, (he) covered the whole earth under the shade of a single parasol.'

> "We may not accept this high-flown account as literally true; but Cidambaram, the most celebrated of South Indian Saiva shrines, had attracted the devotion of Cola kings as early as the reign of Parantaka I, if not earlier; and after the foundation of Gangaikonda-colapuram and the transference of the capital of the kingdom from Tanjore to that place, Cidambaram rose in importance on account of its proximity to the new capital and the possibility of frequent royal visits to it. Tanjore and Tiruvarur, which held the chief position in the days of Rajaraja I, now took a somewhat secondary place. It seems probable that Vikrama Cola's buildings and gifts in Cidambaram were meant to complete an extensive remodelling of the temple, a remodelling begun by Naralokaviran in the closing years of Kulottunga's reign, and that this Chieftain had much to do with the planning and execution of Vikrama Cola's projects in the holy city. Later inscriptions call the first *prakara* wall of the temple by the name Vikramasolan-*tirumaligai;* and one of the main streets round the temple bears the name Vikramasolan-*tengu-tiruvidi.*" (Reference: A.R.E. 282, 284, 287 and 312 of 1913).

Vikrama Cola's *prasasti* and Nrtta Sabha :

Vikrama Cola's *prasasti* is significant for more than one reason. His reference in this *prasasti* to the 'tirut-t-terk-koyil' and the embellishments effected by him to his father Kulottunga I's creation, the Terk-koyil (Nrtta Sabha) proves conclusively that S.R. Balasubrahmanyam was quite justified in his inference that this Terk-koyil was built by Kullottunga I, and not by Kulottunga III as some scholars have suggested. More importantly, it is necessary to remember that when Vikrama Cola built the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai, he had to encompass not only the Sri Mulasthana shrine to the north of the Nataraja/Govindaraja complex but also the Nritta Sabha on the southern side. Vikrama Cola should have been dutifully conscious of his obligation to his father's memory and to refrain from defiling the architectural beauty of the Nrtta Sabha — which walling it up on the southern side, as part of Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai, would have meant.

When Vikrama Cola determined the alignment of the southern segment of the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai, he must have taken into account the contour of the Nrtta Sabha; and the ground reality of today that this second wall of enclosure built by Vikrama Cola is flush with the southern end of Nrtta Sabha, lends weight to the view that Vikrama Cola, while constructing the second wall of enclosure, would have taken a deliberate decision to close up the southern side of Nrtta Sabha along with its row of pillars and merge it into the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai. This closure of the southern side of Nrtta Sabha cannot, therefore, be a later development. Considerations of security of the temple complex should have weighed with Vikrama Cola in closing the southern side of Nrtta Sabha and merging this southern side with the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai. I am not able to agree with the view held by some scholars that there could have been an 'informal' entry and exit on either side of Nrtta Sabha through which devotees entering the temple complex by the South Gopuram could have direct access to the Nataraja shrine; nor would it be fair to suggest that Kulottunga II or some other later ruler might have closed these gaps on the southern segment of Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai. If such 'informal' openings had been provided at any stage, there would have been considerable resistance to the idea of closing them at a later stage; it would have merely led to sectarian bitterness. An interesting note on the various aspects of this issue, presented by Dr. B. Venkataraman, may be seen at the end of this Chapter.

Yet another aspect deserves notice. The symmetry of the Nrtta Sabha on the north-south axis has apparently been disturbed over the centuries. While there are two niches with images on the western side of the Nrtta Sabha, there are no such niches or images on the eastern side of Nrtta Sabha. One row of pillars of the Nrtta Sabha in the eastern-most part is now missing. Perhaps a part of the eastern wing of the Nrtta Sabha has been sheared off in a subsequent period. A platform in cement plaster to the east of the Nrtta Sabha which leads up to the steps establishes this interference at some later date — perhaps during the Carnatic wars. Luckily, the sculptural beauty of the edifice which Kulottunga I had built remains untarnished. (See Chapter Nine.)

To sum up:

The reign of Kulottunga I marks a significant milestone in the evolution of Cola temple art and architecture. This survey of the periods and achievements of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Cola makes it clear that in the case of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram, Kulottunga I and Vikrama Cola built the first and second *prakara* walls (walls of enclosure : A.R.E. 9 to 58, 1930-31). As already pointed out, the detailed narration of the building activities of Naralokaviran at Cidambaram must be studied in conjunction with the *meykkirtti* (or *prasasti*) of Vikrama Cola, the son and successor of Kulottunga I, wherein Vikrama Cola claims the utilisation of the vast tribute paid by his vassals in his tenth regnal year to the enriching and embellishment of the temple of Nataraja, his *Kulanayakam* (Patron-Deity), at Cidambaram.

In the report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1908-09, the view was held that the (seven-storeyed) *gopuram* and the Hundred- as well as the Thousand- Pillared *mantapas* were works of the Vijayanagara period, especially attributable to Krishnadeva Raya of the 16th century. This erroneous view is also followed by some later scholars. We have the evidence of the inscriptions of Naralokaviran that the Hundred-Pillared halls at Tiruvadigai and Cidambaram were built during the reigns of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Cola. In the Hundred-Pillared mantapa at Cidambaram, there are some pillars containing the label, 'Svasti-sri-it-tiru-mantapam Akalankan'. 'Akalankan' is a surname of both Kulottunga I and Vikrama Cola.

In this age, huge Amman shrines came to be built in several places, adjacent to the original shrines. In particular, the shrine of Sivakami Amman at Cidambaram, with walls of enclosure and adorned with a tower at the gateway, was built at this time. This enlargement of the temple-court paved the way for the complex temple-cities of the future.

The Nrtta Sabha at Cidambaram remained for a long time a great archaeological puzzle. Its age was anybody's guess. More than half a century ago, when epigraphy and allied branches of archaeology were in their infancy, James Fergusson wrote a descriptive account of a few 'Dravidian temples' in his "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture"(1910). Much valuable data have become available since then to enable us to fix the age of at least a few of them.

Fergusson writes thus about the Nrtta Sabha at Cidambaram: "The oldest thing now existing is a little shrine in the inmost enclosure, a porch of fifty-six pillars about eight feet high and most delicately carved, resting on a stylobate ornamented with dancing figures more graceful and more elegantly executed than any others of their class, so far as I know, in Southern India. At the sides are wheels and horses, the whole being intended to represent a car, as is frequently the case in these temples. Whitewash and modern alterations have sadly disfigured this gem, but enough remains to show how exquisite and consequently how ancient it was. It is the Nrittya or Nritta Sabha, the hall of dance."

The chariot-shaped *mantapa* (housing the image of the Urdhva-tandava form of Nataraja) is not the oldest part of the Cidambaram temple. Later, adverting to another shrine in the northern portion of the third *prakara* of this temple, dedicated to the worship of Subrahmanya, which also has chariot features similar to those of the Nrtta Sabha, Fergusson adds: "From its position, however, and the character of the ornamentation, there seems little doubt that it belongs to the end of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century. From its style, however, I would be inclined to ascribe it to the earlier date."

S.R. Balasubrahmanyam got a clue to the age of this class of temple architecture from an important temple in the neighbourhood of Cidambaram constructed in the reign of Kulottunga I. It is the chariot-shaped temple of Amrtaghatesvarar at Melakkadambur, about 32 km. west of Cidambaram, and about 10 km. from the Cola capital of Gangaikonda-Colapuram. At Melakkadambur, an entirely new concept of temple structure was put on the ground. The *srivimana* and the *ardhamantapa* together were fashioned into a complete chariot drawn by horses. This new style of temple came to be known as the *terk-koyil*. This was built in or before the 41st year of Kulottunga I (A.D.1111).

Incidentally, Appar (7th century A.D.) has sung hymns on the Lord of Tirukkadambur and he mentions it in his Devaram (Fifth Tirumurai) as the *Tiru-k-karakkoyil* of Tirukkadambur. It is explained as a special type of temple.

We quote from S.R. Balasubrahmanyam's "Early Cola Temples" (1971), pp.302-3:

"The *ratha* feature of monuments is known as early as the days of Kulottunga I. The Melakkadambur temple was rebuilt of stone in or before the 43rd year of Kulottunga I (12th century A.D., (see my) `Four Cola Temples', pp.47-59). And the *prasasti* of his successor, Vikrama Cola, claims among other works the erection of a *tirut-terk-koyil* (car or *ratha* form of *vimana* or shrine) in the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram, and this should refer only to the Nritta Sabha enclosed by the second wall of enclosure named Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai."

We need hardly add that we re-iterate this view. We shall also have more to say on the Nrtta Sabha in Chapter Nine of the present work.

Kullotunga II (A.D.1133 to 1150):

Kulottunga II, the son and successor of Vikrama Cola, became the Crown Prince in A.D. 1133, and his regnal years are counted from then onwards. Vikrama Cola continued to rule for a period of two more years at least. The reign of Kulottunga II, like the latter half of his father's and the entire period of his successor's, was one marked by peace and a welcome freedom from wars. The extent of the kingdom was preserved as it was after Vikrama had re-established Cola suzerainty over the areas seized from the Colas in the last few years of Kulottunga I's reign; in fact, the restoration of Cola authority over Vengi was complete and effective, as attested by the Chelluru plates. The Western Calukyas, who had temporarily eclipsed the Colas in this region, are not heard of there any longer. The Cola overlordship is attested by the prevalence of a large number of Cola inscriptions of his period in this region.

Kulottunga II continued to rule from the old capital of Gangai-konda Colapuram or Gangapuri. It is likely that he had a secondary and well-frequented palace and capital at Cidambaram (Tillai), which became a centre of considerable attention in the period of the Later Colas. We have already seen the massive alterations and additions that Kulottunga I, his son Vikrama Cola, and their General and Minister Naralokaviran had made to the temple of Nataraja. It is likely that Kulottunga II celebrated a coronation* in this city, as, in one inscription, he is described as the 'king who wore the crown in such wise as to shed lustre on Tillainagar' (A.R.E. 155 of 1902).

This inscription might also mean that the city became vastly improved and beautiful in his time. The renovation of the temple and the city is, in fact, the best-known event of the reign and is explicitly mentioned for the first time in an inscription of the seventh year from Tiruppurambiyam, (350 of 1927, A.R.E.1927-II-24), though a title based on this act occurs as early as the third year.

Apart from these two palaces at Gangaikonda-solapuram and Cidambaram, he would appear to have erected a new palace at Vikrama colapuram, a reference to which is contained in inscriptions (ARE 271 and 533 of 1921) relating to his third regnal year.

From an inscription at Tirumalavadi, we come to know that he had two queens; the chief queen was called Tyagavalli, alternatively called Bhuvanamulududaiyal; the other was a Malaiyaman princess, by name Mukkokkilan(ARE 85 of 1895). We come to know that the Kilur chiefs were wielding considerable authority in the region of the present-day South Arcot district and that they played a vital role in the political activities of this and the succeeding decades.

Kulottunga II was a great devotee of Nataraja of Cidambaram and was a staunch Saivite. In fact, he was the exception to the rule among the kings of the Vijayalaya House and later those of the Cola-Calukya line, who were catholic in their attitude to religion, paying equal attention to Saivism, Vaishnavism and Jainism. But Kulottunga II was almost a bigot, as exemplified by the closure of the worship of Govindaraja in the campus of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram. Kulottunga II bore many surnames; the most frequently used one was Anapaya (an attribute of Siva, 'the imperishable one'); this is borne out by the fact that a large number of old villages were renamed Anapaya-nallur and new villages created with that name; even his Secretary (*tirumandira-olai*), who conveyed the royal orders, was named Anapaya Muvendavelan. In the inscriptions and in the *Ula* on Kulottunga II by Ottakkuttan, the Court-poet, he is called Anapaya (ARE 271 of 1915; 533 of 1921; 346 of 1911; 531 of 1912). In his intense devotion to Tillai Nataraja, he made additions and improvements to that growing temple-complex; he covered the sacred Perambalam with gold and hence came to be called *Pon-veynda-Perumal:* 'the king who gilded (the Nataraja temple)' (ARE 157 of 1902); for the same reason, he also bore the title of *'Tirupperambalam Pon-meyndaruliya Rajakesarivarman'*, as seen from inscriptions (ARE 349 and 315 of 1928-29) from Tiruppalaivanam in Ponneri Taluk, Chengalpattu district (also see ARE Report of 1927-28), as also 'Tribhuvana Cakravartin Kulottunga Cola deva who covered Perambalam with gold'. Among other titles, less frequently used, are Tirunirruccolan (a surname he shared with his grandfather Kulottunga I), Edirili Colan and Kalikadinda-Colan.

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* Verse 8 of the "Candesura Nayanar Puranam" in the 'Periya Puranam' runs as follows:

"சென்னிஅபயன் குலோத்துங்க சோழன்றில்லைத் திருவெல்லை
பொன்னின் மயமாக்கிய வளவர் போரே(று)றென்றும் புவிகாக்கும்
மன்னர் பெருமானநபாயன் வருந்தொன் மரபின் முடிசூட்டும்
தன்மை நிலவு பதியைந்தின் ஒன்றாய் நீடுந்தகைத்தவ்வூர்."

indicating that Tillai was one of the five centres chosen by the Colas for their coronation ceremony. It would appear that the 100- and 1000- Pillared halls were used in later times for such purposes.

His inscriptions display a large variety of introductions or *prasastis*. They are:

Pu mannu pavai	ARE 53 of 1893
Pu maruviya puvi elum	ARE 85 of 1895
Pu meya (mevi) malar	ARE 422 of 1904
Pu mannu padumam	ARE 255 of 1929
Pu mevu tirumagal	ARE 572 of 1907
Pu mannu yanar	ARE 83 of 1895

(Also see: ARE 1913, II, 35).

Ottakkuttan, whose life spanned three generations of kings, wrote an *Ula* on Kulottunga II also, known as the "*Kulottunga Colan Ula*". He was also the author of *'Pillait-tamil*", a poem on this king, rich in diction and imagery.

Kulottunga II's rule appears to have ended about A.D. 1150, giving him a reign of seventeen or eighteen years. He mainly devoted himself to works of piety, most of which took the form of gifts to Nataraja and structural additions to the temple at Cidambaram.

The "*Kulottunga Colan Ula*" on the king and the "*Rajaraja Colan Ula*" on his son, both sung by their great court-poet Ottakkuttan, give particulars of the structural additions made to the temple of Nataraja. The gilding of Perambalam, the erection of the seven-storeyed towers and walls of enclosure provided with inner covered pavilions, the building of the shrine of the Goddess—Tirukkamakkottam, (திருக்காமக்கோட்டம்) "which delighted Her heart so much by its size and its splendour that She did not think any more of the sacred mountain (Himalaya) that gave birth to her," the provision of a processional car and the laying of the four main streets — these achievements are claimed for him in the "*Kulottunga Colan Ula*". The "*Rajaraja Colan Ula*" claims the following additions: Cirrambalam, Perambalam, many *mantapas*, walls of enclosure, altar, (பீடிகை, பலிபீடம்), cloistered hall (மாடம்) and tower, upper storeys, streets, gateways, the shrine of the Goddess and its front enclosure.

We reproduce below the relevant extracts:

கோலத்தாற் கோயிற் பணிகுயிற்றிச்-சூலத்தா
னாடுந் திருப்பெரும்பே ரம்பலமுங் கோபுரமு
மாடம் பரந்தோங்கு மாளிகையுங்-கூடிப்
பொலங்கோட்டு மாமேருப் பூதரமும் போய
வலங்கோட் டிகிரியு மானத்-தலங்கொ
ணிலையேழு கோபுரங்க ணேரே நெருங்கு
மலையேழு மென்ன வகுத்துத்-தலையின்
மகரங்கொள் கோபுரமும் வான விமானச்
சிகரங்க ளாகித் திகழ-நிகரி
லெரிபொற் படர்பாறை யென்னலா யெங்கும்
விரிபொற் றிருமுற்ற மின்ன....
....
....
....
.... சிறக்கு
மிருக்காதி யெம்மறையு மெவ்வுலகு மீன்றா
டிருக்காமக் கோட்டந் திகழ்வித்-தருக்கன்
புனையா மணியாலும் பொன்னாலு மின்ன
மனைய லொருதேர் வகுத்து-முனைவன்
றிருவீதி யீரிரண்டுந் தேவர்கோன் மூதூர்ப்
பெருவீதி நாணப் பெருக்கி.''

– குலோத்துங்க சோழனுலா

''மேய விவ்வுரை கொண்டு விரும்புமாஞ்
சேய வன்றிருப்போம் பலஞ்செய்ய
தூய பொன்னணி சோழனீ டூழிபா
ராய சீரநபாய னரச வை.

– சேக்கிழார்–பெரியபுராணம்–பாயிரம்

சேய பெரிய திருக்குலத்து – நாயகன்
சிற்றம் பலமுந் திருப்பெரும்பே ரம்பலமும்
மற்றும் பலபல மண்டபமுஞ் – சுற்றிய
மாளிகையும் பீடிகையும் மாடமுங் கோபுரமுஞ்
சூளிகையு மத்தெருவுந் தோரணமு – மாளுடையான்
கோயிற் றிருக்காமக் கோட்டமு மக்கோயில்
வாயிற் றிருச்சுற்று மாளிகையுந் தூயசெம்
பொன்னிற் குயிற்றி.

– ராஜராஜ சேழனுலா

Ignoring the slight differences in the two recitals or catalogues of achievements, we may conclude that he carried out the gilding of Perambalam, the construction of a portion of the third wall of enclosure, the East Gopuram and probably also the gateway portion of the North Gopuram (which is claimed to have been built, later, by Krishna Deva Raya and Acyuta Deva Raya: for further discussion, see the section on the North Gopuram in Chapter Nine), the shrine of the Goddess and its first enclosure wall, and the laying out of the four main streets. His gilding of the Perambalam is referred to in a Tiruppalaitturai inscription of his 12th year (A.R.E. 268 of 1903) and also in a Pudukkottai inscription (no.120, Pudukkottai list).

The 'Takkayagapparani' credits him with the installation of a *Sri-pitham* resembling the Southern Meru ('*Dekkina Meru*'). The relevant passage is:

கூட மெடுத்த குளத்தோடு கோபுர
மாட மெடுத்த பிரான்
நீடிய வெண்டிசை நீழல் வாய்ப்ப
நேரிய தெக்கின மேரு வென்னப்
பீடிகை தில்லை வனத்த மைந்த
பெரிய பெருமாளை வாழ்த்தினவே.
– தக்கயாகப் பரணி

By this is meant perhaps the erection of a *balipitham* like Meru or a *Sri-cakram* resembling Meru, and as a consequence the king received the title of 'Sri-Pitham-kanda Periya-Perumal'.

Also, the 'Cidambara Puranam' says:

"பருதிகுலந் தனிலுதித்துப் பரசமய விருளகற்றிப் பரமனாடும்
பொருவரு பேரம்பலமுங் கோபுரமு மாலயமும் பொன்வேய்ந் துண்மைச்
சுருதியுடன் சைவநெறி தழைத்தோங்கத் திருநீற்றுச் சோழனென்று
குருமணிமா முடிபுனைந்த குலோத்துங்க வளவனருள் குறித்து வாழ்வாம்.
– சிதம்பர புராணம்

From the foregoing again we may conclude that Kulottunga II carried out the gilding of the Perambalam and the construction of a portion of the third wall of enclosure which was probably completed during the time of Kulottunga III and named the Rajakkal-tambiran Tirumaligai after one of the latter's surnames. The building of at least the stone gateway portion of the East and North *Gopurams*, and the completion of the shrine of Goddess Sivakami and its front enclosure may be attributed to Kulottunga II.

It is unfortunately true that, in promoting Saivism, Kulottunga II showed signs of intolerance of Vaishnavism. Dr. C. R. Srinivasan ("Kanchipuram through the ages", 1979, p.260) refers to the "only inscription of Kulottunga II (1133-1150 A.D.) at Kanchi", which records the provision made for the maintenance of a *matha* and feeding of Sri Vaishnavas who came to witness the festivals in the months of *Masi* and *Vaikasi*, by an officer of the king." This seems to take something of the sting off Kulottunga II. Dr.C. R. Srinivasan, however, makes it clear that Kulottunga II favoured Cidambaram more than any other centre, including Kanci.

This however, does not alter the position that there is a blot on the escutcheon. Kulottunga II's devotion to Siva found undesirable display in his "removal of the little God (Vishnu) from the courtyard of the Sacred Hall of Tillai and the dropping of this icon into the sea, the original home of Hari".

The two *Ulas* and 'Takkayagapparani' mention this unfortunate episode.

முன்றிற் கிடந்த தடங்கடல் போய்
முன்னைக் கடல்புகப் பின்னைத் தில்லை
மன்றிற் கிடங்கண்ட கொண்டன் மைந்தன்
மரகத மேருவை வாழ்த்தினவே
– தக்கயாகப்பரணி

புறம்பிற் குறும்பனைத்தும்
முன்னர்க் கடலகழின் மூழ்குவித்த – சென்னி.
– இராசராச சோழனுலா

Referring to this episode, Dr.S.Krishnaswami Aiyangar ("Ancient India", 1911, p.319) observed:

"I take the following extracts from the *Kulottunga cholan ula* and *Rajarajanula* regarding the Vishnu shrine at Cidambaram:

புவனி முழுதுடைய பொற்றோடியுந் தானும்
அவனி சுரர்சுருதி யார்ப்ப – நவநிதிதோய்ந்
தேத்தற் கருங்கடவு ளெல்லையிலா னந்தக்
கூத்தைக் களிகூரக் கும்பிட்டுப் – போற்றினமேற்
றில்லைத் திருமன்றின் முன்றிற் – சிறுதெய்வத்
தொல்லைக் குறும்பு தொகுத்தெடுத்து
திருவே திருமாலை
சூட்டத் திருமகுடஞ் சூட்டியபின்–னாட்டு
பொன்னிற் குயிற்றிப் புறம்பிற் குறும்பனைத்து
முன்னர் கடலகழின் மூழ்குவித்த – சென்னி
திருமகன் சீராஜ ராஜன்

"These two passages indicate in no uncertain terms that, carrying out the renovation of the temple, Kulottunga found the opportunity to get rid of the Vishnu image which was obnoxious to his piety. That the Vishnu shrine was what was particularly offensive to this pious devotee is clear from the expression முன்னிற் கடலில் மூழ்குவித்த, which means: 'submerging in the sea, the former house'. This very idea of the author and the same act of his zealous patron find expression in another work, the 'Takkayagapparani':

முன்றிற் கிடந்த தடங்கடல் போய் முன்னைக் கடல்
புகப்பின்னைத் தில்லை
மன்றிற் கிடங்கண்ட கொண்டல் பெற்ற மரகத
மேருவை வாழ்த்தினவே

"It is clear then that Kulottunga II, the grandson of the first of that name, perpetrated this act of pious hostility to the Govindaraja shrine, which led to the establishment by Ramanuja of the shrine at Tirupati town."

(The image of Govindaraja at Cidambaram, pulled out of the temple and cast into the sea by a certain Cola king, called Krimikantan by the Vaishnavites, was enshrined at Tirupati by Ramanuja in a temple he constructed there for Govindaraja — so goes the Vaishnavite tradition.

Incidentally there is a view that the appellation 'Krimikantan' does not apply to Kulottunga II.)

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar made two points:

(1) Kulottunga was keen to find additional space for the expansion of the Saivite temple and so decided to disturb the Govindaraja shrine.

(2) Bigotry and persecution (sectarian intolerance) on the part of Anapaya.

Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri ('The Colas', 1955: Revised Edition, pp.348-49 and 362) points out: "The inscription 363 of 1907 (14th year from Aduturai) apparently opens with a reference to the disturbance of the Vishnu shrine at Cidambaram, and a part of the inscription appears to have been wantonly erased later (as the rest of it is in excellent preservation). The earliest reference to the relative positions of the shrines of Govindaraja and Nataraja in Cidambaram is that of Manikkavacakar in his 'Tirukkovaiyar' (v.86). Several ancient temples appear to have had shrines of both Siva and Vishnu and there seems to have been at one period a deliberate attempt to harmonise the relations between the followers of the two deities, an attempt giving rise to the cult of Sankaranarayana. The sectarianism of a later age proved itself intolerant of the eclectic arrangements of the earlier time."

What S.R. Balasubrahmanyam wrote in his "Later Chola Temples" (1979, pp.50-51) may well be recalled here:

> **"Alleged Persecution of Ramanuja by Kulottunga I:**
>
> "We have discussed such allegations in a previous volume, 'Middle Chola Temples', pp.355-357, and refuted the identification of Krimikanthan with Kulottunga I and the belief popular among Vaishnavites that Ramanuja fled to Melkote in the Karnataka country as a result of his being persecuted by the Cola king, living in exile there from A.D. 1098 to 1122. It is a fact that Ramanuja was away in Karnataka over this period, during which he even succeeded in converting the Hoysala king Bittideva from Jainism to Vaishnavism; the king was re-christened Vishnuvardhana, and his help and zeal enabled Vaishnavism to strike deep roots in that land. But it has also to be observed that Kulottunga I had Vaishnavite sympathies as well and that he, the members of his family and his subjects all made various gifts to Vishnu temples (see Note 3, pp.356-357 of my 'Middle Chola Temples'). We have seen how, according to an inscription at Srirangam itself, of his 11th year, a Vishnu temple was helped out of its financial problems by the local Assembly (ARE 31 of 136-37). Two inscriptions at Srirangam, of his 15th and 18th years, register gifts respectively for the singing of the *Tirup palli elucci* and the recitation of the *Tiruvoymoli*,

and for the singing of the second decad of Kulasekhara Alvar's hymns (ARE 61 and 62 of 1892). (Ramanuja's flight to Karnataka, incidentally, occurred in the 28th year of the reign of Kulottunga I.) Coming to his successors, even during the rule of the most bigoted Cola ruler Anapaya (Kulottunga II), there is mention in an inscription (dated in his 18th regnal year) from Tirukkoyilur that a Chola chieftain constructed the *periya tirumaligai* (the fifth *prakara*) of the Srirangam temple (ARE 225 of 1936-37). In this connection we may briefly consider the supposed destruction of the Govindaraja shrine in the campus of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram, and the submersion of the idol of the 'Little God' into the sea, 'the original abode of Vishnu', as described in the *Ula* on Kulottunga II by the court poet Ottakkuttan. It seems undeniable that from the time of the foundation of the Nataraja cult at Cidambaram, the shrine of Govindaraja in the Terri-ambalam ('Platform shrine') stood opposite to the Cirrambalam (of Nataraja). This Vishnu shrine was closed and worship remained suspended from the days of Kulottunga II to the days of the Vijayanagara emperor Acyutappa Raya (16th century A.D.). We are not sure if the Govindaraja idol was actually thrown into the sea. Could it not be a poetic flight of fancy of a loyal and devoted poet to his bigoted Saivite royal patron? Such acts of vandalism are unknown to Hindu tradition in ancient South India. Even Hindu conquerors from other areas respected the temples in the conquered land, and in fact, even made gifts and endowments of their own to the temples in the conquered territory, as evidenced by the gifts of Calukya Vikramaditya II to the Kailasanatha temple at Kancipuram. Govindaraja worship must have been in a state of suspended animation for about four centuries, till its revival under the patronage of Acyuta, with his strong Vaishnavite leanings."

We revert to the outstanding achievements of Kulottunga II. The greatest of them all is the role he played in inducing the great poet Sekkilar to write for him the *'Tiruttondar Puranam'* or the *'Periya Puranam'*, as it is popularly known. T.V. Sadasiva Pandarathar ('History of the Later Cholas', Part II, p.167) holds that the *'Periya Puranam'* was composed in the reign of Kulottunga III. It is not possible to agree with this view or with his identification of Perambalam with Edirambalam. (Edirambalam, let us repeat, is the Sri Mulasthanam shrine and Perambalam is to be identified with the Deva Sabha.) The same 'romantic story' is narrated in 104 stanzas by Umapati Sivacarya, the last of the four *gurus* or teachers of Tamil Saivism (Santanaguruvars of the Saiva Siddhanta creed), in a work known as *'Sekkilar Svamigal Puranam'* written in the early fourteenth century. We refer to Umapati Sivacarya Svamigal in detail in a later chapter.

Arunmolidevar Sekkilar was a native of Kunrattur in Kunrai valanadu, a part of Puliyurkkottam situated in Tondai nadu. He belonged to the Sekkilar family and to the Vellala caste. He served as an official under the Cola ruler and rose to high rank. He received the title of 'Uttama Cola Pallavan'. He found that the king had taken to the false and heretical work *'Jivaka Cintamani*,' the adoption of which he thought was like choosing 'the husk instead of the grain, the dry cow instead of the milch cow, the desert instead of a cool garden, a piece of iron instead of sugarcane and a glow-worm instead of a lamp'. Sekkilar told the king that the philosophy of Cintamani-Jainism was useful neither in this world nor in the next and strongly pleaded with him to study the Saivite religion and recommended Sundarar's *'Tiruttondattogai'* and Nambi's *'Tiruttondar Andadi'* to the king, who asked for information on Saivism and its propositions. Thereupon the Cola king requested

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Sekkilar to compose an elaborate work on the lives of the Saivite saints, giving him large sums of money and sending him to Tillai. At Tillai, Sekkilar prayed to the Lord for His grace to start the work. The Lord asked him to begin with the words, 'Ulahelam' (உலகெலாம்) . Thus blessed, he took up the composition of his work in the Thousand-Pillared Hall of Cidambaram.

The 'Sekkilar Nayanar Puranam' has this to say on the 'starting off'.

வந்து சூழ நிறைத்த வையிரு நூறுகான் மணி மண்டபத்து
எந்தையார்திரு வருளை யுன்னி யிருந்து சேவையார் காவலர்
செந்தமிழ்தொடை யால்விளங்கிய திருவிருத்த நிருத்தனார்
தந்த சொன்முத லாவெடுத்தனர் தானுவான புராணநூல்.
– சேக்கிழார் நாயனார் புராணம் – பாடல்.

A word may be said about this Hall, where Sekkilar is said to have composed and expounded his *'Periya Puranam'*. It is obvious, however, that since it is located east of the Sivaganga tank and within the third wall of enclosure called Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai (the construction of which was at least begun, if not completed, in the reign of Kulottunga III), the construction of the Thousand-Pillared Hall should have been undertaken and largely completed between the reigns of Kulottunga II and Kulottunga III.

All told, Sekkilar composed 4253 stanzas. This work he called the *'Tiruttondar Puranam'*. The king had been closely following the progress of the work and, as soon as he heard of its completion, he came to Cidambaram and was warmly welcomed by the people. The king saw Sekkilar and looked at his work, and when he worshipped the Lord of Tillai, there was heard, along with the sound of the anklets of the Lord, a divine voice which intoned that the king should hear the *'Puranam'* expounded by the author himself. Accordingly, Sekkilar read out for a year to large audiences, people high and low, beginning from the day of *Adirai* in the month of *Cittirai* and great festivities were conducted for the Lord of Dance, and Perumparrappuliyur looked like the world of Siva (*Sivaloka*) come to earth. The *'Puranam'* was covered with silk and placed in a golden box. The 'Three Thousand of Tillai' offered worship to it and styled it the Fifth Veda. Then it was mounted on an elephant and taken in procession round the main streets. On the procession's re-entering the temple, the *'Puranam'* was placed before Nataraja. The titles of *'Tondar Sir Paravuvar'* -- one who glorifies the Lord's devotees — and 'Tondaiman' were bestowed on Sekkilar. He was also honoured with a 'crown of divine knowledge' *(Jnanamudi)*. The king offered his homage to the poet and the 'Puranam' took its rank as the twelfth canon *(Tirumuṛai)* of the Saivites. This was an epoch - making event in the history of the Tamil land in general and of Cidambaram in particular.

This great event along with the king's coronation at Cidambaram added lustre to the city. In later times, the Thousand-Pillared Hall (*Mantapa* or *Sabha*) came to be called also by the name Raja Sabha. We have already referred to an inscription (from Tirumanikuli belonging to his eighth year) which describes Kulottunga II thus: *'Tillaimanagar Sirappudaittaga Tirumudi-sudiya Sri Kulottunga Coladevar'*, that is, 'Kulottunga who crowned himself so as to shed lustre on Tillaimanagar'. From the *'Kurruva Nayanar Puranam'*, we learn that the 'Tillai Three Thousand' declared that the illustrious Cola kings alone were entitled to the privilege of being crowned by them at Tillai and on that score, denied this honour to a Chief of Kalandai (who later became a Saiva saint), in spite of his claim to extensive conquests. As the *'Candesvara Nayanar Puranam'* mentions, Tillai was one of the coronation centres of the Cola kings. It would appear that in later times the Hundred - and Thousand-Pillared Halls were used for the coronations of kings.

This close association of Anapaya with Cidambaram is reflected in a Sanskrit inscription found at Tiruvarur, wherein he describes himself as "a bee at the lotus feet of Natesa of the Golden Hall at Vyaghra agrahara (Cidambaram)" - (ARE 73 of 1890; SII, IV, No.397): *"Vyaghragrahara-vara-Hema-sabha-Natesa-padaravindamadhuyobhyanapaya-nama."*

Such was the glorious age of Anapaya at Cidambaram. But the one discordant note in this magnificence of achievement is the spirit of religious intolerance the king displayed and the consequent sectarian prejudices it engendered.

Conclusions:

Fergusson assigned the age of the Thousand-Pillared *Mantapa* to the sixteenth century A.D. The Archaeological Department (H. Krishna Sastri) held that the Hundred- and Thousand - Pillared *Mantapas* were the work of Vijayanagara rulers, especially Krishna deva raya.

We shall consider the age of the Thousand-Pillared *Mantapa* at Cidambaram. Kulottunga I, his son Vikrama Cola and their soldier-statesman-philanthropist, Naralokaviran, enlarged the Nataraja temple-complex six-fold. The two inner walls of enclosure with at least the West Gopuram gateway in the third wall of enclosure, the Hundred-Pillared *Mantapa* and the main sanctum of the Amman shrine were built during their period. The Amman shrine must have been completed during the time of Kulottunga II. Kulottunga III claims the construction of a *mukha-mantapa* and a *gopuram*. The Later Pallava Kopperunjingan also made a contribution to the *gopurams* — we do not know the exact nature of his additions, apart from the South *gopuram*. As we shall explain in Chapter Nine, the complete structure of the West Gopuram and at least the two-tier stone gateways of the other three Gopurams are the contributions of the Later Colas.

Kulottunga II is credited with the help rendered to Sekkilar for composing and expounding his *'Periyapuranam'* in this Thousand-Pillared Hall. This great classic recorded its *imprimatur* in this Hall. It may be stated that this Hall lies east of the Sivaganga tank, for which stone steps were provided by Naralokaviran. It is in the third *prakara* of the enlarged Nataraja temple, enclosed within the third wall of enclosure called Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai after Kulottunga III's surname and adorned on all four sides by seven-storeyed *gopurams*. The West Gopuram had been completed and the foundation laid for the East and North Gopurams by the time of Vikrama Cola; so the Thousand-Pillared Hall must have received the attention of the Cola kings before Kulottunga II's time. The South Gopuram was built by the Pallava Kopperunjingan in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D., the details of which are dealt with in Chapters Five and Nine.

Umapati Sivacariyar (A.D.1244-1320), one of the *gurus* of the Saiva Siddhanta school, has written a poem on the life of Sekkilar. He mentions the existence of the Thousand-Pillared *mantapa* *(Aiyiru-nuru-kal-mani-mantapam)*, where the *Periya-puranam* was expounded.

Anapaya's full attention and the huge material resources of a rich and prosperous empire were devoted to embellishing and enriching the noblest of temples of the Tamil land from the point of view of the Saivites. And so it is not unlikely — though we would wish for more positive evidence — that the Thousand-Pillared *Mantapa* was completed, or at least nearly so during the reign of Kulottunga II. Cidambaram was his *Bhuloka Kailasam* (Heaven on earth). It may be added that the dance-pose sculptures on the basement of the Amman (Sivakami) temple and the Thousand-Pillared *mantapa* have close affinity.

We now essentially reproduce the section on "the date of the *Periya Puranam*", from 'The Cholas'(1977) by N. Sethuraman of Kumbakonam, whose recent researches into Cola and Pandyan history have given us several interesting and important insights.*

> **Date of the 'Peria Puranam':**
>
> Kulottunga II ascended the throne in June 1133. Sekkilar, the Saiva Samayacarya, lived during his reign. He composed the Tamil epic *'Peria Puranam'* which tells the story of the sixty-three Nayanmars. The poem is not only classical and religious, but in Tamil literature it is also the first attempted history, which is also useful in the study of epigraphy. Let us try to ascertain when Sekkilar wrote the *Periyapuranam*. Umapati Sivam (in 1313 A.D.) wrote the life story of Sekkilar. In his poem 'Sekkilar Puranam', he gives a graphic picture of the circumstances under which the *Peria Puranam* was written. His version is as follows:
>
> During the early years of his reign, King Anapaya (another name of Kulottunga II) was not much interested in *Devaram*, *Tirumurai* and the stories of the sixtythree Nayanmars. He spent his early days in reading other classics. Sekkilar, the Chief Minister of Anapaya, advised the king to take interest in the stories of the Nayanmars. The king then requested the minister to write out the grand epic of the Nayanmars. Sekkilar started writing the volume, and the king used to enquire about the progress of the work. When the king came to know that the epic was completed, he went to Cidambaram, prostrated before Sekkilar and requested him to release the great epic at the temple itself. Sekkilar started his first address on the day of Ardra in the month of Cittirai, the birthday of Thirujnana Sambandhar. He addressed the audience (king, officers and the public) and explained the salient features of the 4253 poems of the epic. It took one year for Sekkilar to complete the exposition. He delivered his final discourse in the next year on the next birthday of Thirujnana-Sambandhar. The king was greatly influenced by the epic, which changed his mind and religious attitudes. He became a devotee of Lord Nataraja. He started worshipping the Devaram Trio and the Nayanmars. The king gave the title "Uttama Cola Pallavarayan" and also many presents to Sekkilar. With these presents, Sekkilar built the temple of Tirunagesvaram at Kundrattur.
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> Sekkilar refers to the king by two names, namely, Anapaya and Kulottunga (Stanza 8 of the *Candesar Puranam*). Sekkilar says that king Anapaya gilded the temple at Cidambaram.

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* N. Sethuraman, a well-known businessman of Kumbakonam, has distinguished himself in recent decades by his valuable contributions to our understanding of South Indian History, particularly of the Colas and the Pandyas. A valued friend of our family, deeply attached to my father, he has permitted us to reproduce this extract on 'The Date of Periapuranam' from his book 'The Colas'. We appreciate the courtesy.

(Literature and inscriptions confirm the name Anapaya for Kulottunga II). His 7th year Tiruppurambiam inscription (350/1927) describes him as the king who gilded the Cidambaram temple. His 7th year begins in June, 1139. Therefore he must have completed the gilding operation early in 1139. Since this act of the king is mentioned by Sekkilar at the very beginning of the epic, he must have started his exposition after this event (early 1139) on the day of the star Ardra in the month of Cittirai. This corresponds to 4th April 1139 which was a Saturday. Sekkilar continued his discourses for one year and delivered the valedictory address on the next Cittirai Ardra. This falls on 22nd April 1140, and it was a Monday. To sum up, on Saturday the 4th April 1139, Sekkilar's first exposition on *Peria Puranam* was delivered at Cidambaram. It was completed on Monday, the 22nd April 1140. According to Umapati Sivam, the king's attitude changed after hearing the discourses. Inscriptions confirm this conclusion. *Peria Puranam* begins with a description of the glory of Tiruvarur city. Then the poem tells the story of Sundarar, his consort Paravai, Sambandhar, Appar and other Saiva Nayanmars. As per inscription S.I.I., Vol.VII, No.485, we find that Kulottunga II did certain benefactions in his 7th year (1139-40) at Tiruvarur, which confirm the change in his attitude. In the period 1139 June to 1140 June, he beautified the Tiruvarur temple. He donated lands and money for daily worship of the images of Sundarar and his consort Paravai. He gifted a village to the temple for conducting the festivals relating to Sundarar and named the village as Anapaya Nallur (after his name). He gave a huge amount of money, gold, lands etc. to the temple and arranged for several festivals for Sammandar and Appar to be conducted every year. The value of the gifts is colossal. No other king has donated so much of wealth to the temple as was done by Kulottunga II. Above all, it is the earliest inscription which furnishes a graphic account of how the three Thevaram Nayanmars are to be worshipped.

What a change in the life of Kulottunga II after hearing Periapuranam! He calls himself a "bee at the lotus feet of Lord Nataraja of Cidambaram"! We have already found that Periapuranam was completed in 1140 April. After this date we find Kulottunga II, in his 8th year (1140-41) inscription of Thirumanikuli (S.I.I., VII, 780), described as the king whose crowning raised the greatness of Chidambaram.*

Srivanciyam inscription No. 229/1938-39 belongs to Kulottunga III year 25 corresponding to 1203 A.D. From this record we come to know that Kulottunga set up an image of Sekilar and arranged for daily Poojas and worship. Chidambaram inscription 313/1958-59 belongs to Kulottunga III year 8 corresponding to A.D.1185. The record states that the temple garden was named, "Thondar Seer Uraithar Nandavanam" in memory of Sekilar. "Thondar Seer Uraithar" is the surname of Sekilar. Thus it is evident that Sekilar was no more in 1185. Probably he attained the lotus feet of Lord Nataraja between A.D.1163 and 1185.

This concludes N. Sethuraman's account of the composition of the *Periya Puranam*.

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* தில்லைத்திருநகர் சிறப்புடைத்தாகத் திருமுடி சூடிய ஸ்ரீ குலோத்துங்க சோழதேவற்கு..

Explanatory Note:

The Archaeological Survey of India Report for 1908-09 held that "the high towers of most of the famous temples of the South must have been built in the time of Krishna (Deva) Raya, as also the picturesque and extensive additions known generally as the Hundred-Pillared and Thousand-Pillared *mantapas*. We frequently hear of a Rayar *gopuram*, which means the 'tower of Rayar' (perhaps Krishna Raya). It is not possible at this stage of epigraphical research to say how many temples were benefitted thus by Krishna Raya's charities. It may be presumed that his liberal hand was practically extended to the whole of the empire."

The revised Gazetteer of Mysore (Vol.II, Part 3, p.1879) follows this erroneous lead and says, "Mr. Krishna Sastri has suggested that most of the big *gopurams* of the more famous temples in South India must have been built in the time of Krishna Deva Raya, as also additions generally known as Hundred - or Thousand' - Pillared *mantapas*. The Rayar *gopurams* (or the towers of Raya, Krishna Deva Raya being pre-eminently the greatest of the kings entitled Raya) at the different shrines of the South may thus be set down to his munificence." See also the Remarks in the Revised South Arcot District Gazetteer: "And many of the *Rayagopurams* and hundred-pillared and thousand-pillared *mantapas* of the famous South Indian temples must have been built in his (Krishna Deva Rayar's) time."

Gopurams with modest towers are found at least as early as in the days of Aditya I, but they are shorter than the *vimanas*. Tall towers appear to have begun in the days of Vikrama Cola. The *Kulutunga Solan Ula* in honour of Kulottunga II clearly mentions the construction of the gopurams with seven tiers (Elu-Nilai-gopuram) and we know that he constructed at least the West tower of Cidambaram if not also the gateway portion of the East and North towers.

About the Hundred-Pillared Hall, we have undisputed evidence that Naralokaviran (the feudatory of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola) built two such halls, one at Tiruvadigai and the other at Cidambaram, as already seen earlier and as the following inscription (A.R.E. 120 of 1888) shows:

மல்லற் குலவரையான் நூற்றுக்கால் மண்டபத்தே(தைத்)
தில்லைப் பிரானுக்குச் செய்தமைத்தான் - கொல்லம்
அழிவு கண்டான் சேரன் அளப்பரிய ஆற்றற்
கிழிவு கண்டான் தொண்டையார் கோனேறு.

Kulottunga III (A.D.1178-1216):

The period of nearly a century after Kulottunga II marks the decline of the Colas. The rebirth of Pandyan power, the involvement in the civil war in the southern region and the rise of an old rival in the person of the Pallava Kopperunjinga strained Cola power to the utmost, and Kulottunga III was the last great ruler of this house. He waged three wars against the Pandyas and also conquered Sri Lanka and Kongu Nadu. He takes the title of 'one who took Madurai, Ilam (Ceylon), Karuvur, and the crowned head of the Pandya king', and after his third Madurai campaign late in his reign, he assumed the title of 'Tribhuvana-Viradeva'. Towards the twilight of his life and reign he had to bow, after a bitter and desperate struggle, to the inevitable storm that ravaged the empire. During his reign of nearly forty years, Cidambaram received his boundless benefactions and, in an inscription found in the temple of Tribhuvana Isvaram at Tribhuvanam — named after his title of Tribhuvana Viradeva — he enumerates his victories and his temple-building activities (A.R.E. 190 of 1907). Kulottunga III has been described as *Eka-Bhakta* (single-minded devotee of Lord Nataraja). See inscriptions Nos. A.R.E. 191, 192 of 1908. Among other works, he claims that he built at Cidambaram the *mukhamantapa* of Sabhapati and the *gopuram* and the golden *harmya* (enclosing verandahs) of the Goddess Girindraja (Sivakami Amman). The inscription also asserts that his fame spread over heaven and earth in emulation, as it were, of Vishnu who bestrode the world in his incarnation as Trivikrama. The space of the three worlds, it is suggested, was found far too inadequate to contain his fame. The *mukhamantapa* of Sabhapati is no longer in existence.*

The *gopuram* and the second wall of enclosure around the Amman shrine must also have been added in his time. Kulottunga III had among others the title of 'Rajakkal Tambiran'; and the third wall of enclosure of the Nataraja temple in line with the four main *Gopurams* is known as the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai; thus a large part of this enclosure must have been built, if not completed, in his reign, as the contour was clearly set by that time. Two related documents of this king are found on the north wall of the temple of Tirukkalancedi Udaiyar at Panangudicceri *alias* Parakesarinallur, a hamlet of Cidambaram — the modern Brahmapurisvara temple (Bhimesvaram of the inscriptions) at Singarattoppu, about three kms. north-west of the Nataraja temple and the home of Maraijnana Sambandha Sivacarya, and the third Santana Guruvar of the Saiva Siddhanta lineage and the *guru* of Umapati Sivacarya (A.R.E. 263 and 262 of 1913). The first was issued in the second year and 121st day of Tribhuvana Cakravartin Rajadhirajadeva *alias* Karikala Coladeva** and, at the request of one Vaidumbarayan, an order of the king was issued by one Villavarayan; the second states that from the second year and 125th day of Kulottunga III as per an order of the king, the assessed lands (*taramperra nilam*) standing in the name of the Subrahmanya Pillaiyar shrine in the Arunmoli-Isvaram temple of this village were to be included with those of the latter, the lands declared superior to the eighth class assessed as per those of the eighth class and those below the eighth class allowed to continue as before, and that the site of the temple of Tiruttondattogai-Isvaram Udaiyar, its enclosure, premises and the sacred tank, till now included in the account of assessed land were to be removed from that register. The order was executed by the land survey committee (*nilam alavu-pada perumakkal*) of the Assembly of Perumparrappuliyur. The powers enjoyed by the local bodies and their committees in the matter of land survey and assessment are well brought out in these two records.

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* I have endeavoured to explain in Chapter Ten how the said *mukhamantapa* could have been obliterated in the vicissitudes of the temple's history; also dealt with there are other postulations on this *mantapa.*

** Rajadhiraja II : vide "Later Cola Temples" by S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, p.268, re. these surnames.

A daughter of Kulottunga I ("Sungam tavirtta" : 'one who abolished tolls') called Ammangai Alvar *alias* Periya Nacciyar, makes a gift for a flower garden in the fifth year and 350th day of Kulottunga III (called here Virarajendra Deva). In the 12th year and 125th day of this king, a certain Sendamangalam Udaiyar Araiyan Edirili Colan *alias* Irungolan bought the necessary land for the temple of Vikramacolisvaram Udaiyar at Parakesarinallur, which had been founded by him. The king, it is said, ordered the assessment of this temple land to be deducted from the temple accounts of the village, and the deed was ordered to be engraved on the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai of the Aludaiyar temple, i.e., the temple of Nataraja (A.R.E.309 of 1913). An inscription from Singarattoppu, a suburb of Cidambaram, dated in his 17th year, records a gift of 1100 kasu to cover the expenses of oil, wick and the lighting charges for a lamp in the temple of Tirukkalancedi Udaiyar at Perumparrappuliyur (A.R.E. 264 of of 1913). It is stipulated that the persons with whom the capital amount was deposited for this endowment should produce it every fifth year before the *mulaparushaiyar*, the *sthanika* and the managers of the temple. Perhaps, such a requirement was necessary owing to the general want of confidence in the people in view of the unsettled state of the country. An inscription of the 39th year, 224th day of Tribhuvana Viradeva registers an endowment for the supply of two hundred red lotuses(*sengalunir*) per day, and incidentally records that an earlier document recording another gift by the same individual had worn out and was therefore also caused to be inscribed on the same wall.* We revert to the same inscription in one of the subsequent paragraphs.

Most of the other inscriptions relate to endowments for flower gardens for Nataraja.**

There is an inscription of the 16th year and 224th day of Kulottunga III (on the north face of the second wall of enclosure), which refers to a gift of land made for a flower garden and the maintenance of its servants (A.R.E. 311 of 1913). The servants of the garden were exempted from certain services usual to *nibandhakarars*. The land, when measured, was found to be in excess of the entry in the revenue records and the revenue officers were ordered to correct their figures in the register. The royal secretary was one Rajanarayana Muvendavelan.

Another grant was also made for a flower garden and for the maintenance of four servants (A.R.E.310 of 1913, 21st year, 6th day of Kulottunga III). The land in excess of the recorded measurements was transferred to the temple and deducted from the village accounts.

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* இது ஜீர்ண்ணிக்கையாலே இப்படியும் கல் வெட்டியது. (A.R E 284 of 1913)

** S.R. Balasubramanyam has given us a list of these: 260 of 1913: 6th year; uncopied: 7th year and 11th year, 125th day; 311 of 1913: 16th year, 224th day; 265 of 1913: 20th year, 121st day; 310 of 1913: 21st year, 6th day; 273 of 1913: 32nd year, 160th day; 298 of 1913: 34th year, 45th day; 313 of 1913: 34th year, 52nd day; 314 of 1913: 39th year; 284 of 1913: 39th year, 224th day.

A flower garden called 'Ponnambalakkuttan' was formed in Koyilpundi, a hamlet of Perumparrappuliyur for the temple of Aludaiyar (Nataraja), being so named after the donor Ponnambalakkuttan *alias* Nandipanman. The donor also provided for its upkeep another gift of land at Serundimangalam, a hamlet of Tyagavalli-Caturvedimangalam in Merku Nadu. At the request of the donor, details of the gifts were ordered to be engraved on the walls of the Nataraja temple (south side, first *prakara* wall: A.R.E. 273 of 1913 of Kulottunga III's 32nd year and 160th day).

On the north side of the second *prakara* wall, there is an inscription of the 34th regnal year and 45th day of Kulottunga III (A.R.E. 298 of 1913). It mentions that a gift of land for a flower garden was made to the temple of Nataraja by two Chiefs, Pottappiccolan and Karanai Vilupparaiyan, and, at their request, the gift deed was ordered to be preserved in the temple treasury and the text of the grant engraved on the temple walls. It is a matter for some satisfaction that, while the original title deed is lost, its copy on the walls of the temple is preserved.

Another inscription, of the 34th regnal year and 52nd day of Kulottunga III (north side of the second *prakara* wall : A.R.E. 313 of 1913) concerns a gift of land for a flower garden. It was stipulated that the four servants of the garden were to supply certain specified kinds of flowers —*iruvacci*, *malligai* and *nandiyavattai* — to the temple regularly and that other kinds of flowers were to be supplied if and when these specified flowers were not available.

Lands were granted by one Lankesvaran of Kiliyur for providing two hundred red lotuses to the Nataraja temple and for the maintenance of the persons who were to supply them. Three officers of the king — Tondaiman, Tiruvaiyar-udaiyan and Madhurantaka Brahmamarayan — ordered that details of this gift be recorded on the walls of the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai (the second wall of enclosure). Neriyudaiccola Muvendavelan is stated to be the *tirumandira olai* (chief royal secretary). This inscription, of the 39th year and 224th day, adds that the text of an earlier grant for a flower garden made in the 34th regnal year and 52nd day of the same king had worn out and that it was also to be engraved. It brings out forcefully the care and the respect the Cola administration had for benefactions to temples, their enlightened public spirit and an awareness of the historical value of these endowments (north side, second wall of enclosure, A.R.E. 284 of 1913).

Another gift of land for a flower-garden made to the temple of the Goddess is recorded in an inscription of the 39th regnal year of Kulottunga III. Incidentally, this inscription refers to a transaction which had taken place in the 33rd year of the same king (A.R.E. 314 of 1913).

From a Jambukesvaram inscription we learn of the existence of a hall of nobles in front of the entrance called Kulottunga Colan Tiruvasal of the palace at Perumparrappuliyur (A.R.E. 112 of 1910).

The old inscriptions on the walls of the 'Edirambalam' shrine were reengraved, under the orders of a certain Tondaiman, on the Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai. It is likely that this person was an important royal official of Kulottunga III. Elaborate precautions were taken in the past for re-copying inscriptions on old structures that were in need of renovation. Accurate copies of them were to be taken under the orders of the local bodies and in the presence of royal officers and they were then to be re-engraved on the new walls, true to the original.*

A dispute as to the title of land, between the trustees of a temple and an individual who purchased it in public auction, was decided in a case at Tirumalam, perhaps in his reign — 17th year of a certain ruler who is described only by his title, 'Konerinmeykkondan' (a surname of Kulottunga, as we know). The buyer stated that he purchased the lands in public auction as Rajarajapperuvilai (in the days of Rajaraja II) in the presence of Vanadhiraja Nolambadhiraja, Kacciya Raya and Palandiva Raya when they had assembled in the Kulottunga Colan Tiruvasal in his palace at Perumparrappuliyur; and he also produced the documents to prove his title. The trustees, it is said, also produced evidence to show that the temple had purchased those lands in the fourth year of Rajaraja II and was in possession of them till the 13th year of Kulottunga III. Finally the case was decided in favour of the trustees.

Rajaraja III (A.D.1216-1246):

Kulottunga III's successor was Rajaraja III, who had the misfortune of being defeated, taken prisoner and kept in custody at Sendamangalam (South Arcot district) by the Later Pallava king, Kopperunjinga Deva and, thanks to the intervention of the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra, he was released, but the empire never recovered from this rude shock on the one hand and on the other from the Pandyan aggression under the illustrious Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (accession, A.D. 1251).

An inscription of his third year, 224th day refers to the land survey, of the 16th year, of Sungamtavirtta Kulottunga Colan (I) and the 25th year of Periyadevar Tribhuvana Viradeva (Kulottunga III): A.R.E. 317 of 1913. Land survey was a regular feature of Cola administration.

The earliest reference to the term *Tiruppavadai amudu* (applied to the food oblations spread on a wooden plank in the Kanaka Sabha as offering to Nataraja) is recorded in an inscription of the fourth year, 250th day of this king (A.D.1220-21: more than 700 years ago) and provision was made for this service on the occasion of *Tai Pusam*, a day sanctified and famous in Cidambaram as the day when Nataraja is said to have manifested Himself in the cosmic dance in answer to the prayers of His devotees, Vyaghrapada and Patanjali.

There is an instance during his reign of healthy cooperation among temples, and of how the more fortunate ones came to the help of the less fortunate. In the 16th year of Rajaraja III, the mahesvaras and sthanattar of the temple of Tirukkannapuram approached the temple authorities of Cidambaram in their assembly hall and represented to them that the fifty *velis* of land granted as *devadana* to the temple had now dwindled in extent and that there was no other source of income for the temple to meet the customary expenses of festivals and worship. Thereupon, those assembled in the hall resolved that in the districts within the influence of the temple and in all the surrounding and far off lands — in Colamandalam, Rajaraja Pandimandalam, Vira Colamandalam, Naduvilnadu and Jayankonda Colamandalam — certain specified amounts of money or paddy were to be raised and, after paying a small fee to those who collected the paddy and the money, a capital endowment was to be created for the temple in distress — a good example in the sphere of collective enterprise for social well-being (A.R.E. 537 of 1922).

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* In the Appendices to Chapter Four, there is a detailed discussion of this matter. The texts of the inscriptions, reproduced there, would help in a better appreciation of the position.

An inscription of the 17th year, 272nd day registers a gift of land belonging to the village of Pandur *alias* Kulottunga Colan Vallam in Rajadhiraja Valanadu (modern Vallampadugai) for maintaining a feeding house named 'Arapperunjelvi salai' in the west street called Mudittalai-konda-perumal Tiruvithi at Perumparrappuliyur (A.R.E. 286 of 1913). The west street was probably so called in commemoration of the claim made by Kulottunga III that he "took Madurai and the crowned head of the Pandya king." (This does not mean that the head of the Pandya king was cut off, but that he was defeated and had therefore to offer submission by placing his crowned head at the feet of the conqueror by way of paying homage at the *durbar* of Kulottunga III.)

Other grants in his reign refer to the provision for the supply of fruits and flowers to Nataraja.*

An inscription of the second year and 14th day of Tribhuvana Cakravartin Rajaraja III (north face of the second wall of enclosure) mentions a gift of land for flower-gardens to the Nataraja temple (A.R.E. 209 of 1913). The grant was ordered to be engraved on the temple wall and the original documents to be deposited in the temple treasury. Rajendra Singa (Simha) Muvendavelan was the royal secretary. The same donor made another gift of land for a flower-garden and the maintenance of its servants (A.R.E. 300 of 1913). Under the orders of one Tondaiman, a plot of land at Medinikkudi *alias* Danavinodanallur, presented for a flower-garden, was made tax-free and the grant was ordered to be engraved on the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai. One Kumudan *alias* Lankesvaran of Arasur made a gift of land for the maintenance of ten servants and their *nayaks* (heads), who were permitted to enjoy the lands as their *kani* on condition that they would supply seven hundred red lotuses every day to the temple. The transaction was ordered to be engraved on the temple walls (second year and 69th day, A.R.E. 315 of 1913).

In the third year and 57th day of Rajaraja III, one Umaiyalvi, daughter of the Nolamba Chief of Nulambapadi *alias* Nigarili-Cola-mandalam, called Vijayanulamban, purchased some plots of land from different persons and made a gift of them to the temple for a flower-garden (A.R.E. 303 of 1913).

One Gangayarayan made a gift of land for a flower garden and the maintenance of servants. At his request, the king's officers made the land free of *kudimai*. The documents were ordered to be preserved in the temple treasury and the text of the order to be engraved on the temple walls (A.R.E.306 of 1913, 9th year and 85th day of Rajaraja III).

An inscription of the 10th year and 360th day of Rajaraja III mentions that a certain Karuppurudaiyan *alias* Rajadhirajappallavarayan made a gift for a flower-garden in favour of the

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* S.R. Balasubrahmanyam has given us a list of inscriptions relating to such grants: 299 of 1913: 2nd year, 14th day; 315 of 1913: 2nd year, 69th day; 303 of 1913: 3rd year, 52nd day; 283 of 1913: 3rd year, 115th day; 267 of 1913: 4th year, 250th day; 306 of 1913: 9th year, 85th day; 281 of 1913: 10th year, 235th day; 316 of 1913: 10th year, 360th day; 280 of 1913: 14th year, 107th day; 285 of 1913: 17th year, 197th day. Uncopied: 20th year, 35th day; 24th year, 250th day.

Nataraja temple in the village of Koyilpundi *alias* Kshatriyasikhamaninallur, a hamlet of Perumparrapppuliyur. The donor bought some plots of land in three different neighbouring villages for the maintenance of the gardeners, who had to water the plants, pick the flowers and supply them to the temple. These lands were included in the list of temple lands, under the orders of the king's officers. The original documents were deposited in the temple treasury and their text was ordered to be engraved on the temple walls (A.R.E. 316 of 1913).

In the 17th year and 19th day of Tribhuvana Cakravartin Rajaraja III, a gift of land for a flower-garden in the village of Koyilpundi was made by a certain Vanadhirajan for the supply of flowers to the shrines of both the God and the Goddess. The order of the gift was engraved on the temple walls (A.R.E. 285 of 1913).

Rajendra III (A.D. 1246-1279):

The last ruler of the once illustrious house of the Colas who maintained a semblance of independence was Rajendra III and he calls himself in one of his *prasastis* a worshipper at the divine lotus feet of Kanakasabhapati at Vyaghrapura (A.R.E. 515 of 1922 : Tirukkannapuram). In another inscription of his (A.R.E. 93 of 1897), he calls Lord Nataraja of Cidambaram his *Ishtadevata,* his personal tutelary deity. All the Cola kings were ardent devotees of Lord Nataraja, who had a long and intimate association with Cidambaram. Is it any wonder that He cast a spiritual spell on them?

Gifts to the Nataraja Temple:

We learn that all land gifts made to the Nataraja temple were required to be engraved on the walls of the temple.

Historians have noticed a pattern in the dedication of the charities to the temple as mentioned in the various inscriptions. The transactions made on behalf of the temple upto the period of Vikrama Cola were in the name of Tiruppuliyur Candesvara Nayanar (as the representative of Nataraja of Tillai). The gift records registered in the name of Candesvara evidently indicate the period when the Mulasthana enshrining the Siva *linga* within it, and the image of Candesvara by its side, was considered to be the *sanctum sanctorum* of the temple.

In inscriptions later than Vikrama Cola's, the endowment is mostly to the officials of the ruler, those in charge of the temple, the administrators and members of the governing body of the temple.

> "தில்லையம்பலப் பல்லவராயனும் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார்
> கோயில் கண்காணி செய்பவர்களும், ஸ்ரீ காரியஞ் செய்பவர்களும்
> சாமுதாயஞ் செய்பவர்களும் கோயில் நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும்
> திருமாளிகைக் கூறுசெய்வார்களும்"

The message is clear. Nataraja is not the recipient of these gifts of the rulers. The ingredients stipulated in the gifts are to be utilised for the worship of Nataraja.

It is noteworthy that provision was made for singing the *Pamalai* (hymns) of the Nayanmar only in the shrine of the Mulasthana (A.R.E. 341 of 1914). The pre-eminence given to the Nataraja shrine in later inscriptions accounts also for the substitution, in place of Candesvara, of one or more of the temple committee. This change suggests why at the present day the Dikshitars of Cidambaram have come to be the owners of the temple and why Nataraja has no property of His own ! — and why the Dikshitars and the temple depend only on the *kattalai's* for the day to day maintenance.

The oldest Cidambaram Inscriptions at Anantisvaran temple:

It is in the light of the historical back-ground outlined in this Chapter that the new inscriptions discovered by my father, S.R. Balasubrahmanyam in 1940 in the Anantisvaran temple at Cidambaram should be studied. It was remarked in the Epigraphical Report for 1914 that "it is a curious fact that though the history of Cidambaram goes back to the Pallava times, no records of even the early Colas are forthcoming from that place." (Para 88, Part II, 1914 Report).

We reproduce here S.R.Balasubrahmanyam's report on his discovery.

> From the foregoing discussion it will be clear that the earliest record in the Nataraja temple is of the 44th year of Kulottunga I. There is an inscription copied from the Edirambalam (or the Mulasthana shrine) when it was renovated and which was re-engraved on the Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai. It is a confused account of the 24th year of a certain Rajendra but the *prasasti* is a combination of Rajendra I's and II's (118 of 1888).* Fragments of a few records of early Colas have been discovered. They are those of Rajaraja I, Rajendra I, Rajendra II and Rajamahendra. There are no records so far about the Colas who ruled prior to Rajaraja I. The Anantisvaran inscriptions belong to the days of Vijayalaya and Parantaka — 9th and early 10th centuries A.D. Let us take the contents of the new inscriptions in order.
>
> 1. Third year: Kopparakesari Parmar ...... gift of sixty *kalanju* of gold for feeding (?)
> 2. (date lost) — Kopparakesari pa ..... gift of thirty *kalanju*.
> 3. (a) (date lost) Koppa ...... gift for feeding two *brahmans*.
>   (b) (date lost) Sre Koppa ..... gift for (feeding) a *brahman*.
> 4. Thirteenth year of ... Para Kesari Varmar : gift of one perpetual lamp (*nonda vilakku*) to the Lord of Tiru Ananthisvara Peruman Adigal by a private individual, a native of Tiruvarurkurram.
> 5. Sixth year of Rajendra Cola (?): a gift of land.
> 6. A fragmentary record of Kopperunjinga.
>
> All these are fragmentary and we have in almost every case to guess the object of the endowment recorded in them. They are endowments for either a lamp to the temple or feeding certain individuals. Of the four records, the first three can be paleographically assigned to more or less the same age and are certainly earlier than the fourth. The script of the fourth is later than that of the first, as will be evident from the shape of the letters, the vowel *a* and the conjunct consonants *ya* and *du*. In number 1 the *pulli* is

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* See the Notes and Appendices on the inscriptions copied from 'Edirambalam' and its campus on to the outer face of the northern section of the first wall of enclosure, given at the end of this Chapter.

well pronounced in the case of consonants (see த் ள்) but it is altogether absent in number 4. It has been noticed that the *pulli* corresponding to the *virama* of Sanskrit is found only in inscriptions before the reign of Rajendra Cola (llth century A.D.).*

Discussing a Tirukkalukkunram inscription, Venkayya remarks, "the archaic characters in which the subjoined inscription (of Rajakesari varman) is engraved show that if the king was a Cola, he was probably not a successor but an ancestor of Parantaka I. This conclusion is supported by the comparatively frequent occurrence of the *virama* or, as it called in Tamil, the *pulli* which is marked in no less than 20 cases in this short inscription, while in a pretty long inscription of Maduraikonda Parakesari varman i.e., Parantaka I, the *pulli* occurs only five times." (E.I., Vol III, p.278). Again K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, who has edited the Takkolam inscription of Rajakesari varman i.e, Aditya I, says, "A careful comparison of the characters employed in this record with those of Parantaka I found in the same place shows that this inscription must belong to a slightly earlier period. It is worthy of note that while the Parantaka inscriptions in this place do not use *pulli* or *virama*, it is invariably marked by a small vertical line over the letters throughout this inscription whenever necessary." (E.I., Vol XIX). Thus it will be evident that the use of the *pulli* in inscriptions is gradually disappearing during the transition from the Pallava to the Cola age and finallly disappears altogether in the 11th century A.D. An inscription with marks of *pulli* is earlier than one without them. Therefore Parakesari of No. 1 is anterior to Parakesari of No.4.

After Vijayalaya and before Rajaraja I, there are four Parakesaris: Parantaka I (50 years), Arinjaya (2 years), Aditya II (5 years) and Uttama Cola (16 years). The regnal year of 13 of No.4 should make us ascribe this record either to Uttama Cola who reigned immediately before Rajaraja I or to Parantaka I. In my opinion, the script of No.4 is nearer to Parantaka's age than to Rajaraja's. Hence I should like to ascribe this record No.4 to Parantaka I and, as I have already stated, Parakesarivarman of No.1 should be earlier than Parkaesarivarman of No. 4. I identity Parakesarivarman of No.1 with Parakesari Vijayalaya Cola, who was the founder of the Imperial Cola dynasty of Tanjore (9th century A.D.).

Kulottunga I's earliest inscription takes us to about 1114 A.D. The discovery of Rajaraja I's fragmentary record takes us to an earlier period, by a century. If the record No.1 discovered in the Anantisvaran koil is, as I have tried to prove, to be assigned to Vijayalaya, then we are taken earlier by about two centuries and a half, and we have also, by the discovery of these early Cola records, bridged the gap pointed out by the Government Epigraphist in 1914.

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* According to the *Tolkappiyam*, the *pulli* is an aid to shorten vowel-sounds by half a *matra* and it was therefore applied to short vowels and consonants. See the rules;

அ) புள்ளி பெறும் மெய்கள். "மெய்யினியற்கை புள்ளியொடு நிலையல்."
ஆ) புள்ளி பெறும் உயிர்கள். "எகர ஒகரத் தியற்கையு மற்றே."
இ) "குற்றிய லிகரமுங் குற்றிய லுகரமும்"
"மற்றவை தாமே புள்ளி பெறுமே."

Since then, I have also discovered, on a slab built into the floor of the third *prakara* of the Nataraja temple, west of the Hundred-Pillared Hall, an inscription (No.5) of the fourth year of ... [Rajakesari parumar, whose script is nearly similar to that of No.4. It may be assigned to Parantaka's predecessor, Aditya I, who was a Rajakesarivarman. It records the gift of a perpetual lamp to the [Tirumulasthanap-?] perumanadigal. This is the earliest record found in the Nataraja temple of Chidambaram, but the Anantisvaran koil inscription (No.1) is the oldest of the Chidambaram records.

TEXTS OF INSCRIPTIONS

No.1

1. ...sti Śri Kopparakēsari parmmakku yāṇḍu mūṉṟāvadu tiruvanandiś.......
2. ...ikku candrādittavat ūṭṭuvatarkku kuḍutta pon arupadin kaḻa[n̄ju].

No.2

1. Svasti Śrī Kōpparakēśari.....
2. .....yār oru kālattukku vaitta pon eṭṭarai māri muppadin kaḻa[n̄ju].....

No.3

1. ..rattup-perumānaḍigaḻ tiruvāśirattukku vaḍukannal iruvar brahma ... Svasti Śrī Kōppa.....
2. ...tu mērpaḍi uṭṭak-kaḍavidu ... ḻ tiru-vaśirattukku Pālaiyuḍaiyān oru brāhmaṇarai candrādi ...

No.4

1. ...sti Śrī Tiru-vanandiśvarattup perumānaḍigaḷukku...
2. Parakēśari varmarkku yāṇḍu 13 āvadu Tiruvārur kuṟṟattu...
3. ... Paruḍiyān eḻuvan Ilaṅgidar Śānaiyēn Tiruvanandiśva.....
4. Perumānaḍigaḷukku valtta nondā viḷakku + (=sign for one) onru idukku....

No.5

1. Svasti Śrī...
2. ...yu kēśari pa[rumakku] yāṇḍu nālāvadu
3. ...ḍigaḷ Tiru [mūlasthānap] perumāna....
4. ...yār.. tta vaitta nondā viḷa[kku]....

Nos.1-4. Anantīśvaran temple. No. 5 Natarājā temple

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Note on N. Sethuraman's Interpretations of the literary and historical evidence relating to Cidambaram in the Later Cola Period:

The following extracts from N. Sethuraman's book "The Cholas" (1977) would be of interest to the reader inasmuch as the literary evidence supports the historical evidence in respect of the valuable contributions of the Later Colas to the growth of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram. We have retained this author's spelling for proper names. (Courtesy : N. Sethuraman of Kumbakonam).

Ottakkuthar

Ottakkuthar was the Court poet who lived in the reigns of Vikrama Chola, Kulothunga II and Raja Raja II. He composed the Tamil classics, the three *Ulas* and *'Thakkayagapparani.'* These poems contain descriptions of historical events and certain conventional practices of the Chola Royal Family. I am not going into the details of these volumes. But I would like to ascertain the dates of these four books on the basis of certain events mentioned in them.

1. Vikrama Cholan Ula:

This was composed by Ottakkuthar glorifying the king Vikrama Chola. We know that Vikrama ruled from 1118 to 1135. The Ula was written during the period. Then when did Ottakkuthar write *'Vikrama Cholan Ula'* ? What is the date of this book?

In this *Ula* the poet describes Vikrama, the son of Kulottunga I. The whole book is written glorifying the king Vikrama Chola only. The poet also mentions Karunakara Tondaiman serving under Vikrama Chola. This Karunakara was the commander general who served under Kulothunga I. He led the successful expedition against Kalinga in the reign of Kulothunga.

Karunakara continued to live in the reign of Vikrama Chola also. This clearly shows that *'Vikrama Cholan Ula'* was written when the king was ruling independently after the demise of his father Kulothunga I. Therefore the *Ula* should have been written after the death of Kulothunga in 1122.

Vikrama gilded the Chidambaram temple in 1128. The event is mentioned in a Thirumalavadi inscription S.I.I., Vol. III, No. 79. He constructed new walls and halls in the temple. Poet Ottakkuthar does not mention this in *'Vikrama Cholan Ula'*. But he mentions the same in *'Kulothunga (II) Cholan Pillai Tamil.'* This clearly proves that *'Vikrama Cholan Ula'* was written prior to the king's gilding operation at Chidambaram.

Accordingly we can safely place the date of the *Ula* after the demise of Kulothunga I in 1122 and before the gilding operation of the Chidambaram temple by Vikrama in 1128. The poet mentions Thyagasamudram, the other surname of Vikrama Chola. In the inscriptions, this name appears in his 7th year inscriptions, 272 and 273 of 1907. They belong to the period 1124-25. Thus it is confirmed that the *Ula* was written only after 1125.

Therefore the date of *'Vikrama Cholan Ula'* can be placed approximately around 1126-27.

2. Kulothunga Cholan Ula:

This poem was also composed by Ottakkuthar, praising Kulothunga II, son of Vikrama Chola. In this classic, the poet mentions that the king Kulothunga gilded the Chidambaram temple. The king renovated the temple in a grand manner.

As per inscriptions, we find that Kulothunga II gilded the Chidambaram temple in his 7th year. In his Thirumanikkuli inscription (S.I.I., VII, 780) of year 8, he calls himself the king whose crowning was as great as Chidambaram. His devotion to Lord Nataraja of Chidambaram is also described by Ottakkuthar. Kulothunga II ascended the throne in 1133 June. The details furnished by Ottakkuthar are found in Kulothunga's 7th and 8th year inscriptions. Therefore we can safely place the date of *Kulothunga Cholan Ula* around 1140-41.

3. Raja Raja Cholan Ula:

This classic was written by Ottakkuthar praising Raja Raja II, son of Kulothunga II. Raja Raja II became heir apparent in 1146 June. Kulothunga II died in 1150. Therefore the Ula should have been written during the independent rule of Raja Raja II, i.e. after 1150.

In this *Ula*, Ottakkuthar does not mention the Darasuram temple, which was built by Raja Raja in the years 1160-66. Elavanasur record No. 163/1906 belongs to Raja Raja's 13th year, i.e., 1159. The king is said to be residing at Ayirattali Palace near Kumbakonam. From a Darasuram record, No. 17/1908, we come to know that the temple of Darasuram was built in the city of Rajarajapuram before 1166. Inscription 433/1924 confirms that Raja Raja II moved to Rajarajapuram a few years before 1166. These clearly show that the new palace and the temple at Rajarajapuram were built only after 1159. Ottakkuthar does not mention Rajarajapuram and the Darasuram temple in *'Raja Raja Cholan Ula'*. Perhaps this *Ula* was written before 1159. Therefore the approximate date of *'Raja Raja Cholan Ula'* is 1151-59.

In verses 252 and 265 of the *Ula,* Ottakkuthar calls the king as Solendra Singa. In the inscriptions this name appears in his 11th year Ennayiram record (336/1917) corresponding to 1157. Raja Raja was also called Rajagambhira. The front hall of the Darasuram temple is named Rajagambhira Mandapam (1166). Raja Raja's surname Rajagambhira appears in his 12th year, 264th day Thiruppalathurai inscription (440/1912), corresponding to 1158. But the poet Ottakkuthar does not mention the name Rajagambhira in *'Raja Raja Cholan Ula'*.

Considering the above facts we may not be far wrong in surmising that the *Ula* was probably written around 1157.

4. Thakkayagapparani:

'Thakkayagapparani' is another classic composed by poet Ottakkuthar. In this poem, that poet describes the glory of Raja Raja II. He describes in graphic detail the Darasuram temple i.e., Raja Rajesvaram built by Raja Raja. Hence it is certain that the poem was written after the completion of the temple. The earliest inscription of the temple belongs to Raja Raja II (17/1908), year 21 corresponding to 1166-67. Therefore *'Thakkayagapparani'* was written after 1166-67.

In the final benedictory portion of the classic, verse 774, the poet says that Rajagambhira, i.e., Raja Raja II, removed the crown of the impostor and crowned Ratta to rule over the great 'seven-and-a-half-lakh' country i.e. Western Chalukyan kingdom.*

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* பிரட்டனையே பட்டங்கட் டழித்துப் பேரேழரையிலக்கம் புரக்க
இரட்டனையே பட்டங்கட்டிவிட்ட இராசகம்பீரனை வாழ்த்தினவே.

The incident referred to here pertains to certain historical events related to Raja Raja's intervention in Western Chalukyan affairs. Thaila III, the Western Chalukyan emperor, was ruling at Kalyana. In 1149 he was driven out by usurpers, the Kalachuris, to the south of the Thungabadhra. The Kalachuris ruled from Kalyana for about twenty years. The legitimate Western Chalukyas were waiting in the south to regain their throne at an opportune moment. Thaila's son was Somesvara IV (A.R.E. 1919, page 102).

Raja Raja's contemporary ruler at Kalyana was Kalachuri Bijjala. He was supported by his powerful feudatory Chavanda. Chavanda married Bijjala's daughter. Bijjala was alive in 1167. According to *'Basavapurana'*, he was entangled in the conflict with the Lingayats. Later he was slain by his torch-bearers in the midst of the court (Ep. Ind., Vol. V, pages 241/242). Bijjala was no more by 1169.

Rajendra Choda, the Velanadu Chief of Andhra was a faithful feudatory of Raja Raja II. Nanduru Copper Plates (No. 23 of 1916/17) were issued by the feudatory Rajendra Choda in 1169, as per the orders of his overlord Raja Raja II. The plates are fully discussed by B. Krishna Rao in Ep. Ind., Vol. 29, page 225. Krishna Rao quoted many inscriptions and Telugu literature and proved that

(a) Rajendra Choda fought against Chavanda at Kocherlakotta.
(b) Chavanda was killed by Rajendra Choda (*Keyurabahu Charitamu*).

Naturally this war was conducted by Rajendra Choda only as per the orders of Raja Raja II. Vide Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, No. 12. Chavanda's inscriptions are available upto 1169. Therefore Chavanda should have been killed at Kocherlakotta in 1169. We have already seen that Bijjala's reign also came to an end before 1169.

Somesvara IV was the son of Thaila III. The Bellary district Govindavada inscription: No. 461/1923 belongs to Somesvara. From this inscription we come to know that Somesvara was ruling at Kalyana in March 1169 (A.R.E. 1923-24, page 85). The Kalachuri impostors had already been driven out from Kalyana. Since Somesvara was ruling at Kalyana in 1169, it can be inferred that Thaila was already dead. Thus we find that,

(a) Raja Raja II engaged the Kalachuris in 1169 at Kocherlakotta through his feudatory Velanadu Chief Rajendra Choda.
(b) The Kalachuris' reign came to an end at Kalyana around 1169.
(c) The legal heir Somesvara was ruling at Kalyana in 1169.

Raja Raja's intervention in Western Chalukyan affairs can be placed around 1169. The poet Ottakkuthar mentions this incident in his classical epic *Thakkayagapparani*. He could have mentioned this incident only after its real occurrence. Therefore we can easily surmise that Ottakkuthar wrote *Thakkayagapparani* after 1169.

An Arpakkam Inscription (No. 20/1899) belongs to Rajadhi Raja II. It corresponds to the calendar year 1170. In this inscription the Pandyan War and the success of Cholas are mentioned. In 1170, Raja Raja II, the senior king, was also alive. Ottakkuthar mentions the Pandyan war in *Thakkayagapparani* verse 803.*

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* "தென்னவர் தென் மதுராபுரி சீறிய
மன்னவர் மன்னன் வரோதயன் வாழியே"

The poet attributes the credit for conquering Madura to "Mannavar Mannan", i.e., Raja Raja II. This is natural because the senior king Raja Raja was still alive, even though the details of the war are mentioned in the inscriptions of the junior king Rajadhi Raja. The first stage of the Pandyan war was over by 1170. Raja Raja died in 1172. Since Ottakkuthar mentions the Pandyan war also, it is confirmed that *Thakkayagapparani* was written around 1170-71.

Dhaksha Yagam:

A *Parani* is a Tamil poem which praises the victory of a king in battle. It is written in one of two ways.

(a) The *Parani* directly praises the king and his victory in battle.

(b) Or it indirectly praises the king's victory in battle by comparing his achievements with those of God in a Puranic story.

In *Thakkayagapparani*, Ottakkuthar describes the Darasuram temple built by Raja Raja. He praises Raja Raja's victory over the Western Chalukyas. He does not mention the king's victory in detail. He makes only a reference to it. But he deals with the *puranic* story of *Dhaksha Yagam,* in which Lord Shiva punished Dhaksha, who called himself God or Lord of the Universe. God punished the impostor. Similarly Raja Raja punished the Kalachury impostors and installed the legitimate heir Somesvara at Kalyana.

Why should Ottakkuthar make a comparison with the above *puranic* story? We know well that Raja Raja II belongs to the second line of the Cholas i.e. Chalukya Cholas begun from the days of Kulothunga I. Their ancestral property included Vengi. Lord Bhimesvara of Draksharama was the family deity of the Eastern Chalukyas. Raja Raja's inscriptions are available in Draksharama also. Raja Raja's engagements with the Western Chalukyas were done through his military forces in Andhra. The poet introduces the *puranic* story of Draksharama in *Thakkayagapparani.* The story of "Dhaksha" is the *sthalapurana* of Draksharama. In the last chapter of the poem, the poet says that Lord Shiva destroyed Dhaksha. After the "Samhara", Lord Shiva and His Consort Uma settled down joyfully in the Darasuram temple to bless the people.

The above reference by the poet connects Draksharama and Darasuram. Through the *puranic* story, the poet indirectly mentions the historical event in which the Cholas intervened in Chalukyan affairs through their Andhra military forces.

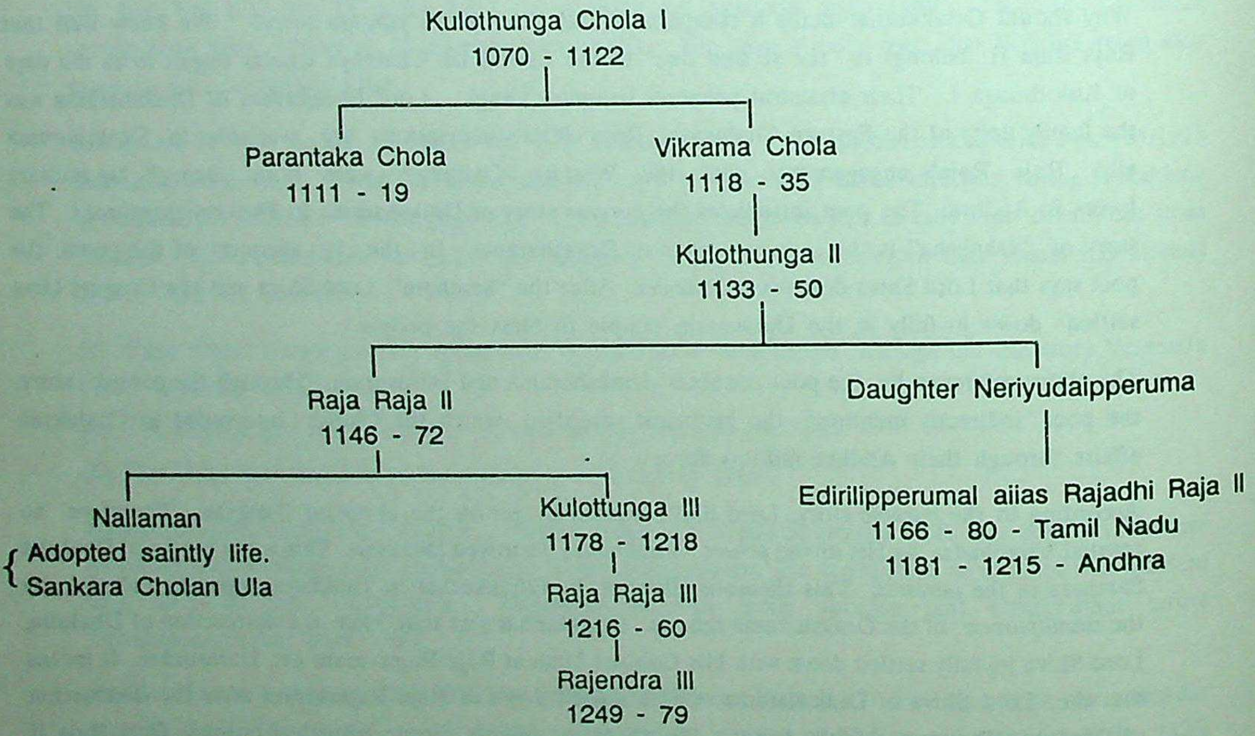
According to the *puranic* story, Lord Shiva wanted to punish the impostor Dhaksha. Therefore he created Virabhadra by His divine power. Virabhadra destroyed Dhaksha. This is the theme of Dhaksha Samhara in the *puranas*. This theme is adopted by Ottakkuthar in Thakkayagapparani and also by the *sthalapurana* of the Draksharama temple. Ottakkuthar says that, after the destruction of Dhaksha, Lord Shiva joyfully settled down with His Consort Uma at Raja Rajesvaram i.e., Darasuram. It means that the Lord Shiva of Draksharama temple settled down at Raja Rajesvaram after the destruction of Dhaksha. The poet skilfully handles this theme to project certain historical events. Raja Raja II wanted to remove the Kalachuri impostors from the throne of Kalyana. He ordered his representative Rajendra Choda Raja, the Andhra feudatory, to carry out this mission as Lord Siva ordered Virabhadra. Like Virabhadra, Rajendra Choda Raja carried out the instructions in letter and spirit. As Lord

Siva of Draksharama, the family deity of the Chalukya Cholas, is said to have settled down at Raja Rajesvaram after the destruction of Dhaksha, the Chola monarch Raja Raja II also settled down at Raja Rajesvaram after his victorious campaign. Thus, in *Thakkayagapparani*, Ottakkuthar suggestively compares Raja Raja's Western Chalukyan campaign with *Dhaksha samhara*.

Sakthi Cult:

In the poem *Thakkayagapparani*, the poet Ottakkuthar describes the Sakthi Cult. He mentions the various forms of the Goddess like Durga, Devi, Parvati, Takini and other Vidyas. Some of the images of the Goddess in the Darasuram temple agree with Ottakkuthar's descriptions.

In Bengal, the *puranic* story of Dhaksha Yagyam is popular. Goddess Dhakshayani of this story is worshipped by the followers of Tantric cults. Some teachers of the Golaki *mutt* belonging to Bengal (Radha country) settled down in the Chola country in the 11th and 12th centuries. Perhaps they could have introduced the Tantric cult in South India. This is evident from the presence of a temple at Darasuram which is under worship on the basis of the Tantric cult. The temple is called "Chakraye Temple". The Goddess is to be identified as 'Kamala', one of the Dasa Vidyas of the cult. The image is to be attributed to the 12th century. Probably this could have been there in the lifetime of Ottakkuthar."


Kulothunga Chola I
1070 - 1122
Parantaka Chola
1111 - 19
Vikrama Chola
1118 - 35
Kulothunga II
1133 - 50
Raja Raja II
1146 - 72
Daughter Neriyudaipperuma
Nallaman
Adopted saintly life.
Sankara Cholan Ula
Kulottunga III
1178 - 1218
Raja Raja III
1216 - 60
Rajendra III
1249 - 79
Edirilipperumal aiias Rajadhi Raja II
1166 - 80 - Tamil Nadu
1181 - 1215 - Andhra

This concludes our recapitulation of the views of N. Sethuraman on the dates of the literary works concerned.

Appendix No. 1 to Chapter 4

Re-engraving of Inscriptions from the original Mulasthana shrine on to the north outer face of the first wall of enclosure (*Kulottunga Colan tirumaligai*) of the Nataraja temple

As early as 1940, when my father, S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, discovered the "Oldest Cidambaram inscriptions", he had pointed out that when Edirambalam (or the Mulasthana shrine) was renovated during the reign of Kulottunga I, an inscription from the earlier structure was re-engraved on the northern section of the outer face of the first wall of enclosure (Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai) of the Nataraja shrine; he also pointed out that a certain amount of confusion had crept in when fragments of a few records of some of the earlier Colas were re-engraved on the same wall-face in the years that followed Kulottunga I.

Recently I went into this question in depth with the valuable assistance of Mr. N. Sethuraman of Kumbakonam, who felt, understandably, that it should be examined against the background of palaeography. We were quick to realise that a certain degree of confusion has crept in in the process of re-engraving undertaken during the period of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1178-1216) of the earlier inscriptions disturbed by the renovation of the Mulasthana shrine in the period of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1070-1122).

To enable ready reference and appreciation of the arguments, pro and con, for the conclusions we make, we reproduce (in the Appendices at the end of this Volume) the texts of certain inscriptions, namely, S.I.I. IV, Chidambaram Nos. 222 to 225. (Kind courtesy: Deputy Epigraphist, Govt. of India, Archaeological Survey of India, Madras and Mr. N. Sethuraman of Kumbakonam).

Now for our comments.

S.I.I., IV, Chidambaram; Numbers 222, 223, 224 and 225.

1. No.224

The position of No.224 (Epigraphia Indica Vol.V pp 105-6) appears clear. It is a significant inscription dated in the 44th year of Jayadhara (a surname of Kulottunga I), i.e., 1114 A.D. It refers to Kundavai, a sister of Kulottunga I, having covered with pure gold the whole shrine of the Lord of Tillai, "the gardens of which are full of honey"; she also donated a mirror to the Lord of Tillai and presented the Lord with a vessel made of gold. The second portion of the inscription states that a precious stone which the king of Kambhoja had gifted to Rajendra (Kulottunga I) was, by order of the latter, inserted on the lintel of the entrance of the "Opposite shrine" (Edirambalam). This term has apparently been expressly used to convey the fact of its being directly opposite the (location of the inscriptions made then on the) outer face of the northern section of the first wall of enclosure of the Nataraja shrine.

It is reasonable to infer that at the time Kulottunga I undertook the reconstruction of the Mulasthana shrine (Edirambalam), Kulottunga I had this inscription inscribed during his own reign on the outer face of the northern side of the first wall of enclosure, which he had built and which is called Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai after him. In my opinion, it is not a re-engraving by any subsequent ruler such as Kulottunga III. It also confirms our views that Edirambalam (Mulasthana shrine) was renovated during Kulottunga I's period — a point on which there has been a controversy, and that the term '*Edirambalam*' applies to the Mulasthana shrine. I am inclined to the view that this inscription is original and not one that was re-engraved after the period of Kulottunga I.

In our discussions, Mr. N. Sethuraman took the view that the Rajendra referred to in line ten is Rajendra I — the maternal grand-father of Kulottunga I — and so this record is a re-engraving (in contrast, see our discussion of No.222 below). I reiterate my view that it is the original inscription of Kulottunga I. Jayadhara is a (frequently used) surname of Kulottunga I; Rajendra is also another surname of his (in fact, his name, with the *alias* of Rajiga, before he ascended the Cola throne); the high regnal year also confirms that the record pertains to this ruler (and cannot, to his maternal grandfather, Rajendra I). For all these reasons, we conclude that the 'Edirambalam' of the record is the Mulasthana shrine (which it faces) and that the record is not a re-engraving (by Kulottunga III or any other successor) of an earlier record but an original one of the days of Kulottunga I himself.

2. No.222

This inscription on the same wall has been apparently re-engraved except for the opening lines. From the internal evidence and the names of the officers mentioned in the inscription, it is to be assigned to Kulottunga III's year 36, 160th day (in November A.D. 1213). It says that as per the request made by the officers when renovation was made, the old inscription inside the temple (Edirambalam) was re-engraved on the outside of the Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai.*

Lines 5 and 6 mention the name of the official: Rajendra Singa Muvendavelan.

Some of the old inscriptions belonging to the 11th century A.D. have been re-engraved in characters of the 13th century A.D.

From line 7 onwards the inscription belongs to Kulottunga I (year 46: 1116 A.D.).

In other words, Konerimaikkondan (Kulottunga III), in his 36th year, has re-engraved the 46th year record of Kulottunga I. The only king who in his 36th year can quote the 46th year of Kulottunga I has to be Kulottunga III. Therefore Kulottunga III in his 36th year (A.D. 1214) re-engraved the earlier records No. 223 and No. 225. I have already indicated my view that No.224 was not a re-engraving. Mr. N. Sethuraman takes the view that No.224 was also a re-engraving.

The 'Kulottunga' referred to in "Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai" can only be Kulottunga I and not Kulottunga II (A.D. 1133-50), as it had been completed in Kulottunga I - Naralokaviran's period. There is yet another weighty argument why we should accept the above view. The second wall of enclosure encompassing the Nrtta Sabha and Sri Mulasthana shrine is named Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai after Vikrama Cola (A.D. 1118-1135) who built it. Surely the second wall of enclosure could not have been built in Vikrama Cola's reign unless the first wall of enclosure already existed, considering the compactness in the layout of the shrines which both these walls of enclosure encompass.

The officials who were entrusted with the task of re-engraving the inscription and are mentioned in No.222 were officials of Kulottunga III 'working under his orders'.

3. No.223

This inscription on the same wall appears to be yet another example of confusion in the re-engraving of old inscriptions; it is a mix-up. An inscription of Rajendra Deva II (A.D. 1052-1063) and another of his father Rajendra I (A.D. 1012-1044) of his year 24=A.D. 1036 have been mixed up by the engraver who attempted to transfer to the wall these earlier inscriptions.

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* 'குலோத்துங்க சோழன் திருமாளிகைப் புறவாயில்
வடபக்கத்தில் கல் வெட்டக்கடவதாக.'

(a) From line 1 to 9, the *Meykkirtti* is of the father, Rajendra I.

(b) From line 10 to 15, the *Meykkirtti* is that of the son, Rajendra Deva II.

(c) From line 15 to the end, the record is one of Rajendra I, of the year 24 (1036 A.D.). The reference in line 15 is to a 'close associate' of Rajendra I, familiar to us from the Tiruvarur records of Rajendra I. (The word *'Nakkan'* is apparently derived from the Sanskrit word *'nagnaka'* which means a 'shameless', 'wanton' woman).

4) No.225

This is a Naralokaviran (Kalingarayan) inscription re-engraved in the days of Kulottunga III. There is a clear reference in verse 13 to Edirambalam. The numbering of the paragraphs is haphazard — a clear indication of mix-up of the order and lack of care in re-engraving the inscription.

5) ARE 551 of 1918

This comprises fragments of one of Rajaraja I's inscriptions at Cidambaram.

It seems extremely likely that fragments of inscriptions of Rajaraja I, Rajendra I and others, which were perhaps strewn about in the premises at the time of renovation of the Mulasthana shrine in the reign of Kulottunga I, were partially re-engraved on the outer face of the north wall of the first wall of enclosure — Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai — and many of the discarded slabs bearing parts of the earlier inscriptions which could not be re-engraved fast enough in the reign of Kulottunga I himself, consequent on the renovation of the *Mulasthana,* were lying strewn about. An attempt has been made to preserve the texts of such inscription slabs in the days of Kulottunga III. Accordingly, the process of re-engraving the texts of many of such inscriptions on the same north wall opposite to Edirambalam during the period of Kulottunga III was spread over a period of time. In the process there has been some confusion in combining the texts.

The statement therefore that in Kulottunga III's period, elaborate precautions were taken for recopying inscriptions on old structures that were in need of renovation and that accurate copies were required to be taken in the presence of royal officers and re-engraved on the new walls — true to the original — is apparently a tacit admission by Kulottunga III that the re-engraving of the old inscriptions — or the available fragments — had not been done with adequate care in the earlier reigns of his dynasty. The information we have is that the old inscriptions on the walls of the earlier structure of the Edirambalam shrine were re-engraved from the dislodged stones under the orders of a certain 'Tondaiman', an important official of Kulottunga III, who, apparently, was not always able to ensure due care being taken at the time of re-engraving despite the good intentions of Kulottunga III.

To summarize, Inscriptions Nos.222, 223 and 225 on the outside of the north wall (Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai) are re-engravings during the reign of Kulottunga III, from the old Mulasthana relics, records pertaining to the reigns of his predecessors; the king made use of the north wall, where an inscription of Kulottunga I had already been engraved in his reign. No.224 is an original inscription of the period of Kulottunga I, engraved in his own reign opposite the Edirambalam on the same wall-face.

Further conclusions which emerge are:

1) A renovation of Edirambalam was undertaken and completed in the days of Kulottunga I (in the 11th century A.D.). It was not the work of Kopperunjinga or any other later ruler or chieftain, as some scholars have concluded.

2) The Edirambalam (the Mulasthana shrine) so renovated must have dictated the location and alignments of the first and second walls of enclosure of the Nataraja temple, named after Kulottunga I and Vikrama Cola respectively and built in their respective reigns with the active assistance of their able General, Naralokaviran.

I would like to round off this survey with some of the points raised by Mr.N. Sethuraman of Kumbakonam during our very useful discussions.

1)"Inscriptions Nos. 223 to 225 were re-engraved in 1214 A.D. Therefore Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai is in the name of Kulottunga II (1133-50 A.D.)".

(We have already indicated our view that Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai is the handiwork of Kulottunga I).

2) "Inscription No. 224 of Kulottunga I's 44th year also was re-engraved. This is why we find a '2' after the completion of each line (Epigraphia Indica, Vol.V. p.105). This is very important."

(We have already expressed our view that in this inscription (No.224) there is no hint of re-engraving. It is an original engraving in the period of Kulottunga I itself.)

3) While inscription No.224 (44th year of Kulottunga I) refers to Kundavai, a younger sister of Kulottunga I, having "covered with pure gold the whole shrine of the Lord of Tillai", Mr. N. Sethuraman holds the view that the 'gilding operations' appear to have continued till 1214 A.D. (in the reign of Kulottunga III), which the figure '2' appearing at the end of each sentence in this inscription suggests. Mr.N. Sethuraman considers that it is an important clue and the location proves that Kulottunga III also made his own contribution to the gilding operations.

Mr. N. Sethuraman quotes, in support of his view,

1) Pudukkottai State Record, Pd.166, year 34, Kudumiyanmalai —— also Seranur, Pd. 163, of Kulottunga III, year 34 (A.D. 1212).

2) Tribhuvanam Inscription at Kampaharesvara temple (A.R.E. No.190 of 1907: No.190 of S.I.I., XXIII).

(In splendid rhetoric, Kulottunga III mentions that he built (renovated?) the *Mantapa* for God Sabhapati, and gilded the Golden Hall at Cidambaram).

Doubtless these two inscriptions are important as they establish Kulottunga III's devotion to Nataraja of Cidambaram.

Nearly half a century at least separates Kundavai's benefactions including gilding operations in Kulottunga I's period (A.D. 1070-1122) and Kulottunga III's gilding of the golden hall at Cidambaram (A.D. 1178-1216 A.D.). These should have been two independent operations, and we consider that they need not be construed as a "continuous process" or as a completion by Kulottunga III of the unfinished work of Kulottunga I's reign. There is no apparent reason to presume that the process of gilding by Kundavai was incomplete.

The texts of these important inscriptions are given in the Appendices at the end of this book.

Appendix No. 2 to Chapter 4

There are a number of inscriptions on the east face of the eastern wing of the first wall of enclosure, called Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai. Unlike the north and west wings of this first wall of enclosure, which have been left undisturbed, the eastern wall has been subjected to much alteration over the centuries. The first instance of which we have proof is the interference with its alignment wrought in the days of the Vijayanagara ruler Acyuta Deva Raya (A.D.1529-49). As elaborately dealt with elsewhere in the book, the eastern wall, which had only one entrance in the eastern side opposite the Kanaka Sabha was perforated at a second place to provide a direct entrance to the Govindaraja shrine. And again, as we saw, the *mukhamantapa* which was contributed by Kulottunga III in front of the Cit Sabha and the Kanaka Sabha (and to the east of the Govindaraja shrine) was presumably dismantled at this point of time to provide for a *mantapa* in front of the Govindaraja shrine with access to its own entrance on the eastern wall. Thus, the section of the eastern wall to the south of the original entrance to the sanctum sanctorum of the Nataraja shrine has undergone dismantling and re-erection in the course of providing the second entrance through it. While the inscriptions to the north of the entrance have remained intact (to wit, the famous *Sragdhara* metre Sanskrit verse inscription describing the conquest of Korgara and the singing of songs by damsels from *Paraseeka*), those to the south of the entrance are found to be disjointed and in fragments and often incomplete, though they relate to the periods of Kulottunga I, Vikrama Cola, Rajaraja (II or III) through those of Maravarman Kulasekhara and Maravarman Vikrama Pandya.

We analyse below the inscriptions on this wall to the left and right of the entrance. We take up those which are to the left.

ARE 545 of 1918:

It comprises nine fragmentary stones, and one of them mentions the name of Kulottunga Cola, two others contain part of the historical introduction of Kulottunga I, and the rest of them deal with provisions for offerings to the temple.

ARE 546 of 1918:

The stones are again displaced and some stones in the middle are missing. They relate to and register a gift of land as *jivita* to a number of persons who had to look after a garden called Sundara Pandyan *tiruttoppu* and the street called Sundara Pandyan *tengu tiruvithi*. Mention is made of the king's officers Tennavan Brahmamarayan, Vikramasola Brahmamarayan, Vikrama Pandya Brahmamarayan, Jayatunga Pallavaraiyar, Villavaraiyar and Kurukulattaraiyar. The inscription belongs to a Jatavarman (other details of the ruler not being available).

ARE 547 of 1918:

On the same wall and on the same side is an inscription of Maravarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulasekhara, dated in his 28th year and 190th day, where again the stones are missing in the middle. It records an order of Kalingarayan granting lands for the maintenance of certain flower gardens, one of which was called 'Ayyanangakaran tirunandavanam.'

ARE 549 of 1918:

On the same east wall, but to the right side of the entrance, is a Pandyan inscription relating to the 7th year of a Maravarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Vikrama Pandya Deva, which registers an order of one Vangattaraiyan. It relates to a gift of land for supplying plantain fruits.

ARE 548 of 1918:

This inscription is split up into two wings, one on either side of the entrance. It is a Later Cola inscription attributed to Tribhuvanacakravartin Rajaraja deva and dated in his 10th year and 122nd day. It relates to a gift of land for supplying pomogranates and offerings to the gods and goddesses in the temple.

It seems quite plausible that the inscriptions on the wall surface of the southern wing of the eastern wall which was brought down were lost or destroyed and, where attempts have been made to restore them, the missing stones could not presumably be located. This predicament did not befall the northern wing of the eastern wall, as mentioned earlier.

There is yet another category of inscriptions which have been brought to light by two copied inscriptions viz., A.R.E 550 and 551 of 1918. These inscriptions are found as fragments built into the platform for forming steps in front of the entrance. We must note that these inscriptions were not restored to where they belonged or were not re-engraved when the innermost wall of enclosure was built. These are dealt with below. They were treated as loose stones and used for paving the floor.

ARE 550 of 1918:

It consists of six fragments built into the platform forming steps in front of the entrance. One of them bears the regnal year 48, obviously relatable to the reign of Kulottunga I, whose reign extended for a period exceeding fifty years (A.D. 1070 to 1118/22). The others refer to gifts of lands.

ARE 551 of 1918:

Like the above one, it is again found in fragments, here in two pieces. One of them refers to the 8th year of Parakesarivarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Vikrama Cola Deva (A.D. 1126) and mentions Nangur in Nangur Nadu. The other contains a portion of the historical introduction of Rajaraja I (A.D. 985 to 1014). In fact, this inscription relating to Rajaraja I is the earliest of his inscriptions to be found today in the *campus* of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram.

There had possibly been a further disturbance to the relative positions of the halls and walls (particularly the eastern section of the innermost wall of enclosure) in the course of the renovations undertaken by the Nagarattars during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Fortunately, the north, west, and portions of the southern, walls, and the northern section of the eastern wall have retained their original features of the days of Kulottunga I.

Here is a brief account of some Later Cola records:

Kulottunga I:

An inscription found on the north wall of the second *prakara* records an endowment of 80 *kasu* paid into the treasury by one Kon Rajadhirajan *alias* Rajendrasola Anantapalan of Ilangarkudi in Peravur nadu, out of which a sum of 10 *kasu* was paid towards purchase of land from the *nagarattar* of Pancavan Madevipuram for a flower garden named after the donor and for feeding devotees at the Tillai Val Andanar *madam*. The balance of 70 *kasu* was invested to yield 30 *kasu* per annum at the rate of a quarter of a dramma per kasu per month for paying the taxes. This gives us the equation of 210 dramma being equal to 30 *kasu* or 1 kasu being equal to 7 dramma. It is significant that '*dramma*' as a currency had come into vogue in the Cola country even in the days of Kulottunga I (A.R.E. 317 of 1958 - 59).

Vikrama Cola:

On the north face of the second *prakara* wall, there is an inscription beginning with the *prasasti 'Pumalai midaindu'* and dated in the 7th regnal year, which registers a gift of land by purchase from Ulaccanan Bhattan Ananta Narayanan Krishnan to the temple by Kolari Ulaguyyavandan *alias* Vanadhirajan of Vandalanjeri for his own merit (A.R.E. 303 of 1958-59). The inscription will corrrespond to the year A.D. 1125.

Kulottunga III:

An inscription (A.R.E. 229 of 1958-59) of interest is found on the north outer face of the second wall of enclosure. It records the order of Kulottunga III, at the instance of Vanaraja, exempting from taxes certain lands granted for raising a garden named after 'Tiruttondar-Sir-Uraittar' for supplying flowers daily to the temple by one Sekkilan Araiyan Edirilisolan hailing from Kunrattur, located in Kunrattur nadu.

'Tiruttondar-Sir-Uraittar' was a title of the famous Saiva poet Sekkilar, who adorned the Cola court during the reign of Kulottunga II and was the author of the famous Periya Puranam. The poet statesman, as we are aware, hailed from Kunrattur and so does this donor; and this record thus affords an (perhaps the only) instance where a member of the Sekkilar family of Kunrattur endowed land for a garden to be raised in the name of his distinguished predecessor/ancestor. We are also aware of Tiruttondar-sir-Uraittar being deified: provision being made for worshipping his image is known to us from an inscription from Srivanjiyam in Thanjavur district, in which the donor is mentioned as a certain Anapayan.

There is another inscription of this ruler (partially damaged, with the year of the record not discernible), which again deals with a gift of land by purchase, for raising and maintaining a flower garden for the temple, and for feeding *tapasvins* (A.R.E. 321 of 1958-59).

Rajaraja III:

An inscription found on the same north outer face of the second wall of enclosure and dated in the ruler's regnal year 2, 172nd day, mentions that the *Tirumandira-olai,* Rajendrasinga Muvendavelan, granted land for the daily offering of 200 *sengalunir* flowers to the god and goddess at the time of worship in the morning and at noon (A.R.E. 312 of 1958-59).

Another record, found in the third *prakara*, south wall, and dated in the (8+1)th year, 31st day of the ruler (corresponding to A.D. 1225) gives a detailed account of the acquisition of plots of land by purchase and exchange from individuals by royal order at the instance of the officials of the palace as well as the temple, for maintaining a flower garden (*nandavanam*) named after Sundara Pandya, in Sattangudi *alias* Mahipalakulakalanallur and for offerings to the temple.. The naming of the flower garden, not after the Cola king but after the Pandyan king Sundara Pandya, is significant. A word of explanation would be relevant at this stage. With the defeat and stepping down from the throne of Kulottunga III in A.D. 1216, afer the fall of Ayirattali, Rajaraja III was crowned the Cola king, and the victorious Pandyan king Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (A.D. 1216-41) performed the ceremony of the 'Anointment of Heroes' (*Virabhishekam*) in the Hall at the Ayirattali palace called 'Solavalavan', all this soon after he ascended the throne. Thus the Cola king became virtually a vassal of the Pandyan overlord. This explains the naming of the flower garden after the Pandyan ruler even as early as the 9th regnal year of Rajaraja III (ARE 172 of 1961-62).

* * *

Note on the four Inscriptions found on the northern wall (northern face) of the first wall of enclosure

(Dr. B. Venkataraman)

Re-examining this matter, we are concerned with the four inscriptions viz S.I.I., 222, 223, 224 and 225, which have been dealt with earlier extensively in regard to their provenance and date of engraving. We are dealing with only one aspect of the matter in this note — an attempt to reconcile the inscribing of a 46th year record of Kulottunga I on the outer face of the northern wing of the first wall of enclosure, in continuation of a 36th year inscription of a ruler who is a Kulottunga (I or III). A 46th year record of Kulottunga I can conceivably be quoted by a subsequent ruler bearing the same name in his 36th year. We have to eliminate Kulottunga II as a possible author of this inscription of the 36th year and the choice is left between Kulottunga I and Kulottunga III (who had a rule extending from A.D. 1078 to 1118-22, a span of 40 to 44 years). There is no disputing the fact that the first wall of enclosure is called in a number of inscriptions by the name of Kulottunga I. In confirmation of this is an inscription of Kulottunga I found on the outer face of the northern wing of this wall, dated in his 44th regnal year (Ep. Ind. Vol V, p. 105). There is also no disputing the date of the 46th year record of Kulottunga I which forms part of a series of re-inscribed inscriptions of earlier dates comprising those of Rajendra I and others. On the face of it, this is patently impossible , but a close study of the system in vogue over the centuries, of royal writs being issued and their ultimate incorporation as lithic records and copper plate originals and placement of the latter in the temple *Bhandaram* or 'Treasury of sacred documents' is illuminating. A clear case is seen in respect of the great Tanjavur temple of Rajarajesvaram, where all the grants and donations made from time to time (from Rajaraja I's 16th to his 29th years) got engraved on the *adhishthanam* (and in rare cases in other parts of the temple), all in his 29th year, after the temple was completed and consecrated, though the grants themselves predate the completion of the temple. If therefore Kulottunga I had ordered that his grants, donations and benefactions to the temple of Tiruccirrambalam Udaiyar (i.e. the Mulasthanar or the Lord of Edirambalam) be engraved on the Kulottunga Colan tirumaligai even as early as his 36th year, while he continued to issue orders from time and to time, including one of his 46th year, it stands strongly to reason that the orders issued by earlier rulers (inscribed on the stones of the earlier structure which he had dismantled) and those of his own, issued upto his 44th year could not go on record on the north or east face of the innermost wall of enclosure, viz., the Kulottunga Colan tirumaligai for the simple reason that the wall was not ready to receive the engraving as it was still under construction and was completed only by the 44th to 46th years. And as soon as the wall was ready to receive the records for incision, the obvious sequence was to engrave the basic document of Kulottunga I dated in his 36th year on the wall in the 46th year or soon thereafter. So the sequence begins with the 36th year record giving the mandatory order that all the inscriptions on the Mulasthanam which had to be abandoned once its renovation was complete, were to be reengraved, followed by the earlier orders like those of Rajendra I, etc.

Secondly, the order of the 36th year is conveyed by *Tirumandira olai* Rajendrasinga Muvendavelan. If this record were to be that of Kulottunga I, as we contend, then Rajendrasinga Muvendavelan had to be a contemporary of this ruler, so should be Villavarayan, Kadavarayan and Siddharayan mentioned as attestators of this order. Fortunately, we find light thrown on this issue by the Smaller Leyden Grant issued, indisputably, in the 20th regnal year of Kulottunga I. In A.D. 1090 (Kulottunga I's 20th year), he was visited by the envoys of the king of Kadaram, who sought his help in improving the provisioning of the Buddhist monasteries of Rajarajan perumpalli and Rajendrasolapperumpalli both at Nagapattinam, in response to which the king, consenting, conveys his orders to his Adhikarin Rajendrasinga Muvendavelan (See "Later Chola Temples" by S.R. Balasubramanyam, p.9) for implementation. This chief executive appears as the signatory in Kulottunga I's royal order issued 16 years later (now in the capacity of *Tirumandira olai*), thus establishing beyond doubt the completion of the Kulottunga Colan tirumaligai in the days of Kulottunga I himself and the engraving of the inscriptions under scrutiny during his lifetime. It would be relevant to recall that the famous *sragdhara* metre verse inscription relating to the Parasika damsels singing was engraved on the north wing of the east wall (outer face) even in the life-time of Kulottunga I.

As regards the mix-up of the *prasastis* of Rajendra I and Rajendra II, one has to be guided by the experience of similar occurrences frequently in epigraphical history and the fact that six to seven decades had expired between Rajendra I and Rajendra II's days and the date of this inscription.

In any event, the basic fact remains that the first wall of enclosure had been constructed during the days of Kulottunga I and the second wall was executed and completed by Vikrama Cola. And if we remember that Vikrama had only 18 years of rule, it is not unrealistic to conclude that between A.D. 1100 and 1140, the two walls of enclosure had been completed, with the Mulasthanam renovation and an effort commenced to go beyond the second wall of enclosure.

The Structure and disposition of the Nritta Sabha in relation to the North-South axis

(Dr.B.Venkataraman)

The Chit Sabha and the Kanaka Sabha in the innermost prakara, the dhvajastambha and the Nritta Sabha in the second prakara, the Nandi Mandapa and the Bali pitham in the third prakara and finally the South Gopuram providing the southern entrance to the temple through the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai on its southern segment all fall in perfect alignment on a north-south axis connecting the middle of the South Gopuram gateway to the sanctum sanctorum touching, as it were, the planted foot of the presiding deity Nataraja. This would seem to indicate an established ground plan conceived even in the days of Kulottunga I and sedulously adhered by to his immediate successors, his son Vikrama Cola and grandson Kulottunga II who did much to expand the campus of the temple. Between circa A.D.1100 and A.D.1136 (accession of Rajaraja II) i.e. over a span of three and a half decades, the innermost wall of enclosure commenced by Kulottunga I was completed, the second wall of enclosure known as the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai was also raised, thus fixing the contours of the temple, with possibly a *gopura vasal* (entry) in the south over what later was to become the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai (which a century later on Kopperunjinga was to make into a massive tower like the West and the East gopurams).

If the Nritta sabha was completed in Kulottunga I's time (circa A.D. 1111) and the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai had been raised, as it should have been, before the great celebrations of the 10th regnal year of Vikrama Cola (in A.D.1128) at Tillai, some questions arise about the disposition i.e. location of this structure in relation to the north-south axis referred to above.

The Nritta Sabha is a multi-pillared rectangular structure which has an extension in the north side by way of a ramp on level with the main platform and integrating with the main structure in its architectural characteristics. This ramp is narrower in width than the main hall itself and the entire edifice is in the form of a chariot drawn by two horses on the flanks of the ramp with a well decorated wheel just behind the horse one to each side, the horses facing north (i.e. towards the Chit Sabha). This ramp has four pillars on its northern side (which is the foremost row of pillars), and the north-south temple axis passes midway between the middle two pillars, thus establishing the distribution of the hall across the axis equally on both sides. If we start with this premise, we run into a problem of there being four parallel rows of pillars stretching north-south, falling to the west of the axis, the rows being evenly spaced (five feet separating two adjoining rows), whereas there are only three such parallel rows to the east of the axis. If the horse and wheel on the west and east faces of the podium of the ramp which are equidistant from the axis determine the width of the ramp, the main mandapa is found to be askew with four rows of pillars in a north-south direction extending 17 $^1/_2$ feet from the axis but with only three such rows east of the axis extending only 12 $^1/_2$ feet from the axis. Secondly, we notice a massive cubicle (akin to a mini- shrine) which integrates and absorbs the four pillars in the north-west corner of the main hall; there are two massive sculptures of outstanding quality on the north and west faces of this chamber; and the question arises whether there was not (or was) a similar chamber of the nature of a mini-shrine on the north-east corner encompassing the corresponding four corner pillars? If it existed (and structural symmetry warrants its existence), it is no longer there. In fact, it is perceptibly noticed that the entire eastern face of the hall has been sheared off, so to say, to an extent of the distance between two north-south rows of pillars (about five feet and more). One suspects this to be so, as one finds that the corbels on alternate pillars on the easternmost row of the hall are projecting beyond the roof in the east, an architectural abnormality.

Another point to be noted is that the southern face of the Nritta Sabha determined the alignment of the southern segment of the second wall of enclosure, if Vikrama Cola's intention was to bring the Nritta sabha inside the arena of the second prakara which is the way it is to-day. In the result, the south segment of the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai runs flush with the south face of the Nritta Sabha, in fact, absorbing in its body the southernmost row of east-west pillars of the Sabha.

Some questions arise. Was this the alignment even in the days of Vikrama Cola for the wall? Was the second prakara accessible from the third prakara through any entrance or gateway built into the southern segment of the second wall of enclosure? Was the Nritta sabha a free standing edifice which permitted free movement from its flanks? If there was no opening in the second wall of enclosure and the only entry points to the second prakara were from the west and the east, what was the access to the platform of the Nritta Sabha which is at least twelve feet from the ground level of the second prakara? Since the Urdhva Tandava murti image faces east, it will be logical to conclude that the access was only from the east face of the Nritta Sabha, the other three sides being eliminated as possibilities. If there were such steps, to-day they are not there, possibly later additions and alterations having obliterated their identity (we do have steps from the east now, but they are patently make-shift steps of a later date). These questions are difficult to answer.

However, certain conclusions can be drawn with a reasonable degree of certainty:

1. The facts that the West Gopuram was the first to come up and that the Western entrance from the third prakara to the second prakara received more than normal or usual attention from royalty than others, which is signified by its being christened after Vikrama Cola himself as Akalankan Tiruvasal, lend credence to the contention that the royal entry to Tillai Nataraja temple in the days of the Later Colas was from the west — a fact understandable with their Cola capital Gangaikondacolapuram being in the southwesterly direction, virtually along the Kollidam river.

2. But the south-north axial alignment was all the same meticulously maintained as the presiding deity of the Nataraja temple in the sanctum sanctorum faced south and the South Gopuram thus acquired prominence as the Gateway to the temple of Nataraja, a natural entry as distinct from the established entry from the west.

3. That the south face of the Nritta sabha was walled up even in the days of Vikrama Cola (i.e.even as he raised that wall) is in tune with the Later Chola pratice of the sanctum generally being shut to view from the axial entry gate, as seen in Tukkacci, Darasuram and other temples. where the chariot halls have been built as agra mandapas. (This has been the author's contention right through).

4. At some later point of time, to provide access to the second prakara skirting the Nritta sabha, the second wall of enclosure was crudely opened up, as evidenced by the fact that there is no formal gateway with architectural embellishment. But in the process of providing an access to the second prakara from the third, a part of the Nritta sabha (to a depth of around five feet from its original eastern face) was virtually sheared off to provide the needed access to the arena of the second prakara from the expansive third prakara. This also meant that any steps to climb up to the platform of the Nritta Sabha would have been there from the east side only.

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CHAPTER 5

Pallava Interregnum

Kopperunjinga (A.D.1243-1279):

In the first half of the thirteenth century, there was a four-sided struggle for supremacy, among the Colas, the Hoysalas, the Pallavas and the Pandyas; and the region of Cidambaram formed the chief arena for war among them. The Cola Rajaraja III and his successor Rajendra III on the one hand, and the Pallava Kopperunjinga on the other, struggled for power; and the Hoysala Narasimha II and the Pandya Maravarman Sundara Pandya I intervened in the struggle until at last, in the middle of the thirteenth century, the Colas were overthrown and the Pandyas established their ascendancy as far north as Nellore.

The Pallava king Kopperunjinga, 'Sakalabhuvana-Cakravarti Avani-Alappiranda Kadava Kopperunjinga devar', claims to be a descendant of the ancient Pallavas; he was a dashing warrior and a great patron of Sanskrit and Tamil culture and of the fine arts, as attested by his titles, *'Sahitya-Ratnakara'*, *'Bharatam-vallan'* (an adept at the art and a patron of Bharata Natya Sastra), and *'Sentamil Valappiranda Kadavan'*. His capital was Sendamangalam, a place of strategic importance, near Panruti in the South Arcot district, about four furlongs off the Madras-Trichy highway, one mile south of Tirunavalur and northeast of Ulundurpet. He challenged the declining power of the Colas, and struggled successfully, at least for a time, with the Hoysalas and other northern powers on the one hand and with the Pandyas of the Second Empire, on the other. He ruled for thirty-six years. He was profoundly religious and showed deep devotion to Nataraja of Cidambaram. An Attur (Chingleput district) inscription of his (ARE 285 of 1921) gives him the title of *'Kanakasabhapati Sabha Sarvakarya Sarvakala Nirvahakah'*. Another inscription from the same village (Attur) refers to his gift of 301 1/4 *velis* of land as *devadana iraiyili* in that village, for building the South *Gopuram* with seven storeys at Cidambaram, and mentions that this *gopuram* was named *'Sokkacciyan'*, after one of his surnames. The fish-crest embossed on the main cross-beam and jambs of the gateway of this *gopuram* must have been carved out by Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I, after his victory over Kopperunjinga. Another of Kopperunjinga's inscriptions, found as far north as Tripurantakam (in the Andhra country) says that 'Maharajasimha (Kopperunjinga) performed *tularohana* (weighing oneself against gold) at Tillai and built the East *Gopuram* of the Cidambaram temple, resembling Mount Meru, from the spoils of the conquest of the country of the Kaveri, and he called the *gopuram* after his name'; further, he is said to have 'decorated its four sides with the booty obtained by subduing the four quarters'.

Kopperujinga and his local agent, Solakon, made valuable gifts for offerings, flower-gardens and festivals, to the Nataraja temple.

There is no doubt that at least the two-tier stone gate-way of the East Gopuram had been built by Kulottunga II. Perhaps the construction of the East Gopuram which was begun in the days of Kulottunga II was completed by Kopperunjinga. (We deal with the history of the construction of the four main Gopurams of the Nataraja temple in detail in Chapter Nine.)

Kopperunjinga's contributions to Cidambaram make an impressive list. He is also credited with having built the temple of Tillai-k-Kali, called in his inscriptions 'Tillai Vanam Udaiya Paramesvari' or 'Maha-Kali'. (Chapter Twelve deals with this subject at length.) Kopperunjinga was ably assisted in his work by his agent, Solakon.

Some scholars (the late V. Venkatasubba Ayyar among them) have held the view that there were two Kopperunjinga's and that Kopperunjinga I, the father, built the South Gopuram and Kopperunjinga II, the son, built the East Gopuram. This theory of 'Two Kopperunjingas' was nailed by (my father) S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, as early as in 1929, in his Sankara Parvati Prize thesis submitted to the University of Madras. This theory of "Two Kopperunjinga's" surfaces now and then. S.R. Balasubrahmanyam had clearly established that there was only one Kopperunjinga. (For a detailed discussion refer to S.R. Balasubrahmanyam's thesis on the subject published in the Journal of the Madras University and his book (in Tamil) on 'Kopperunjinga'.)*

We agree with S.R. Balasubrahmanyam's affirmation that there was only one Kopperunjinga with accession in A.D. 1243.

In the appendices of this book, where we have reproduced the Epigraphy Reports of an earlier period, it will be noticed that the Epigraphists of that period who had copied these inscriptions and published them with their own interpretation, speak of Kopperunjinga I and Kopperunjinga II. We have reproduced the texts of these inscriptions and the notes as published at the time. But it should be noted that there is no question of there being a Kopperunjinga I and a Kopperunjinga II. We reiterate that there was only one Kopperunjinga.

One has to bear in mind the often forgotten fact that Kopperunjinga who began his life as a feudatory under Rajaraja III, later declared himself a Sakala Bhuvana Cakravartin and an independent ruler only in A.D. 1243, from which date he reckons his regnal years.

Another inscription of his eighth year states that the members of the Nagarattu Saliyar (Weavers' Merchant Guild) were to be provided with sites for building their houses, on condition that they supplied the necessary clothes to the God and Goddess, and their locality was named 'Tiru Ambalapperumal Puram'.**

Two Tamil inscriptions of Sakala Bhuvana Cakravartin Avaniyalappirandan *alias* Kopperunjingadeva (12th year and 7th year) - ARE 302 and 304 of 1913 - register respectively an order of Perumal Pillai - *alias* Solakon - on a gift of land for a flower-garden and another one of Solakon recording a gift of land for a flower garden by a dancing girl. ARE 318 of 1913 refers to Solakon's (Perumal Pillai) orders that certain gifts of land for the maintenance of gardens be recorded on the temple walls. Yet another gift is recorded (ARE 319 of 1913) of land for a grove of trees to be made a rent-free *devadana* and so registered on the temple walls.

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* Copies of the book are available with the Mudgala Trust, Madras - 28.

** Also see inscriptions 706 to 717 of SII, VIII which are found on the walls of the Tillai Amman Temple (ARE 390 to 401 of 1903) as given in the Appendix.

Many of Kopperunjinga's inscriptions at Cidambaram and elsewhere have been reproduced in the Appendices to indicate the range of Kopperunjinga's dedicated service to Cidambaram.*

Attur Inscription:

On the north and west walls of the Muktisvara temple at the village of Attur, in the taluk of the same name in the Chingleput district, is an inscription which is dated in the 5th regnal year of Sakalabhuvanacakravartin Kopperunjinga, recording a gift of the village of Attur otherwise called Rajarajanallur (which was located in Arrur nadu, which was a subdivision of Urrukkattukkottam in Jayangondasolamandalam). The donor of the gift is called Alagiya siyan Avani alappirandan Kadavan Kooperunjingan, and it was for constructing, as a *gopuram* with seven storeys, the southern entrance which was called Sokkacciyan tirunilai, of the temple of Tiruccirrambalam Udaiyar at Perumparrappuliyur (i.e. Cidambaram) (*in nayanar koyil terkkil tiruvasal Sokkacciyan Tirunilai elugopuram-aga seyya-t-tiruppanikku udalaga Jayankondasola mandalattu Urrukkattukkottattu Arrur nattu Arrur ana Rajarajanallurkku ellai*).

The boundaries of the gift are given as below:

To the west of : the east bank of the river *Injal aru*
To the north of : the channel (*nirodukal*) called Seyyaru
To the east of : the village boundary of the village of Villiambakkam
To the south of : the boundaries of (the villages of) Sattanambakkam and Konkadu.

The total area of the land thus included in the above limits was 364 *veli*. From this area were excluded the following extents of land: (a) the *devadana* lands of the local deities; (b) the lands on which these temples were located; (c) the lands of the Pidari temple, Durgai temple and the Jina temple, all of which added upto 46 *veli*; the land of the *brahmana* settlement (*agaram*) called Mahavibhuti caturvedimangalam, measuring 12 *veli*; the *bhatta vrtti* lands given to the following three, viz., Settalur Piran Bhattan, Madaposai Varadarasa Bhattan and Piran Bhattan of Vengipuram measuring in all 1 *veli* and the land given to the *Ghatikaiyar* (the College of Vedic Studies) 3 ${}^{1}/_{4}$ *veli* ----- all of which totalled to 62 ${}^{1}/_{4}$. The extent of land left after these exclusions was thus 301 ${}^{3}/_{4}$ *veli*. The above land was made over as *devadana irai-ili* from the fifth regnal year from the month of *Adi* for "as long as the Sun and the Moon last."

It is noteworthy that this inscription, which was recorded as a duplicate copy on the walls of the Muktisvara temple at Arrur, was also ordered to be recorded (as a triplicate copy) on the walls the temple of Udaiyar Tiruvekambam Udaiya Nayanar (meaning the Ekamranatha temple at Kancipuram) — apart from the master copy on the walls of the temple at Cidambaram itself (A.R.E. 463 of 1902).

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* For further details and texts of inscriptions, see Appendices containing texts as below:

(i) S.I.I., VII 43 to 56; 706 to 717; also

(ii) S.I.I., XII 149, 151 to 154, 157, 159, 160, 171 to 175, 201, 209, 215, 216, 245, 249, 250, 251, 166, 153, 254, 179, 184, 185, 186 and texts of three uncopied inscriptions of 5th, 8th and 12th years (from S.R. Balasubrahmanyam's "Kopperunjinga - His Life and Times" - Sankara Parvati Prize thesis, 1931).

Tripurantakam Inscription:

Much light is shed on the achievements of Kopperunjinga by an undated Grantha inscription of this ruler engraved on the northern wall of the kitchen in the temple at Tripurantakam, a place in the Markapur taluq in Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh (S.I.I. XII, 247; also A.R.E. 198 of 1905). It eulogises the king, called here Maharajasimha, son of Jiyamahipati and Queen Silavati. The record describes him as a devotee at the feet of the God at Cidambaram and goes on to mention that he built the East Gopuram, resembling Mount Meru, from the riches obtained in the conquests over his enemies and called it after his own name. The decorations on the four sides of the *gopuram* are said to have been made with the booty acquired by subduing the four quarters and from riches used in his *tularohana* ceremony. The details of the raising of the East Gopuram are given in the verses which are summarised below:

He raised the East Gopuram as one with seven tiers(*sapta-tala gopuram*); he decorated the southern part with the booty gathered in his campaigns against the Karnata region. The northern part of the tower was decorated with the booty collected from the Andhra campaign. He called Nataraja or Tiruc-cirrambalam Udaiyar by the appellation '*Dabhra-sabha-pati*'.

There is another inscription of Kopperunjinga, at Draksharama in Andhra Pradesh, which is dated in Saka 1184 (A.D.1262); and a reference to the benefactions at Draksharama is made in this record from Tripurantakam, thus providing the bottom line of A.D. 1262 as the date for the Tripurantakam inscription. Thus, the renovation and decoration of the East Gopuram must have been brought about by that year, which corresponds to the 19th regnal year of this Pallava Chief.

* * *

CHAPTER 6

Under the Pandyas

In about A.D. 1216, there came to the Pandyan throne of Madurai, Maravarman Sundara Pandya I, the founder of the Second Empire of the Pandyas.

1. Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (A.D. 1216 - 41)

In order to avenge the humiliation inflicted earlier by the Cola emperor, Kulottunga III, on him and on his elder brother at Madurai, Maravarman Sundara Pandya I invaded the Cola country soon after his accession, set fire to Uraiyur and Tanjavur, and sacked and plundered the land. After performing a *virabhisheka* in the coronation hall in the palace of the Colas at Ayirattali (*alias* Palaiyarai, near Kumbhakonam), one of the Cola capitals, he reached the holy Puliyur of Tillai Andanar (the 'Three Thousand of Tillai') fame and offered worship to the Lord of Ponnambalam — "the one Whose effulgence and glory could not be perceived by Brahma or Vishnu".* After acknowledging the submission of, and as a gesture of royal magnanimity restoring the kingdom to, the Cola king at Pon Amaravati, he returned to Madurai. He is therefore known as 'Conadu kondu Conadu valangiya Sundara Pandiyan'.

2. Maravarman Vikrama Pandya II (A.D.1250-65)

Maravarman Vikrama Pandya II *alias* Bhuvanaika Vira was a great warrior. He is described as 'the Sun to the dense darkness of the Kerala race, the sub-marine fire to the Cola race, the consuming fire to the Kathaka', and 'poison to the Lord of Lanka', also 'a terror to Vira Ganda Gopala' and the *'kuttapakala* fever to the mad elephant (Ganapati, the Kakatiya ruler)'. He is said to have performed an anointment ceremony at Kancipuram. His victories are eulogised in beautiful Tamil verses engraved on the East and West gopurams of the Cidambaram temple. These victories were over the Venadu king at Podiyil and over the Kakatiya ruler, Ganapati. He did not pursue his conquests further north, they say, since a woman with a man's name was ruling there then — the reference being to Rudramba, the daughter-successor of the Kakatiya ruler, Ganapati, reigning under the name of Rudradeva Maharaja (A.R.E. 365 of 1913).

Vikrama Pandya's *prasastis* begin with *'samasta bhuvanaika vira'* and *'tiru malar madu'*. He had as senior co-ruler Jatavarman Kulasekhara (A.D.1237-58), whose *prasastis* commenced with *'Bhutala vanitai'* and whose natal star was *visakham*, and as junior co-ruler Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I, whose *biruda* was *'samasta jagadadhara'*.

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* ஐயப்படாத அருமறைதே ரந்தணர்வாழ்
தெய்வப் புலியூர் திருவெல்லை யுட்புக்குப்
பொன்னம் பலம்பொலிய ஆடுவர் பூவையுடன்
மன்னு திருமேனி கண்டு மனங்களித்துக்
கோல மலர்மே லயனும் குளிர்துழாய்
மாலு மறியா மலர்ச்சே வடிவணங்கி.

மாறவர்மன் சுந்தரபாண்டியன் I — மெய்க்கீர்த்தி

An inscription (A.R.E.150 of 1961-62) of the 6th regnal year of this ruler (24th March, 1255 A.D.) refers to an earlier endowment originally made by one Araiyan Priyanayan *alias* Gangayarayan of Enadi Merkkudi in Tirukkaluma nadu for the supply of plantain fruits to the Nataraja temple; the land was 500 *velis* in extent and had been made tax-free; it appears that this land was inadvertently taxed at a subsequent date, resulting in a reduced supply of fruits to the temple. The order makes the land once again tax-free and the Mahasabha of Sri Viranarayanam *alias* Sundara Pandya Caturvedimangalam agreed to supply a specified number of fruits for daily use and at the times of various festivals, to the temple of Tiruc-cirrambalam Udaiyar.

One inscription of six verses in Tamil (A.R.E. 329 of 1913) refers to a battle near Cidambaram between the Valavan (Cola) and the Minavan (Pandya), and, in another (A.R.E. 336 of 1913), mention is made of a battle that was fought by Bhuvanaika Vira on the banks of the nearby Vellaru (lit. a white river), which turned into a *sevvaru* (a 'red river') --- so bloody was the battle. After his victory in this battle, he witnessed the Dance of the Lord at Puliyur. The verses run as follows:

சீர்கொண்ட வெள்ளாறு குருதிப் பெருக்கிற்
செவ்வாறு பட்டோட வவ்வாறு சென்றப்
போர்வென் றுணப்பேய் நடங்கண் டதற்பின்
புலியூர் நடங்கண்ட புவனேக வீரா!
பார்பண் டளந்துண்டொ ராலிற் கிடக்கும்

பச்சைப் பசுங்கொண்ட லேபற்ப நாபா
கார்கொண்ட நின்கையின் வேலுக்கு வற்றும்
கடலல்ல என் பேதை கண்தந்த கடலே.

மாறுபடு மன்னவர்தங் கைபூண்ட வாளிரும்பு
வேறுமலர் கால்பூண்டு விட்டதே - சீறிமிக
வேட்டந் திரிகளிற்று விக்கிரம பாண்டியன் தன்
நாட்டங் கடைசிவந்த நாள்.

மீனவற்கு விக்கிரம பாண்டியற்கு வேந்தரிடும்
யானை திருவுள்ளத்தேறுமோ - தானவரை
வென்றதல்ல மேனிநிறம் வெள்ளையல்ல செங்கனகக்
குன்றதல்ல நாலல்ல கோடு.

ஏந்து மருவி யிரவி புரவியின்முன்
பூந்து வலைவீசும் பொதியிலே - காந்துசின
வேணாடனை வென்ற விக்கிரம பாண்டியன்மெய்ப்
பூணாரம் பூண்டான் பொருப்பு.

புயலும் தருவும் பொருகைப் புவனேக வீரபுனல்
வயலுந் தானந் தருகொற்கை காவல வாரணப்போர்
முயலுங் கணபதி மொய்த்த செஞ்சோதி முகத்திரண்டு
கயலுண் டெனுமதுவே முனிவாறிய காரணமே.

வெங்கண் மதயானை விக்கிரம பாண்டியனே
பொங்கி வடதிசையிற் போகாதே அங்கிருப்பாள்
பெண்ணென்று மீண்ட பெருமாளே பேரிசையாழ்ப்
பண்ணொன்றும் வேய்வாய் பகை.

The surname of 'Bhuvanaika Vira' is borne today by the town of Bhuvanagiri on the banks of the Vellar river, 6 kms. northwest of Cidambaram, known to history since his days as Bhuvanaika Viran Pattinam, presumably in commemoration of his great victory on the Vellaru banks.

3. Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (A.D.1251-1283)

The most illustrious ruler of this Pandya dynasty, Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I, was a great soldier and statesman. He carried forward the boundary of the Pandyan empire as far north as Nellore and Cuddapah. He fought successfully against the Hoysalas, the Colas (Rajaraja III and Rajendra III), the Pallava Kopperunjinga, and the Telugu Codas of the Kancipuram region. He assumed in consequence the titles: *'Anait-tulagum kondaruliya'* (conqueror of the whole world), *'Emmandalamum kondaruliya'* (conqueror of all lands) and *'Ellan talaiyanan'* ('The Lord of all'). After his victories over the Ceras and over the Hoysalas at Kannanur Koppam (near Srirangam), he fought many battles against the Pallava Kopperunjinga, struck terror in his heart, put him in chains, besieged and captured his well-nigh impregnable fortress of Sendamangalam (in present day South Arcot district) as well as his forces and treasures, and after accepting his submission set him free and restored to him his territory with the status of a feudatory to the Pandyas. Sundara is then said to have gone to Cidambaram and offered worship to the Lord of Tillai Ambalam.

தில்லையம் பலத்துத் திருநடம் பயிலும்
தொல்லை இறைவர் துணைக்கழல் வணங்கி

– ஜடாவர்மன் சுந்தரபாண்டியன் I – மெய்க்கீர்த்தி

Cidambaram and Srirangam received most of his benefactions. At Cidambaram, he is said to have covered the Nataraja shrine with gold (sometime before his 7th year, corresponding to A.D. 1257), and to have performed the *tulabhara* ceremony, as proclaimed by the two inscriptions reproduced below, found on the East and West gopurams of the Nataraja temple:

வாழ்க கோயில் பொன்வேய்ந்த மகிபதி
வாழ்க செந்தமிழ் மாலை தெரிந்தவன்
வாழ்க மண்டலம் யாவையுங் கொண்டவன்
வாழ்க சுந்தர மன்னவன் தென்னவனே.

இனவரிக் கிம்புரி வெண்பிறைக் கோட்டிகல் வெங்கருங்கட்
சினமத்த வெங்கரிச் சுந்தரத் தென்னவன் தில்லைமன்றில்
வனசத் திருவுடன் செஞ்சொற் றிருவை மணந்ததொக்கும்
கனகத் துலையுடன் முத்தத் துலையிற் கலந்ததுவே.
கல்வெட்டு, கிழக்கு கோபுரம், சிதம்பரம்

வரையேற்ற செந்தமிழ்ச் சுந்தர பாண்டியன் வார்துலைநீர்த்
திரையேற்ற தில்லையி லேறிய போது திகிரித்
தரையேற்ற தோளவன் தன்முன்பு தான்மிகத் தாழ்ந்தபின்னும்
உரையேற்றப் பெற்ற எதிர்த்தட்டிலேறிய ஓங்குபொன்னே.

நிலைகடவாரணச் சுந்தர பாண்டிய னேறுபொலத்
துலைகட வாதெதிர்த் தட்டொன்று மேதொழு வார்மனத்தில்
நிலைகட வாவம் பலவர்க்கு முத்தம் படுநெடிய
அலைகட லானதும் பொன்படு தன்மலை யானதுவே.
கல்வெட்டு, மேற்கு கோபுரம், சிதம்பரம்

Hence he came to be known as *'Hema-candana Raja'* and as *'Koyil pon-veynda Perumal'*. However, merely because the above inscription describing his being weighed against gold and pearls is found on the (southern jamb of the gateway portion of the) West *gopuram*, the latter cannot be called a Pandyan *gopuram* as some scholars have concluded. It belongs to the days of Vikrama Cola and Kulottunga Cola II.

An inscription found on the south wall of the *mantapa* in front of the central shrine in the Natana-padesvara temple at Tirukanthesvaram (Cuddalore taluk, South Arcot district), dated in the 14th year and 205th day of this king records the leasing out of 30 *velis* of land belonging to a temple in Marudadu, a hamlet of Solakulavalli-nallur, to some *Caturvedi bhattas*, for the supply of food and other offerings at services to *Koyil Ponmeynda Perumal*, an icon set up by the king in his name, and for offerings on the occasion of the Sundara Pandyan *sandhi* to the Lord, Deyvanayakan. This is an interesting case of orders relating to one temple being inscribed in another; apparently, the two temples were in the same vicinity.*

There is evidence to show that the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram had a library of its own. Two inscriptions in this temple refer to some arrangements made for the organisation and administration of a Sarasvati Bhandaram on the orders of one Pallavadarayan (A.R.E.168 and 169 of 1961-62). As the inscriptions are damaged, only glimpses into the details of the record are available. The Sarasvati Bhandaram seems to have been originally set up by one Svami devar. The records furnish a list of twenty scholars proficient in different branches of learning who were probably employed to transcribe texts in Sanskrit and Tamil, which were written down, compared and checked. These details illustrate the great concern for and the deep interest evinced in those times in the mainteneance of libraries and in the care and proper preservation of the texts of the classical works on various subjects which seem to have been dealt with by the scholars. Of these, the Puranas and Jyotisha Sastra are noteworthy. Reference is made to Siddhanta Ratnakara as one of the books in the library — evidently the same as the one said to have been composed by Siva Isvara or Isvara Siva, son of Udaiyar Svamidevar Srikantha deva.

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* Another inscription in the same temple, of the 14th year of another Jatavarman Sundara Pandya of a much later date (IV) (acc. A.D. 1318) records the institution of a service called the '*Paliyil pugalalan sandhi*', to be performed at the time of the *tirup-palli-elucci* (the ceremonial awakening of the Lord) in a morning service of the Lord Tirukkanniccuvaram Udaiya Nayanar. The title of the king given here meaning 'claiming fame in avenging' refers to the driving away of the invaders from the Sultanate at Delhi.

Though the name of the king in whose reign this record was made is not stated in the inscriptions, it may be inferred from the occurrence of the exclusive title *'Anaittulagum Kondaruliya'* in the body of the record that it could be safely assigned to the reign of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I.

The foundation of two colonies of learned men on the western side of Perumparrappuliyur (Cidambaram) during the days of this king is of great interest with regard to the mode of establishing new townships; the colonies were called Rajasikhamani-nallur *alias* Puliyangudi which was located on the western bank of Ponneri as mentioned in a 13th year inscription of Sundara Pandya (=A.D. 1251+13 = 1264) (A.R.E. 277 of 1913) and Adur *alias* Jananatha-nallur (A.R.E. 278 of 1913). The details about the former are as follows : The village granted was called Vikrama-Pandya-Caturvedimangalam, so named after Maravarman Vikrama Pandya II, the elder brother (nayanar*) of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I. In the centre of this village was established the temple of Vikrama-Pandyesvara, also named after the same senior ruler. The village was intended to accommodate primarily one hundred and eight learned *brahmanas*, among whom were many well-versed in the Vedas and Sastras and who could expound them. Four *velis* of land were purchased for the village site, which included the temple premises and the house sites of the one hundred and eight *brahmanas* mentioned above, of men who were in charge of the village library (Sarasvati Bhandarattar), and of other village servants (*panimakkal*). In purchasing the land with its trees, wells, paths, channels, embankments indicating land divisions (*bhagasraya*) and all other benefits, the rights and privileges of the old tenants and title-holders were completely bought up. The right of way was secured for the *brahmanas* to walk to the protected tank 'Kavarkulam' every day for the purpose of performing the *sandhya-vandanam* prayers. Land for grazing cattle was also provided for. 117 $^{3}/_{4}$ *velis* of land were also acquired in the village of Rajasikhamaninallur *alias* Puliyangudi for the maintenance of the one hundred and eight *brahmana* families and others. The *brahmanas* evidently received a full *veli* of land each. The following other *vrittis* were also settled; teachers of Vedas: 3; teachers of *sutras*:2; two doctors : 1 $^{3}/_{4}$; *ambadayas*: $^{1}/_{2}$; village accountant: $^{1}/_{2}$, drummer: $^{1}/_{4}$; blacksmith: $^{1}/_{4}$; carpenter: $^{1}/_{2}$; goldsmith: $^{1}/_{4}$; irankolli: $^{3}/_{8}$; barber: $^{3}/_{8}$; washerman : $^{1}/_{4}$; village watchman(*padi-kappan*): $^{3}/_{4}$;

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* In his masterly survey, 'The Imperial Pandyas', N. Sethuraman of Kumbakonam has explained why the term 'Nayanar' should be interpreted as 'elder brother'.

and the village servant (*vettiyan*) $^1/_8$. Of the *patta* land outside the *agrahara* (or *brahmana* quarters), three parts were set apart for *vellankaniyalar* and the remainder for other professionals. The fruit trees, gardens, ponds, water pits, grazing grounds, irrigation channels, uncultivable waste, embankments of fields and pathways included in the village site were made over to the donees as per customary law. All taxes were remitted, but it was stipulated that from the 14th year of the king onwards, 500 *kalams* of superior paddy were to be measured out every year to the temple at Cidambaram for conducting the *sandhi* (service) called the *Ellantalaiyana Perumal Sandhi* and that all lands which belonged to temples (*tirunamattukkani*) must be demarcated by boundary stones marked with the trident (A.R.E. 277 of 1913). This village still exists, but it has lost all its old features.

Another inscription (A.R.E. 278 of 1913) which is dated in the reign of a certain Konerinmaikondan deals with a grant of 116 *velis* of land in Adur *alias* Jananatha-nallur to the God Ulagamulududaiyap-pillaiyar, the *matha*, and to one hundred and eight *brahmanas*, in the newly created village of Ulagamulududaiya-Caturvedimangalam (a hamlet on the western side of Perumparrappuliyur), who, by turns, were required to 'bless the king' during the *sribali* ceremony conducted in the temple of the goddess. The land was made tax-free, but, as in the case of the donees of Vikrama-Pandya-Caturvedimangalam, these *brahmanas* had to measure out a fixed quantity of paddy (one kalam per veli) for the Tillainayakan (Nataraja) temple at Cidambaram.

4. Jatavarman Vira Pandya I (A.D. 1253-83)

A co-regent and younger brother of Jatavarman Sundara I was Jatavarman Vira Pandya, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1253. This king claims to have conquered Kongu and Ilam (Srilanka), destroyed the hill of the fierce Vadugas, and brought under his sway the regions watered by the Ganga and the Kaveri. He held a grand durbar at Cidambaram, received tribute from the Kadava chief (Kopperunjinga) and celebrated his own anointment as hero and victor at Perumparrappuliyur or Tillaimanagar, as proclaimed by the following extracts:

> "கோச்சடைய பர்மரான திரிபுவனசக்கரவர்த்திகள்
> கொங்கீழங் கொண்டு கொடுவடுகு கோடழித்துக்
> கெங்கை இருகரையும் காவிரியும் கைக்கொண்டு
> திங்கள் அரவருஞ் செழுமலர்தார்
> புனல் செஞ்சடையோன் பொற்புலியூர் வீற்றிருந்து
> காடவன் திறையிடக் கண்டினிதிருந்து
> வீராபிஷேகமும் விஜயாபிஷேகமும்
> பண்ணியருளிய வீரபாண்டி தேவர்."
> "கோச்சடைய வர்மரான திரிபுவன சக்கரவர்த்திகள்
> ஈழமும் கொங்கும் சோழமண்டலமும் கொண்டு
> வல்லானை வென்று பெரும்பற்றப் புலியூர் வீராபிஷேகமும்
> விஜயாபிஷேகமும் பண்ணியருளிய ஸ்ரீவீரபாண்டியதேவர்."

On some pillars of the hundred-pillared *mantapam*, there are inscriptions of Vira Pandya reading: *'Svasti Sri Vira Pandian Tirumandapam'*. Evidently, Vira Pandya's coronation took place in this hall. As we have already noted, this hall was built by Naralokaviran and named after his king Vikrama Chola, almost a century and a half earlier.

An inscription of the 4th year of a Vira Pandya, referred to merely as 'Tribhuvana Cakravartin', adverts to a settlement made by one Ṭirumanjanam Alagiyar, the *mulaparushaiyar* and other functionaries of the temple. This Alagiyar also finds mention in a record of Rajaraja III (A.D.1216-46). We may therefore presume that the Vira Pandya of this record is none other than Jatavarman Vira Pandya I.

5. Maravarman Kulasekhara (A.D.1268-1312)

What is now called the Karpaka Vinayakar shrine, abutting on the west face of the south block of the West Gopuram, is sung of by Umapati in his Sekkilar Nayanar Puranam. It is also referred to as 'Kulottunga Cola Vinayaka Pillaiyar' (named so after Kulottunga III) in an inscription of Maravarman Kulasekhara I dated around A.D.1297, and it is said to be enshrined on the south side of the seven-storeyed gopuram on the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai. The reasons why this Karpaka-Vinayaka shrine should be assigned to Kulottunga III are pretty clear. The inscription No.366 of 1913 dated in the reign of Maravarman Kulasekhara I (acc A.D. 1268) refers to an order registered by one Kalingarayan. He is seen to be a signatory in a number of records relating to the reign of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I. The above inscription happens to refer to the Kulottunga Cola Vinayaka Pillaiyar shrine, and its location is clearly defined as being on the south side of the seven storeyed gopuram on the western segment of the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai. It also refers to *Ellandalaiyan Perumal Sandhi* , a clear reference to the *biruda* of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I in whose name Maravarman Kulasekhara I makes the endowment, the document being attested by his official Kalingarayan. This is understandable, too, having regard to the fights between the Colas and the Pandyas in the periods of Kulottunga III, Rajaraja III and Sundara Pandya I. It should have been the latter's effort at generosity towards Kulottunga III. The reference to Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai makes it clear that the shrine is Kulottunga III's. It could not be earlier.

6. Ravivarman Kulasekhara (of Kerala)

After the Muslim invasion from the North under Malik Kafur in A.D. 1311, peninsular India was thrown into a state of utter chaos, and exploiting the vacuum of leadership in the wake of the invasion, Ravivarman Kulasekhara, a ruler of Kerala, who bore the names of Sangramadhira and Maravarman Vira Kerala Kulasekhara deva, embarked on a lightning campaign and conquered territories as far north as Kanci and held sway though for a very brief period over a vast territory. An inscription of his, dated in A.D. 1315-16, registers an order issued by one Cediyaraiyan granting exemption from certain taxes *(kadamai* and *kudimai)* in respect of land given to the Nataraja temple for a flower garden by a native of Pallikkodi in Malai-mandalam.

7. Maravarman Vikrama Pandya IV (A.D.1333 - 40)

This Vikrama Pandya, *alias* Rajakkal Nayan,* made several gifts to the Nataraja temple. An inscription from Vriddhacalam relates how, when 'the king was pleased to stay at

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* On pp.188-190 of "The Pandyan Kingdom", K.A. Nilakanta Sastri states that Vikrama Pandya had the surname of 'Rajakkal Nayan', "which occasionally takes the form of 'Rajakkal Tambiran'". We reiterate that the title 'Rajakkal Tambiran' applies to the Cola Kulottunga III alone.

Perumparrappuliyur,' he passed orders making a gift of land inclusive of all taxes to a service designated the *Rajakkal Nayan sandhi.* An inscription of his 5th year, 270th day grants a plot of land towards supplying garlands for use during the above service and on the day of a festival named *Rajakkal Nayan periya tirunal.*

8. Maravarman Vira Pandya (A.D. 1334 - 80)

This ruler, who had the surname of 'Kaliyuga Raman' is apparently the only one who was at once a Maravarman and a Vira Pandya, and had the longest rule (though over an attenuated empire) in Pandyan history. His reign fell in the aftermath of the lightning invasion of the South by Malik Kafur and the installation of a Sultanate at Madurai. It also saw, however, the establishment of the Vijayanagara Kingdom (in A.D. 1336) as well as the downfall of the Madurai Sultanate, almost in the closing decade of his rule.

At the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram, there are four inscriptions pertaining to his reign (A.R.E. Nos. 311 and 316 of 1958-59, and 165 and 171 of 1961-62), recording gifts of land for flower-gardens and residential purposes.

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CHAPTER 7

The Vijayanagar Period

(14th-17th Century A.D.)

The history of Cidambaram in the 14th century was one of disruption of the daily worship routine at the Nataraja temple, and, in the days of the Vijayanagar emperors, largely one of progress but marred by acute religious hostility and sectarian disputes between Saivites and Vaishnavites, the followers of Nataraja and Govindaraja respectively. We deal with the chequered history of the Govindaraja shrine and its impact on the main complex in Chapter 10.

The work called *'Prapannamrtam'* refers to a Cola king called Krimikanta, who is said to have thrown out the Govindaraja icon from the Cidambaram temple; Ayirattali (*alias* Palaiyarai) is called Krimikanta Pattinam. The *'Kulottunga Colan Ula'* and *'Rajaraja Colan Ula'* mention how the Cola king, Kulottunga II, caused the Govindaraja icon to be thrown into the sea, "the original home of Hari". We also learn that one of the last acts of Ramanuja was the establishment and consecration of the Govindaraja Perumal icon at Tirupati, in place of the one at Tiruccitrakutam (or Cidambaram) despoiled by the Cola.

The restoration of the deity to its old place on a secure basis was mainly the work of the later Vaishnava Acaryas with the help of the Vijayanagar emperors.

It is possible that, from the twelfth to the beginning of the fourteenth century, the temple of Cidambaram was the temple of Nataraja alone. Whether any icon of Govindaraja existed in the temple or not, we cannot say, but we may be sure that Nataraja was the only prominent deity there. We do not hear during this period of any grants being made to the Vishnu deity. In the thirteenth century, even Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I, whose impartial devotion to both Siva and Vishnu is so well-known, is said to have made gifts only to Nataraja at Cidambaram.

Malik Kafur's Invasion of South India (A.D. 1302 to 1311)

Leading historians (Vincent A. Smith among them) have recorded that (during the Khilji era at Delhi) Malik Kafur embarked on a campaign to conquer South India --- a campaign that lasted from A.D. 1302 to 1311. In the course of his operations in South India, Malik Kafur over-ran the Yadava kingdom of Devagiri, the Hoysala kingdom of Mysore (Dvarasamudra), the Kakatiyas of Warangal and the Tamil states of the deep South. Muslim Governors were appointed at different centres in the Coromandel territory. The southern currency was then exclusively in gold, of which metal, enormous treasures were taken to the capital, Delhi. In A.D. 1334, the Muslim Governor of Madurai rebelled against the central authority and initiated a line of independent Sultans. Thus Madurai became an independent Muslim kingdom in South India. The temples and their collection of offerings and wealth suffered in consequence of the political convulsions of A.D. 1311.

Barni, a poet and a contemporary of Malik Kafur's — Barni died in around A.D. 1350 — has left clear evidence that South India was drained of a vast amount of booty : "Six hundred and twelve elephants, ninety-six thousand *mans* of gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls and twenty thousand horses", which were carried to Delhi by Malik Kafur.

The following report of Malik Kafur's invasion partly indicates the situation as it obtained in A.D. 1311 in South India (Ma'bar was the area of the Hoysala and Pandyan kingdom in the far south of India, according to Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri):

> "Here (at Kandur), he (Malik Kafur) heard that in Brahmastpuri there was a golden idol round which many elephants were stabled....The stone idols called Ling Mahadeo, which had been a long time established at that place upto this time, the kick of the horse of Islam had not attempted to break. The Musalman destroyed all the *lingas*, `and Deo Narain fell down, and the other Gods who had fixed their seats there raised their feet, and jumped so high that at one leap they reached the fort of Lanka, and in that affright, the *lingas* themselves would have fled, had they had any legs to stand on." This was in Hijri era 710, A.D.1311. — ("M'bar Invasion" — Extract from Elliot and Dawson)

Historians are not clear yet as to the exact location of 'Brahmastpuri'. A large collection of gold and elephants at 'Brahmastpuri' appears to have been the main cause for the attack. Brahmastpuri has been identified by some scholars as Cidambaram, known for its gold and gilded roofs from the days of the Colas and the contributions made by the Pandyas. Other scholars think Brahmastpuri may refer to Srirangam. Historians are agreed, however, that Cidambaram, Srirangam and Madurai did figure among the centres taken by Malik Kafur in this expedition.*

We are concerned here with the impact of Malik Kafur's invasion on the Cidambaram temple and the Nataraja shrine. In my "City of the Cosmic Dance : Cidambaram" (published in 1974), I had expressed the view that the "probable absence of the Vishnu deity at Cidambaram during the time of Malik Kafur's invasion would make the identification of Brahmastpuri with Cidambaram less likely." The identification of Brahmastpuri may therefore prove to be a mere academic exercise. But the repercussions of Malik Kafur's invasion of A.D. 1311 on the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram have been unquestionably serious.

After the return of Malik Kafur to Delhi, great efforts were made by the Hindus of the South to stem the Muhammadan advance into the far south, first by the Hoysala, Vira Ballala III (A.D. 1291-1342), and then by the Vijayanagar rulers (A.D. 1336 to 1649). During the reign of Bukka I, his son, Kampana Udaiyar, is credited with having conquered the Sambhuvarayas of Rajagambhira and extended Vijayanagar supremacy over the Tundira (Tondai Mandalam). He is said to have freed the land of *tulukas* (Muslims), and this might refer to the overthrow of the Madurai sultanate. This is likely to have taken place between A.D. 1364 and 1378.

Srirangam seems to have suffered a second sack by the Muhammadans — perhaps by the Sultan of Madurai or by the General of Muhammad Tughlak — and one of those who suffered is said to be the great Vaishnavite teacher, Vedanta Desikar. It is alleged that a certain Gopanna, a general of Kampana Udaiyar and later on of Harihara II as well, had a dream to the effect that God Ranganatha appeared before him and exhorted him to lead a crusade against the Muhammadans. The icon of Ranganatha, which had been kept in hiding, after its wanderings, at Tirupati, was taken to Ginjee and kept at Singavaram for some time. Later when a favourable opportunity presented itself, the icon was restored to Srirangam. Vedanta Desikar is said to have hastened to Srirangam on hearing this news, and, after worshipping the re-established icon, he composed a verse in praise of Gopanna and his conquest. This verse is said to have been inscribed on the temple wall. Perhaps this is the very inscription noticed by the Epigraphical Department as No. 55 of 1892: it is dated *Saka* 1293, A.D. 1371-72.

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* C.R. Srinivasan, in his 'Kanchipuram through the Ages', mentions that the *Madhuravijayam* points out that Vyaghrapuri (Cidambaram), Srirangam and Tiruvanaikkaval were attacked by the invaders in this period.

It must have been at about this time that Vedanta Desikar also succeeded in the restoration of the idol of Govindaraja and of His worship at Cidambaram. To perpetuate his memory, a stone image of the Acarya is still kept in the Govindaraja shrine at Cidambaram. Thus, after an interval of nearly two centuries and a half, Govindaraja came into His own. But this was only the beginning of further troubles, which lasted down to the end of the Vijayanagar rule, nay even down to modern times. Some scholars have not accepted the view that Vedanta Desikar restored Govindaraja and the related rituals to Cidambaram. They consider that the installation of Govindaraja along with renewed worship was achieved only under the patronage of the Vijayanagar rulers.

Mr. N. Sethuraman of Kumbakonam and Dr.K.V.Ramesh (Govt. Epigraphist, Mysore) located, in 1989, in the Library of the Tiruppanandal *Math* (Tanjavur District, Tamil Nadu), two important and revealing Copper plates. The first Copper plate is in *Grantha* characters and the second in *Nagari* script. The date of the first Copper plate is A.D. 1388, March 8 (*Saka* 1309, Prabhava year, Caitra, *Sukla Prathama*). It has given us the shocking revelation that for nearly sixty to seventy years, the *maha naivedyam* (food offering to Lord Nataraja), *angarangabhogam* and similar temple rituals to the Hema Sabhanathar (Tillai Nataraja) had remained suspended and that only *pal naivedyam* (the morning milk) was being offered to the Lord. Virupaksha, son of the Vijayanagar ruler Harihara II (A.D. 1377-1404), made arrangements for the resumption of the temple *pujas* at the Nataraja temple. This Copper plate brings out these facts and records a royal grant of land for worship rituals and the resumption of the car festival. The Copper plate carries the signature of both Harihara and Virupaksha, in Kannada letters.

The second Copper plate is dated A.D. 1383, December 27 (*Saka* 1306, *Rudrotkari* year, *Pausha*, *Purva paksha*, Sunday, *makara-sankramana*). This Copper plate indicates that Mutta-t-tanda Nayak, Minister of the Vijayanagar ruler Harihara II, assigned the village of Punnattur to the temple. It is noteworthy that, though *Nagari* script has been used, the text is in Kannada. At the end of the text of the Copper plate, Prince Virupaksha has signed.

It is rather surprising how these two Copper plates pointing to the restoration of normal conditions in respect of temple rituals of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram by A.D. 1383/1388 found their way into the Tiruppanandal *Math*. Perhaps they were lodged at the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram till the 18th century, when, again owing to the Anglo-French and Carnatic wars, Nataraja had to be moved to Tiruvarur for reasons of safety and these Copper plates too were carried along to Tiruvarur from where they could have found their way to Tiruppanandal.

These two Copper plates throw new light on some little known but vital aspects of the sequel to Malik Kafur's invasion of South India. The Nataraja temple was starved of its daily rituals from A.D. 1311 to A.D. 1383/88 — nearly seventy years.

These hard facts should be read along with T.A. Gopinatha Rao's article at pp.298 to 301 of *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol.VIII, on the 'Soraikkavur plates of Virupaksha' (*Saka* year 1308:

A.D. 1386), in which Virupaksha is credited with having gilded the *vimana* of the Sri Rangam temple, the Golden Hall at Cidambaram (*Kancana Sabha punaruddharana*), "the latter act having been looked upon as highly meritorious ever since the days of the earliest Cholas", as T.A. Gopinatha Rao put it.

The only gratifying feature of this unfortunate epoch of more than seventy years is that Nataraja was not physically moved out of His abode at Cidambaram — as happened twice later in the 17th and 18th centuries. (We refer in detail to these two situations later.)

In effect, therefore, the gold leaves on the Cit Sabha at Cidambaram which we see today are not perhaps what the Colas and the Pandyas had gifted to the Nataraja temple, but the contribution of Virupaksha of Vijayanagar in A.D. 1383/88, augmented at the end of the 17th century by Sambhaji. It marks a sad saga in the history of the Nataraja Temple.

Harihara II, of the Sangama dynasty of Vijayanagar, ruled from A.D. 1371 to 1404 and he consolidated the supremacy of Vijayanagar all over South India. When Harihara II died in 1404 A.D., his son Virupaksha succeeded in securing the throne but could retain it only for a short spell.

Virupaksha calls himself the Lord of Tundira (Tondaimandalam), Cola and Pandya countries (copies of the texts of the Copper plates found at Tiruppanandal as well as T.A. Gopinath Rao's article referred to earlier have been re-produced in the appendices of this book.)*

Incidentally, it would be as well to refer the reader to an instructive article by Dr.N. Venkataramanayya in the October-December 1931 Quarterly number of the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras with the caption "A Note on Sri Virupaksha". Dr. Venkataramanayya has pointed out that 'Sri Virupaksha' is the sign manual of the Emperors of Vijayanagar with which their inscriptions usually terminate; and this sign 'Sri Virupaksha', with which all Vijayanagar grants, especially those engraved on the Copper plates, end, takes the place of the signature of the emperors.

The Vijayanagar throne was still believed to be under the blessed guardianship of the wings of Virupaksha, the presiding deity of Hampe and the Kula-deiva of the Vijayanagar ruling family; and the latter continued to be the city-God and the empire-God.

In the case of these Tiruppanandal Copper-plates relating to the fortunes of the Cidambaram temple, the signature Virupaksha, obviously, refers to the ruler. It is a happy coincidence that it happens to be also the 'Mudra' of the Vijayanagar rulers in their copper-plates.

We now take up a dynasty-wise description of Cidambaram in the Vijayanagar days.

The Sangama Dynasty (14th and 15th Centuries A.D.)

The earliest Vijayanagar inscription (A.R.E 358 of 1913) at Cidambaram is that of Vira-bhupati Raya of the Sangama line. It mentions a gift of 64 cows made for maintaining perpetual lamps to Nrttanatha, that is, Nataraja, by the ministers Camundarasa and Adittaraya. If Camundarasa of this inscription is taken to be the great Vedic scholar Caundapacarya, then the king referred to may be Bukka II, who ruled in the early years of the fifteenth century.

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* I must record here my deep gratitude to Mr N. Sethuraman of Kumbakonam, who, during my many rewarding discussions with him, brought these new facts to my notice and has helped me to update my presentation of the history of the Cidambaram temple. The texts of these Copper plates were furnished by him for my use.

Devaraja II was the last great ruler of this dynasty, and he ruled in the first half of the fifteenth century (A.D. 1421-48). His inscription (A.R.E. 376 of 1913) is found on the north wall of the Karpaka Vinayaka shrine near the West Gopuram. It was intended to set right certain irregularities in temples and temple lands and charities situated in the districts of Tirucirappalli Usavadi and Valudilambalattu Usavadi. The royal order dated Saka 1349 (A.D. 1428?) runs thus: "As we have been informed by the *mahesvaras* and Marudavanaccivan that the king's officers, in the villages belonging to the temples, are unjustly collecting the taxes called *kanikkai, arasuperu, kara-nakkar-jodi, visesadayan, alamanji*, etc., representing these to be dues payable to the palace; that the villagers, taking up on mortgage the lands purchased, presented to or otherwise owned by the temples, stubbornly refused to give back those lands to the temples, and that, as a consequence, the temple tenants had abandoned the villages, causing thereby the stoppage of worship in these temples, we order that the taxes mentioned above shall no longer be collected, the only payable tax, however, being the *sulvarippon*; that the worship etc. in your temples shall be conducted in future under the direction of the said Marudavanaccivan and that temple lands shall in no case be let out on (long) lease, nor shall they be assigned to anyone as tax-free hereditary property, free gift or *bhattavrtti*."

The irregularities pointed out seem to have obtained over the old Cola country — perhaps in the region of the present-day Tiruchirappalli, Tanjavur and South Arcot districts — and the royal order was intended to check the oppressive methods used by revenue subordinates and to safeguard temple services from being impaired. It seems likely that Marudavanaccivan was a supervisor of temple charities in this region of the Vijayanagar Empire.

There are five inscriptions at Cidambaram and in its surroundings which refer to a local Chief called Ananda-tandavap-perumal Tondaimanar *alias* Jagadisuran Raja Suryat-Tondaiman. They relate to the period A.D. 1473-1504. These inscriptions point to a state of anarchy preceding and following the Saluva usurpation in A.D.1485-86 and this Chief seems to have tried to achieve independence in the South Arcot region. He claims to have been crowned at Cidambaram. One of these inscriptions, at Jayangondan, records the confirmation of Seyan gondanparru as *sarvamanya* to (Tiruvambalam udaiya) Tambiranar of the *Taniyur* of Perumparrappuliyur on the occasion of the performance of *Bhattarasesham* (*Pattabhishekam*?) by (Raja?) Suryattondaimanar. It is said that the said *parru* (area) was formerly in the enjoyment of the temple and that there was some obstacle to the enjoyment.

The Saluva Dynasty (16th Century A.D.)

The only record of the Saluva line found at Cidambaram relates to the gift of the village of Karikudi, a western hamlet of Perumparrappuliyur, made for a double garland and offerings to be made every day to Nataraja. The gift was made in Saka 1425 (A.D. 1503) by a certain Mondukoli Ramanayakkar Mallanayakkar, perhaps a local officer (A.R.E. 344 of 1913).

The Tuluva Dynasty (16th Century A.D.)

The Tuluva kings connected with Cidambaram are Krishna Deva Raya and Acyuta Raya.

Krishna Deva Raya (A.D. 1509-1529):

In Saka 1432 (A.D. 1510), a certain Appa Pillai made a gift of three villages with an income of 1400 *rekai* (*gadyana*) for the *mahapuja* in the temple of Alagiya Tiruccirrambalamudaiya Tambiranar (that is, Nataraja) and for the maintenance of a feeding house. We learn that Cidambaram was included in Arasur-kilparru, a sub-division of Vennaiyurnadu, in Rajadhiraja valanadu, which was a district included in the province of Bhuvaneka-viran-pattina *sirmai*. Bhuvanekaviran-pattinam is the modern Bhuvanagiri, about six kilometres from Cidambaram, on the north bank of the Vellar(A.R.E. 323 of 1913).

The next important event is the visit of the king, Krishna Deva Raya, to Ponnambalam (Cidambaram), after he had erected a pillar of victory at Simhadri Pottanuru (modern Simhachalam) to mark his triumph over the Gajapati king of Orissa. He is said to have worshipped the Lord of Ponnambalam and then built the North Gopuram, perhaps in Saka 1438 (A.D.1516).* This should only mean the re-construction in brick and mortar of the seven storeys above the double-storeyed stone gateway portion. (The latter, as already indicated in Chapter Four, has to be assigned to the days of Kulottunga II. A further reference is made to this question in the section on the North Gopuram in Chapter Nine.)

A well-preserved and majestic portrait sculpture in stone of Krishna Deva Raya is housed on the western flank of the gateway portion of the North Gopuram. It is of fine workmanship and, along with his statue in bronze at Tirupati, of inestimable value, and both accord with the excellent description of the king by the Portuguese chronicler, Domingo Paes.

Lastly, in Saka 1443 (A.D.1521), a certain Mangarasan granted the village of Cidambaranathapuram to the temple. Mangarasan was the viceroy of Tiruvadi Rajya (South Arcot district) - (A.R.E. 333 of 1913).

Krishna Deva Raya had Vaishnavite leanings but he was not a bigot. His gifts to Siva temples are well-known. But, in spite of a Vaishnavite bias, he does not seem to have made any gifts to Govindaraja. If it had been a deity of some importance enjoying the benefits of worship, the king would not have ignored it. In spite of the restoration of this deity in the days of Vedanta Desikar, it might have been in a state of neglect and have encountered much opposition, in the struggle for survival, from those of the Saivite persuasion.

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* The related inscription, in Tamil, is:

ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ இந்தக் கோபுரம் ராஜாதிராஜ ராஜபரமேசுவர
ஸ்ரீ வீரப் ப்ரதாப ஸ்ரீகிருஷ்ணதேவ மகா ராயன் தர்மமாக
ஸிம்மாத்திரி போத்தனூரு எழுந்தருளி ஜெயஸ்தம்பம் நாட்டி
திரும்பி பொன்னம்பலத்துக்கு எழுந்தருளி பொன்னம்பல
நாதனை சேவித்து வடக்குக் கோபுரம் கட்டிவித்த ஸேவை. (A.R.E. 371 and 374 of 1913)

Acyuta Deva Raya (A.D. 1530 - 42)

An inscription of Acyuta Deva Raya records that in Saka 1461 (A.D. 1539), Acyuta Raya Maharaya ordered that the image of Tillai Govindaraja Perumal, in Valudalam-pattu usavadi, be set up according to the ritual of the *Vaikhanasa Sutra*, and he granted 500 *pon*, the income from four villages, for the upkeep of its daily worship (A.R.E. 272 of 1913).

It is likely that the independent existence of this shrine met with objections and that no regular daily worship was in existence till then. With royal support, the followers of Govindaraja might have secured these concessions at the time.

Another inscription of Acyuta Raya, written in Grantha and Tamil scripts, refers to a grant of eighty-two villages towards a celebration of the annual car festival of Nataraja and the construction of the North Gopuram at Cidambaram. It is found on the outer face of the western wall of the first *prakaram* enclosing the shrines of Nataraja and Govindaraja, and, again, it should refer only to the construction of the superstructure of the North Gopuram over the older stone gateway of Kulottunga II's days. Perhaps Acyuta Raya completed what Krishna Deva Raya had begun (A.R.E. 2 of 1936).

An unfinished inscription of Acyuta Deva Raya (A.D. 1538) records the reconsecration of Govindarajasvamin at Citrakuta by Acyuta Raya (A.R.E. 1 of 1915).

The Aravidu Dynasty (16th and 17th Centuries A.D.)

The succeeding period is marked by the religious controversies of the days of the famous Appayya Dikshitar, whose opponent was Mahacarya (or Doddayacarya). The latter claims to have defeated in disputation all the Saiva scholars of Citrakuta (or Cidambaram), including Appayya Dikshitar, and he seems to have sought the help of Tatacarya, the preceptor of Rama Raya (of the Aravidu line), and succeeded in his attempt to establish the worship of Govindaraja at Cidambaram. In this controversy, tradition records victory to each side according to the source, Saivite or Vaishnavite. It is to be inferred that, without royal support, it was not possible to continue the worship of Govindaraja. Tradition has it that Appayya Dikshitar lived at least upto seventy years of age and that he spent his last days at Cidambaram. His great patron was Cinna Nayaka of Vellore and, in Saka 1504 (A.D.1582), Appayya Dikshitar is said to have constructed the temple of Kalakanthesvara at Adayapalam near Arni; further, at the instance of Venkatapati Raya, he wrote a work on *Alankara* called 'Kuvalayananda'. Appayya's probable dates are A.D. 1520-92, and it is not possible to infer as clear a victory for the Vaishnavites as the Prapannamrtam would have it.

We make detailed reference to Appayya Dikshitar in Chapter Twenty-one.

Tirumala

From a slab near the Pasupatisvara temple at Tiruvakkulam (Tiruvetkalam), a suburb of Cidambaram, now Annamalainagar, which houses the Annamalai University campus and had, earlier, its nucleus, the Sri Minakshi College from 1920, we learn that in Saka 1488 (A.D. 1566), the village of 'Tiruvetkalam' was granted as a gift to the shrines of Cidambaresvara and Sivakama Sundari Amman of the Tirumulasthanam temple by Acyutappa Nayaka, son of Cevappa Nayaka, for the merit of Tirumala Raya i.e., the Karnata king Tirumala I (A.R.E. 259 of 1913). This grant was issued some time after the battle of Talikota (Rakshas Tagadi) by the son of the Nayaka for the merit of the regent, Tirumala, who carried on the administration in the name of the nominal Vijayanagar emperor, Sadasiva Raya.

After the 'murder' of Sadasiva, Tirumala became the first independent sovereign of the Aravidu house. But he seems to have soon retired in favour of his son, Sri Ranga (A.D. 1572-85). We learn that extensive improvements including those on the outer-most wall of enclosure (and defence) known as 'Virappa-Nayakan Madil' and a ditch around it for the temple of Cidambaram were made by Virappa Nayaka of Madurai, who ruled between A.D. 1572 and 1595. Most probably, Virappa financed these works with his funds, and for his own merit, between the years A.D.1572 and 1578.

Sri Ranga and Venkata Raya

During the reign of Sri Ranga (A.D. 1572 - 85) and his successor, Venkata (A.D. 1586 - 1614) - (called Venkata I by the epigraphists and Venkata II by Rev. Father Heras), Cidambaram seems to have been under the control of the Gingee Viceroy, Vaiyappa Krishnappa Kondama Nayaka.

In Saka 1500 (A.D. 1577-78), a gift of four villages was made to the temple of Cidambaresvara and Sivakama Sundari Amman to provide for the oblations and sacred bath in the early morning, for the merit of the above Chief, Krishnappa. This gift must have been made when Venkata was the Viceroy at Chandragiri (A.R.E. 334 of 1913).

In the reign of Sri Ranga, this Nayaka, in Saka 1503 (A.D.1581-82), made a gift of seven villages and the income from pepper trade called *milagu-taragu* for oblations and festivals at the shrines of the god and goddess (according to an inscription in the South Gopuram — A.R.E. 348 of 1913).

In Saka 1510 (A.D. 1588), in the reign of Venkatadeva, the amount of 300 *pon*, which was formerly being set apart by the temple for the *ilakkai* (clothing) and *korru* (food) of the king and his followers (*rajagaram*), was ordered to be used for twenty rice offerings to Lord Cidambaresvara. This was perhaps an old provision to meet the cost of entertaining the king and his staff at the time of his visits to the temple. And these offerings were to be distributed among the devotees (A.R.E. 335 of 1913).

In the same year, Krishnappa ordered that the thirty rice offerings for which he had provided 50,000 *kalams* of paddy in the district of Vira Narayanaccirmai, be distributed among the Saiva mendicants (*tiruvottu nayanmar*) (A.R.E. 339 of 1913).

Another inscription of the same year records the provision made by the same Chief for twenty offerings to be distributed among the *paradesis* (mendicants) and further that one Namasivaya Udaiyar be placed as the superintendent of all services (*kattalai*). He could perhaps be the Cidambaram Guru Namasivayamurti or his disciple Ananda Namasivaya, for whom a *matha* was constructed by Eriama Nayaka in Saka 1514 (A.D. 1592) — (A.R.E. 349 of 1913).

A Tamil inscription (A.R.E. 360 of 1913) of the period of Virapratapa Sri Ranga Deva Maharaya (Saka 1517, or A.D. 1595) on the West Gopuram refers to a gift of a village surnamed Purappettai for meeting the expenses of a day during the *Arpisi Puram* festival in honour of the Goddess (Sivakamasundari).

In Saka 1515 (A.D. 1593), the districts of Devamandala Sirmai, Vira Narayanaccirmai, Terku-nadu, Vadakku-nadu, the five villages grouped under Asuvur (modern Usuppur ?), and all others, the revenues from which had accrued to the temple of Cidambaresvara from early times, were made tax-free and a fresh provision was made for a daily offering of 750 *taligai* (food offerings) for the merit of Vaiyappa Krishnappa Kondama Nayaka (A.R.E. 369 of 1913).

In A.D. 1597 (A.D.1599, according to 'Sources of Vijayanagar History', p.272), Krishnappa Nayaka was supervising the improvements he had ordered in the temple of Govindaraja within 'the great Siva temple'. Here is an account, by the Jesuit Father N. Pimenta who passed through Cidambaram at that time:

> "Whether it were lawful to place the sign of Perumal in the temple at Chidambaram, some refused, others by their legates importunately urged, and the Naichus of Ginji decreed to erect it in the temple....The priests of the temple which were the Treasurers (were) withstanding and threatening, if it were done, to cast down themselves from the top. The Brachmanes of the Temple swore to doe the like after they buried the former, which yet after better advice they performed not....
>
> "Krishnappa went on without hesitation. Whereupon the priests, climbing one of the high *gopurams* of the temple, started to cast themselves down while the Nayak was in the temple....
>
> "About twentie had perished in that precipitation on that day of our departure, whereas the Naichus, angrie, caused his gunners to shoot the rest, which killed two of them, the rest wandering in uncertain places. A woman also was so hote in this zealous quarrel that shee cut her own throat."*

There is another inscription, on a slab near the South Gopuram (A.R.E. 352 of 1913), which refers to this Chief. The name of the reigning king is not mentioned. The inscription is dated Saka 1520 (A.D. 1598-99) and it provided for some specified repairs to the temple made for the merit of Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka, son of Vaiyappa Krishnappa Kondama Nayaka. A *mantapa* on the banks of the Kollidavaru (the river Kollidam) is also said to have been built by the same donor.** This is the last inscription in which we have a reference to Krishnappa. What happened to him afterwards we do not know definitely. The '*Raghunatha Abhyudayam*,' a work in Sanskrit on Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjavur by a lady of the court, tells us that the 'Lord of Tundira (the Nayaka of Gingee), Krishnappa Nayaka, was wasting away in the Emperor's prison. Raghunatha took pity upon him, and by his influence got Krishnappa Nayaka released by the Emperor.' This was after his victorious campaign on behalf of Venkata against the Muhammadans. The Gingee Chief is said to have given his daughter in marriage to Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjavur.

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* Heras, 'The Aravidu Dynasty', p.553.

** Perhaps this is the *mantapa* used for the *Adip-perukku* festival, when the processional deity, Siva as Somaskanda, was carried to the northern bank of this river, close to Cidambaram. Presumably for security reasons, this festival is no longer in vogue. The *mantapa* survives, but is not in good shape.

There are two other inscriptions which, however, do not mention the name of the reigning sovereign (A.R.E. 360 and 352 of 1913). It is likely that after Saka 1517 or 1520, that is, at the end of the sixteenth century, Krishnappa showed signs of unrest and revolt, and that this revolt led to his capture and imprisonment till his release at the intervention of Raghunatha of Tanjavur.

The death of Venkata (A.D. 1614) was followed by a civil war in the Empire. Raghunatha threw his weight on the side of the fugitive Emperor, against whom the traitor Jagga Raya waged a relentless war. He told the envoys of the Emperor who came to seek his help that the three tasks of destroying Solaga in the island (of Devikota?), driving out the enemies of the Nepala (Jaffna) king, and celebrating the coronation of the new Karnataka Emperor would constitute his *digvijaya*.

Solaga was the Chief of Devikota, the island at the mouth of the Kollidam (Coleroon) near the sea. 'He used to inflict inhuman punishments upon the innocent people of the land. He would bind them up in empty sacks and, having beaten them with pestles, would throw the sacks, containing the men, into the river to be devoured by crocodiles. He would also subject the *kalamal* of Acyuta's territory to unheard-of atrocities such as passing sharp needles into the roots of their hair.' Krishnappa of Gingee and the Portuguese were his allies.

Raghunatha conducted a campaign against Solaga and took him prisoner. The Gingee Chief escaped. The Portuguese were defeated and the Jaffna ruler was restored. Last came the crowning achievement of Raghunatha, the overthrow of Jagga Raya. The latter secured the help of the Nayakas of Gingee and Madurai. The allied forces lay encamped near Srirangam. Raghunatha advanced against them and defeated them at Toppur (modern Tohur, three kilometres from the Grand Anicut on the Kaveri). Krishnappa of Gingee fled. Jagga Raya was killed. The Madhurai Nayak sought Raghunatha's pardon. A pillar of victory was erected on the banks of the Kaveri to commemorate the great success.

Raghunatha heard that the Nayak of Gingee was contemplating hostilities even after this defeat. From his camp at Tiruvaiyaru in the Tanjavur district, Raghunatha despatched an army against the Gingee Nayak. They are said to have attacked and captured Bhuvanagiri (then a fortified place near Cidambaram) and other fortresses of the enemy. Finally they defeated in battle the Gingee Chief and his ally, Yatiraja. We do not hear any more of him, thereafter.

The latest Vijayanagar record (A.R.E. 271 of 1913) in the Cidambaram temple is that of Sri Ranga (III ?) dated Saka 1565 (A.D.1643). He was the last ruler of the Aravidu House. He is called here Mahamandalesvara Sri Ranga Raya — perhaps he was reduced to the rank of a local Chief — no longer Emperor. According to this record, the king is said to have repaired the big *mantapa* in front of the Tillai Govindarajasvami temple in Tiru-Citrakutam, the *gopura* of the shrine, the *vimana* of the goddess Pundarikavalli Nacciyar and Sudi-Kodutta-Nacciyar and the *mantapa* in front of Tiruvali Alvan (Tirumangai Alvar). The villages of Adur, Karunguli, Kuriyamangalam, Marudantanallur and Udaiyur, the permanent home of the Sri Vaiṣhnavas, were made rent-free by him. These temple structures are said to have been in existence almost up to the beginning of this century. The Pundarikavalli Nacciyar shrine is the only one that is intact today. The Govindaraja shrine was renovated (in 1934) by the late Raja Sir Annamalai

Chettiar of Chettinad. (Please see illustrations.) It will be clear that the Govindaraja deity at Tiruccitrakutam had a chequered history. There was, during the period under survey, serious opposition from the Saivite party of *Dikshitars* to the consecration and worship of Govindaraja. Vedanta Desikar, the Emperor Acyuta Raya himself, Mahacarya in the days of Rama Raya and Sri Ranga of the Aravidu House, each, during his time, tried to do his bit for reviving the worship of the Vaishnavite deity. Such was the bigotry on both sides that the struggle lasted very long. At last, in 1867, an agreement seems to have been reached, by which the worship of the Vaishnavite deity was permitted on the Vaishnavite followers agreeing not to celebrate the *Brahmotsavam* of their temple.

Incidentally, an inscription on the West Gopuram (A.R.E. 356 of 1913), dated Saka 1498 — A.D. 1576, mentions that Maharaja Rama Varma (of the family of Seraman Perumal Nayanar) provided for 33 *taligai* (offerings) to Ananda-Tandava Perumal Nayanar which were to be distributed among *brahmanas*, *mahesvaras* and the temple cooks.

Subsequent developments have been outlined in Chapter Ten on the Govindaraja shrine.

* * *

CHAPTER 8

The 17th Century and After

The vicissitudes of the Nataraja Temple (A.D. 1649-1686)

It may be recalled that Sri Ranga of the Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagar had renovated the *mantapa* in front of the Govindaraja shrine round about A.D. 1643, and this shrine had apparently had the support of the Vijayanagar rulers and their protection from the political tensions of the area during the period.

Even as the Govindaraja shrine was settling down (after the lapse of nearly four centuries) towards the middle of the 17th century A.D., a strange destiny overtook the Nataraja shrine (it would perhaps be wiser to say that Lord Nataraja allowed himself to be so overtaken !) in the period A.D. 1649-1686, which, according to the records now available, was a dark patch in the history of the Nataraja temple.

Vijayaraghava Nayak of the Nayak dynasty was ruling at Tanjavur; and conflicts between the Moghul cadres and the Mahratha chieftains resisting them had already disrupted the political, social and religious life in the Coromandel coast. The Dikshitars and devotees must have been understandably apprehensive of the security of Nataraja in the disturbed political conditions. The publication: 'Tanjai Marattiyar Seppedugal-50' by Se. Rasu (1983) of the Tamil University, Tanjavur, has brought to light some valuable information in regard to the movement of Nataraja out of Cidambaram during these fateful years (A.D. 1649-1684). The Copper plates of relevance to our study are numbered 45 to 48 and are described as "Tiruvarur Copper plates 4, 5, 6 and 7". They are in Sanskrit and Tamil.

The main points made in these four valuable Copper plates are:

i) Lord Nataraja was taken and kept away from Cidambaram between 24-12-1648 A.D. and 14-11-1686 A.D. — a total period of 37 years, 10 months and 20 days, when the Lord was lodged in the Pandya country — 40 months in Kudumiyanmalai (of the former Pudukkottai State) and later in Madurai (one Cidambaram Cirrambala Muni is reported to have helped in bringing Lord Nataraja back to Tillai). The copper plates do not, however, indicate any reasons why Nataraja was moved out of Tillai. The severe famine which hit several parts of Tamil Nadu in A.D. 1647 and the threat posed by the Bijapur Sultanates to the Hindu kingdoms are believed to be the cause; and, during this unfortunate period, Cidambaram is said to have been 'in a state of ruin'.

"Adavallan" adorned His *ambalam* at Cidambaram again from 14-11-1686 A.D.

ii) Sambhaji, the Mahratha ruler at Ginjee, was controlling from Gingee the area north of the Coleroon (Kollidam) river; and his agent at Parangippettai, one Gopala Pandit (Gopala Dadaji) was entrusted by Sambhaji with the execution of the renovation of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram.

iii) The copper plates point out that the renovation of the Tillai temple and the gilding of the Cit Sabha and a *kumbhabhishekam* were performed in A.D. 1684. One Muthiah Dikshitar conducted the *kumbhabhishekam*.

iv) In A.D. 1686, one more *kumbhabhishekam* was performed for the consecrated Cit Sabha.

By A.D. 1684, Sahaji II, the Mahratha ruler, a staunch devotee of Tyagesa of Tiruvarur, was already established on the Tanjavur throne, the Mahrathas having taken over in succession to the Nayak dynasty; and, with his well-known devotion to Saivism, Sahaji must have been mainly instrumental in the safe return of Nataraja to Cidambaram by A.D. 1684. It is not a mere coincidence that Sambhaji from Ginjee took the initiative at the same time for the consecration, the gilding of the Cit Sabha and the two *kumbhabhishekams* of 1684 and 1686 A.D. of the Nataraja temple.

Thus the sad interlude was brought to a happy end by the intervention of the Mahratha ruler of the period.

It is known, to one's sadness, that shortly after this noble deed was done at Cidambaram, Sambhaji died elsewhere in A.D. 1689 under tragic circumstances.

(Incidentally, one Siva Prakasa, a Saiva Vellala of Kumbakonam, had arranged, with the assistance of Lingama Naicken, a 'Vira Saiva', for the uninterrupted worship of Nataraja upto A.D. 1610; the *palayagars* of Turiyur are said to have ensured the safety of the Nataraja shrine at Cidambaram till A.D. 1648. Apparently, the shrine of Nataraja was under a constant threat of insecurity from the early 17th century, owing to an alien presence in the Carnatic area.)

In the four "Tiruvarur Copper plates" under reference, there is no statement of the precise length of time the icons were kept at Madurai (as contrasted with Kudumiyanmalai). One can only conjecture that the Dikshitars kept shifting them about within the Pandya country, lest long presence in any one place should attract undesirable public attention with all its consequences. The Ambalappuli episode, detailed below, may be fitted into the time gap between the sojourn of the icons at Kudumiyanmalai and at Madurai respectively. One may conjecture that the Mahratha ruler heard of their lodgement in the Pandyan region and arranged for their being safely escorted back to Cidambaram in A.D. 1684. In the absence of further information, this seems to be a plausible recapitulation of events.

Incidentally, I noticed during my visit to Kudumiyanmalai in January 1993 — after quite a few years — a tunnel in the *Mukhamantapa* of the Sikhagirisa temple, where, it is believed, these two icons were preserved. Many of the families of Kudumiyanmalai have adopted Nataraja as their *kula deivam* and the names Nataraja and Kanakasabhapati are very common. Brief as it was, the presence once of Nataraja has clearly left a deep impress on Kudumiyanmalai's culture.

Ambalappuli Episode

This episode has been brought to light by the veteran Tamil scholar, the late Mahamahopadhyaya U.V. Swaminatha Iyer, in an article in the 1940 *Deepavali Malar* of the Tamil Magazine

'*Ananda Vikatan*', which was reproduced in Vol.II of his book '*Ninaivu Manjari*' ("Collection of Memories"). It is also reflected in verse 99 of "Cola Mandala Satakam".*

The flight with the icons of Nataraja and Sivakamasundari from the Cit Sabha in Cidambaram to an "unknown destination", which had to be organised by the Dikshitars, under the stress of the political convulsions of the times — including the Bijapur invasion — is a sad and moving episode in the history of the Cidambaram temple. Justifiably apprehensive of invasion by hostile forces, and in the fear that the Nataraja and Sivakamasundari icons would not be safe at Cidambaram and the worship and connected rituals would be interrupted and defiled, the Dikshitars conferred among themselves and decided (most reluctantly and with deep anguish in their hearts) that a few among them would be entrusted with the responsibility of carrying the icons away from Cidambaram to a zone of safety where they could be lodged, without being noticed, in the expectation that when the political turmoil ended, the icons so dear to them could be brought back to Cidambaram. The other Dikshitars stayed back in Cidambaram, with prayers on their lips and anxious thoughts as to when the icons would get back to Cidambaram.

After a good deal of journeying towards the South, the Dikshitars carrying the icons reached an extensive dense tamarind (*Puli* - in Tamil) grove, far from human habitation, and located an old tamarind tree with a massive trunk and a big hole in it which could take in the two valuable icons. Concealing the icons in it, they so closed the hole that there could not be the merest suspicion of anything being hidden there. Having left their dear God and Goddess in that obscure spot at dead of night, the Dikshitars returned to Cidambaram in utter anguish, praying for the propitious times when the icons could be brought back to Cidambaram.

Years rolled on. The Dikshitars' only comfort was that the invaders could cause no harm to Nataraja and His Consort as they had been shifted out to a 'safe zone'.

When the political situation eased and the Dikshitars felt reassured that there was no fear of mishaps, they decided to bring Nataraja and His Consort back from the bosom of the tamarind tree. Memories of the location of the tree had become dim with the passage of years, and it became difficult for the new generation of Dikshitars who were despatched on this mission to locate the particular tamarind tree where the icons had been housed in the darkness of a night. They were in deep agony and felt totally lost. But, not for long. An old farmer in the vicinity was heard shouting to a farm-hand: "Take the bulls along to the foot of Ambalappuli. I shall join you very soon". This casual conversation caught the ears of the anxiety-ridden Dikshitars. They followed the boy and reached a large, shady tamarind tree; with hope and anguish mingled, the Dikshitars asked the boy, "Why is this tree known as Ambalappuli?" The boy, in utter innocence, replied: "I don't know, Sirs: my master offers worship at this tree. He has given this tree the name Ambalappuli."

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* "தெளிவந் தயன் மாலறியாத தில்லைப் பதியம்பல வாணர்
புளியம் பொந்தினிடம் வாழும் புதுமை காட்டிப் பொருள்காட்டி
எளிதிற் புளியங் குடியானென் றிசைக்கும் பெருமை யேரு ழவர்
வளருங் குடியிற் பொலி வாழ்வு வளஞ்சேர் சோழ மண்டலமே"

Sri R. Sambandam Pillai of Cidambaram, an esteemed family friend, who has been closely associated with the activities of the Sabhanayakar Temple Renovation Committee, whose devotion to Nataraja is unsurpassed, and a distinguished scholar, made these details available to me. I acknowledge with thanks his courtesy and help.

The boy's answer whetted their curiosity; they wished to check with the master whether this was the tamarind tree they were looking for. When they met the Vellala master, the latter offered them his prostrations; the Dikshitars told him that they would like to examine the tree Ambalappuli as it possibly 'contains their property'. The Vellala master was fully seized of the situation but wished to know the backgound from the lips of the Dikshitars themselves and was slow to give away any details on his own volition. They told him: "Please spare us this agony. You are a true devotee of Nataraja and have earned His bounteous grace by protecting Him all these years." The Vellala master reminisced with due reverence: "During the years of political turmoil, when once I chanced to look at this tamarind tree (which is located within the limits of my property), I noticed that the large hole had been closed. I realised that there should have been some reason for the closure. I opened it up and was surprised and pleased to see Lord Nataraja's icon in it. I did not want word to get round that the icon was concealed there. I closed the hole again, as I could guess that the political disturbances were responsible for this concealment. I was, however, haunted by a feeling of guilt that Nataraja was lying in neglect here without the prescribed worship. I gave people to understand that I had a dream in which it was revealed to me that there was a godly element in this particular tree. From then on, regular worship has been offered to this tree."

The Dikshitars were overjoyed: "Even if you could not conduct the worship that we offer to Him at the Cit Sabha, Nataraja will be conscious of your deep devotion."

They then gathered the icons and prepared themselves for the journey to Cidambaram.

It has been inferred by some scholars that the scene of the above action is the village Puliangudi about 30 kilometres away from Srivilliputtur (in Tamil Nadu) — the bazaar street in nearby Rajapalayam is known as "Ambalappuli bazaar". Some other scholars hold that the Ambalappuli in question is close to Sengottai. There is also a common impression that the exile was in Kerala — in Alappula and Ambalappula. Be that as it may, we have in respect of the episode itself the unquestionable authority of the veteran Tamil scholar, U.V. Swaminatha Iyer (whom my father and I have had the privilege to know).

The Mahrathas and Uttara Cidambaram at Satara

Chatrapati Sivaji seems to have cherished dreams of setting up a Nataraja temple in Maharashtra.

We have noted above Sambhaji's connection with the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram in this period. Apparently, the fascination of the Nataraja cult had fallen on the Mahrathas as well. Nearly three centuries later, a few years ago, His Holiness Sri Sankaracarya Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati VII, the 68th Pontiff of Sri Kanchi Kamakoti Pitham, hit upon the idea during his camp in Satara (Maharashtra State) that an Uttara Cidambaram temple of Nataraja should be built in Satara. A *sphatika linga* had been under worship there but it was found slightly damaged.

It was replaced and the project of a temple for Nataraja at Satara took shape. More about 'Uttara Cidambaram' at Satara in Chapter Twenty Eight.

Political convulsions of the 18th Century

During the latter half of the eighteenth century (A.D. 1749-84), the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram was used as a fort — for nearly thirty-five years. During the Anglo-French wars of the eighteenth century, the Cidambaram temple was the scene of some fighting. In A.D. 1753, the French and the Mahrathas captured it from an English detachment which was stationed there, and held the area till 1760. The French garrison which occupied Cidambaram surrended to Major Manson in April of A.D. 1760.

Lally, the French commander, was finally defeated by the English under Sir Eyre Coote at Wandiwash (now Vandavasi) in A.D. 1760 and was driven back into Pondicherry. In January 1761, Pondicherry fell, after a protracted defence.

During the invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ali in A.D. 1780, his troops occupied Cidambaram town and the temple, which continued under military occupation for nearly four years till A.D. 1784. Hyder Ali improved its defences, placing a garrison in the *'pagoda'*. On July 1, 1781, at Porto Novo on the East coast (now Parangippettai, very near Cidambaram, at the confluence of the Vellar with the Bay of Bengal), Sir Eyre Coote decisively defeated Hyder Ali. Before Hyder Ali died in December 1782, Sir Eyre Coote had, in 1781, launched an attack on the *'pagoda'*, when he and his troops were repulsed with considerable loss, after forcing their way past two of the three enclosures through the western gateway of the temple at Cidambaram. The scars left on the Cidambaram temple as a result of the Carnatic and Mysore wars still stand, as some of the valuable stone sculptures of the lower tiers of the *gopurams* and structures (the cloistered halls near the third wall of enclosure) were badly damaged.

From the available data, it would appear that there was an interruption in the worship, services and festivals in the Nataraja shrine at Cidambaram during the period of its military occupation from A.D 1753 to A.D. 1760 followed by the events upto A.D. 1781 (presumably with some improvement towards the later part of this period so far as the temple was concerned).

Tiruvarur Interregnum

It is believed that during this disturbed period the icons of Nataraja and Sivakamasundari were again moved from their *sanctum sanctorum* at Cidambaram to the present Sabhapati *mantapam* at Tiruvarur (in Tanjavur district) for safety. An inscription in Grantha characters found in the Thousand-Pillared *mantapam* at Cidambaram refers to the return of these icons to Cidambaram and their re-installation in the Cit Sabha in Saka year 1696, *Masi, Krishna Paksha, Mula* star, *Trayodasi tithi*.

This was the second episode of a shift for Nataraja and Sivakamasundari out of Cidambaram under the compulsions of political turmoil.*

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* Pages 213 to 225 of Cassell's "Illustrated History of India", Vol. I, published in A.D. 1890 provide a lurid account of the happenings of this unfortunate period — Hyder Ali's invasion of the Carnatic, the attack on the Cidambaram *"pagoda"*, the Battle of Porto Novo and related events. Among the Illustrations is an A.D. 1890 picture of Pandya Nayakam, after it had been damaged in these political upheavals.

----- *Courtesy*: N. Sethuraman of Kumbakonam

Tulaja II was the Mahratha ruler at Tanjore at the time. The Mahratha rulers of Tanjore, right from Sahaji II, were great devotees of Lord Tyagesa of Tiruvarur, and the Copper plates of Tiruvarur confirm the impression. The covered palanquin in which Lord Nataraja was carried to Tiruvarur and brought back to Cidambaram is being preserved in the Nataraja temple.

Since the period Nataraja was away from Cidambaram, in this spell, was only twenty years (and this interregnum at Tiruvarur is fully documented), we are of the view that the Ambalappuli episode to which Mahamahopadhyaya U.V. Swaminatha Iyer has referred should have happened only between A.D. 1649 and A.D. 1684, flanked by a stay at Kudumiyanmalai in the first portion and at Madurai in the third portion of the absence. The Ambalappuli episode is almost an '*ajnatavasa*' for Nataraja and Sivakamasundari, as the Dikshitars really intended it to be.

The divine dispensation works inexorably!

Recent History

(a) Pachaiyappa Mudaliar's charities

Pachaiyappa Mudaliar of Kancipuram (A.D. 1754-1794) was a *Dubash* (interpreter) in the service of the East India Company and he devoted his extensive wealth to large-scale charities, including religious and educational charities, particularly at Kancipuram and Cidambaram, including among them large benefactions and *kattalai's* (instituted charities for services to the Lord and worship, festivals etc., contribution of materials for the performance of *pujas*) for the Sabhanayakar (Nataraja) shrine. It is believed that Pachaiyappa Mudaliar initiated in 1791-92 the second *Brahmotsavam* (the major festival) of the shrine, namely, Ani Tirumanjanam in the Tamil month of Ani, on the same pattern as the Ardra Darsanam festival (the extant major festival) in the Tamil month, Margali. (We are not sure, however, whether this version is correct, because the early epigraphical and literary evidence points to three festivals in a year, including a trip to Killai on the sea-coast on *Masi Makham*. Perhaps Pachaiyappa added a few embellishments to the Ani festival.)

These two festivals in Ani and Margali are a great draw. This discerning benefactor built the car-stand, renovated the temple cars (*rathas*) and revived the Car festival (*Rathotsava*) which had gone out of vogue for some time. He persuaded his rich friends to make large endowments to the Sabhanayakar temple for the maintenance of flower-gardens and the plating with silver of the *Pancakshara* (five syllables - na, ma, si, va, ya) steps leading up from the Kanaka Sabha into the Cit Sabha, the innermost *sanctum* of Nataraja.

Pachaiyappa had also planned the renovation of the East Gopuram, which was then in a dilapidated state. But he did not live long enough to complete the work. His sister and mother-in-law, Suppammal, has been justifiably credited with having carried out extensive repairs to the East Gopuram (ARE No. 342 of 1913) towards the end of the 18th century A.D. Pachaiyappa Mudaliar has been most appropriately described as the *"Tarumakartta" (Dharma-Karta)*. An Englishman, Lord Valentia, who visited Cidambaram in A.D. 1803 has borne testimony to Pachaiyappa Mudaliar's charities to the Cidambaram temple and the renovation of the East Gopuram by his mother-in-law at enormous cost. Pachaiyappa's wife was Ayyalammal, daughter of Suppammal.

(b) Nattukkottal Nagarathar's charities

The Nattukkottai Nagarathar (Chettiar) community, hailing from what is now called the Chettinad area, have over the last two centuries evinced keen interest in the renovation of many temples in South India. The forefathers of the late Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad undertook an extensive renovation of the Cidambaram temple from the seventies of the nineteenth century; every shrine was spruced up, the gilding of the roof of the Kanaka Sabha received special attention, the walls of enclosure were repaired and corridors were constructed round the second *prakara*; the *tirumaligai* in the first *prakara* was also renovated. S.Rm. Muthiah Chettiar, father of Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar, undertook the renovation of the Sri Mulanathar shrine and that of the Consort, Uma Parvati. The *Mahakumbhabhishekam* of the Sri Mulanathar temple was performed with the aid of the Nagarathars in A.D. 1858, A.D.1891, A.D.1922, A.D.1951 and A.D. 1979. The *Mahakumbhabhishekam* of the Nataraja shrine was performed in A.D.1891, corresponding to the Tamil year, *Kara*.

In his "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture" (A.D. 1891), Vol.I, p.376, James Fergusson says:

> "The Nattukkottai Nagarattars added a wide cloister round the enclosure in the second *prakara*, renovated all the *gopuras*, cloistered the *mantapas* of the Sivaganga tank and re-constructed all the shrines during A.D. 1891."

It should be said to the everlasting credit of Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar that in this century he took the initiative and carried out repairs on both the Saivite and the Vaishnavite shrines at Cidambaram and set at rest the age-long hostility between the two sects; to him and his family, Nataraja became the *Kulanayakam* (as to the Colas of old). The *mantapam* which now stands in front of both the shrines is the Rajah Saheb's contribution to the enduring benefit of both sects — when their long-drawn conflicts were resolved amicably. In A.D. 1934, when the renovation of both the shrines was completed, and the open area in front of the Nataraja and the Govindraja shrines was covered by a full-fledged *mantapam*, the Rajah Saheb arranged for the *Kumbhabhishekam* of the Govindaraja shrine. After a lapse of nearly sixty years, *samprokshanam* and *mahakumbhabhishekam* according to *sastraic* rituals were performed on July 7, 1955. This constitutes a land-mark in the history of the Cidambaram temple where successive generations of princes, nobles and common people have paid their homage to 'He who is immersed in yogic sleep' and to 'He who does the dance divine' to sustain life in this world. The renovation of the Sivakamasundari Amman shrine located west of the Sivaganga tank and the adjacent Durga temple was undertaken a few years ago and the *mahakumbhabhishekam* of these shrines was performed on February 6, 1972. The late Rajah Sir M.A. Muthiah Chettiar of Chettinad was actively associated with these events.

Some years ago, in fulfilment of a deeply cherished wish of His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Pitham (Sri Mahasvamigal), a decorative ornament for the Kuncitapadam (the raised leg of Nataraja) set with diamonds and other precious stones and fabricated from the contributions of thousands of devotees was presented to Sri Nataraja. The three *vibhuti* stripes of Nataraja bedecked with diamonds are a thing of rare beauty.

Recently, His Holiness Sri Paramacharya of Kanchi likewise arranged for a diamond crown to adorn the Lord. It is displayed on festive occasions. Two resplendent symbols in diamonds, சிவ சிவ (*Siva Siva* in Tamil letters), decorate the chest of the Lord and offer hope and solace to the devout worshipper.

In recent years Adoor Ratnasabhapati Pillai, a leading landlord of the area, and his son, R. Kanakasabhai Pillai, who distinguished himself in public life as a Member of Parliament and a respected leader of the co-operative movement, displayed enormous keenness in the renovation of the Nataraja temple. Considerable work was done on re-building the damaged portions of the Veerappa Nayakan Madil — a formidable job — and quite a large number of shrines were spruced up. In 1972, the Sabhanayakar Temple Renovation Committee was formed out of this nucleus. G.Vageesam Pillai and many of his co-workers on the committee have rendered selfless service in the matter of repairs to the temple. The steep ascent to the *Ratha mantapa* on the East Car Street has been made more gentle.

Besides the above-cited activities for the renovation of the shrines, the Chettinad family have made provision for a number of *ubhayam's* and *kattalai's* for the Nataraja temple, for lamps, vessels, *vahanas* (vehicles with silver plating) for use in the services to the deities and in festivals. At least five generations of the family of the Rajah Saheb of Chettinad have devoted themselves to the task of the restoration of this temple complex at Cidambaram to its pristine glory.

A *Mahakumbhabhishekam* of the Nataraja shrine was performed on 11th February 1987, in which Dr. M.A.M. Ramaswamy (the present pro-Chancellor of the Annamalai University), grandson of the late Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad and son of the late Rajah Sir Muthiah Chettiar of Chettinad, took a leading part. The effulgence of Nataraja and the glory of Govindaraja continue to inspire generations of devotees of both the sects.

* * *

CHAPTER 9

Sabhas, Mantapas and Gopuras of the Nataraja temple

Writing in A.D. 1891, James Fergusson described the Nataraja temple at "Chillambaram" (*sic*) as "one of the venerated and most ancient of the temples in South India". He added that the temple had "aggregated at different stages" and had "grown by accident rather than design." "Though it had no tall central object to give dignity to the whole from outside (?), internally the centre of its great court is occupied by a tank round which the various objects are grouped without anyone of them interfering with another." It is conceded on all hands that although the various structures are not part of any one general scheme, the overall effect is very striking. Fergusson had appended in his book Admiral Paris's sketch of the plan of the Cidambaram temple, but we feel it is defective in many respects. Referring to Hiranya Varman and his Kashmir connection, Fergusson wrote that there might have been contacts between the Colas and Kashmir but that "he saw no feature of Kashmir architecture in Cidambaram".

Percy Brown in his "Indian Architecture" (1956 - Indian Edition) observed:-

> "Later and more typical examples of the *gopuram* as it matured under the Pandyas are as follows:- another entrance subsequently added to the temple of Jambukesvara and known as the Sundara Pandya *gopuram*, built about 1250; a gateway on the eastern side of the temple of Chidambaram, of the same date; one on the eastern side of the inner enclosure of the temple at Tiruvannamalai (Tirumalai) cir. 1300 (Plate LXXIV); and a *gopuram* of the great temple at Kumbakonam, cir. 1350. Of this series the eastern gateway at Chidambaram is perhaps the most characteristic of the period, and as it bears an inscription of the Pandya ruler Sundara who reigned in the middle of the thirteenth century its date is authenticated. In plan this *gopuram* occupies a rectangle 90 feet by 60 feet, while the two stories comprising its vertical substructure are together 135 feet high, the total height of its seven stories including the roof being 135 feet. There is still much of the old traditional beauty of the Chola style in the design of its structure, the lower stories in stone masonry being but little different from those of the Tanjore *vimana* of 150 years before, except that there are elaborations in the details, which distinguish the existing mode. Above, the surface treatment is of the architectural kind, consisting of rows of pillared niches and pavilions, each with a foliated canopy, thus presenting a pattern of arcading alternating with a zone of ornamentation, an effective appearance without being too lavish. All these *gopurams* of the Pandya period are of much the same character as the foregoing, and although a type of structure which relies for much of its effect on the rich nature of its surface decoration, the restraint exercised in the earlier examples is commendable.
>
> "The Siva temple at Chidambaram consists of a large group of buildings the construction of which has extended over several hundred years, each century making its contribution until it has attained its present form. As with most of these shrines it originally rose on an ancient site, some of the inner parts being of legendary antiquity, but there are definite records of its existence before the tenth century, and some inscriptions of the eleventh. The east *gopuram* was erected in the thirteenth century, the Parvati temple added in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, the north *gopuram* in the sixteenth century, and the hall of a thousand columns in the seventeenth century. With such

a history it is surprising there should be any symmetry in its plan, yet the scheme is not without a certain regularity, and the orientation, right-angles and parallels, have been maintained throughout. There are evidences of four encircling enclosures, some unfinished with high massive walls of stone, the courtyards being paved with granite, and the whole covering thirty-two acres in extent. Its outermost wall forms a parallelogram measuring one thousand and forty feet by seven hundred and eight feet, but the fifteenth century Parvati temple encroaches on its north-west angle affecting the uniformity of the plan, although adding to its area. The enclosure wall of the outer *prakaram*, of which only the south-west portion is finished, is entered by four *gopurams*, one in each side, that on the east being the Sundara Pandya erected about 1250 (Chapter XVIII), and that on the north being built by Krishna Deva towards 1520. The usual entrance was by the Sundara gateway as it leads directly to the main temple contained within a square court of three hundred and twenty-five feet side with entrances on its east and west sides. Within this enclosure is the shrine, dedicated to Natesa, where no doubt the earliest structures will be found, but admission is restricted. It is recorded however that the inner shrine is in the form of a temple car mounted on wheels and drawn by horses, by no means an ususual temple design, as may be seen at Konarak, and the Alankara mandapa at Darasuram, to mention only two examples. One of the chief features of the Chidambaram sanctuary is its portico which is composed of fifty-six pillars of intricate pattern.

> "All the main structure comprising the temple of Natesa lies to the south-centre of the entire walled-in space, leaving a relatively large area on its northern side. Here are two important annexes to the temple scheme, consisting of a large tank or Sivaganga, and a Thousand-Pillared *mandapam* or Rajasabha. The former is a sheet of water 275 feet by 175 feet bounded by flights of steps and pillared arcades, with the fine north *gopuram* in its rear, which, reflected in the water, forms an effective scene. Alongside is the hypostyle hall, a rectangular building 338 feet long and 197 feet wide and containing a thousand monolithic columns each ornamented with carving, but owing to most of these being dull and rather mechanical repetitions, the appearance as a whole is somewhat monotonous."

The points of view that we present below under appropriate heads will cover these observations of James Fergusson and Percy Brown.

The Nataraja temple complex as it stands today has an unrivalled serenity and dignity. That it has a longer north-south axis than an east-west one does not detract from the charm of the entire temple complex. It covers a rectangular area of between 52 and 55 acres — measuring nearly 400 yards in length and 350 yards in width. The fourth wall of enclosure, the Virappa Nayakan Madil, envelopes the entire complex; and around and crowding it on all sides, lies the town of Chidambaram with its houses, gardens, yards and shopping complexes encircling the outermost walls of the temple. The nearest streets are the four 'Car streets' — about fifty to hundred yards beyond the *Madil* and running parallel to it in all the four directions. From each of the four entrances on this wall to the temple (on the East, South, West and North), a small street called the Sannidhi Street, lined with houses or shops, leads upto the corresponding 'Car Street'. There was a system of redoubts beyond the outermost wall but there is no trace of them now except at the corners. The 'Car Streets' are located where there were originally moats of the eighteenth century fortifications. The four entrances piercing this fourth wall of enclosure are directly in line with the four great gopurams which are located on the third wall of enclosure — the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai. Each of these modest outer-most entrances does not have superstructures but has only a two-storey colonnaded portico flanking them on both sides.

The area between the third and the fourth walls of enclosure is used mostly to grow cocoanuts and flowers for the use of the temple.

A) Tirumulasthana Shrine:

The oldest shrine at Cidambaram is the Mulasthanam* — that of Tirumulanathar, worshipped by Patanjali and Vyaghrapada, at whose request the Lord decided to perform His Cosmic Dance at Tillai in the presence of His Consort. At that time there was only the shrine of Tirumulanathar under the shade of a banyan tree, close to the present Sivaganga tank.

After the enlargement of the campus of the temple — to nearly six times its original area — in the days of Kulottunga I and his successors, this shrine came to be known as Edirambalam (that is, the 'shrine opposite' the Nataraja shrine) and it acquired therefore a secondary place in the scheme of the temple complex. Inscriptions of the 46th and 47th regnal years of Kulottunga I, which were first engraved on the walls of the original Mulasthana shrine (Edirambalam) were re-engraved on the outer surface of the northern wall of enclosure encompassing the *prakara* of the Nataraja and Govindaraja shrines (Kulottunga Colan-Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai). The Tirumulanathar shrine faces east. There is a Nandi built in stucco opposite Tirumulanathar but located outside the second wall of enclosure. In a twin-shrine, Uma Parvati, the Consort of Tirumulanathar, faces south.

There has been a good deal of controversy over the identification of Edirambalam. We have already explained in an earlier chapter why the appellation Edirambalam should apply only to the shrine of Sri Mulasthana (renovated by Kulottunga I) which is located opposite to the Nataraja shrine (Cit Sabha) and north of it. The epigraphical evidence (A.R.E. 290 of 1913) that Kulottunga I thought it fit in an inscription of his 47th year to say that an inscription originally engraved on the 'opposite shrine (Edirambalam)' had been copied out on the outer surface of the northern wall of enclosure encompassing the *prakara* of the Nataraja and Govindaraja shrines is irrefutable proof that the old Mulasthana shrine was renovated by Kulottunga I.

(There has been a further renovation of the Sri Mulasthana temple towards the end of the 19th century by the Nattukkottai Nagarathars. That is a different matter and not quite relevant to this context.)

Very appropriately, Tirumulanathar faces east; Uma Parvati (His Consort) faces south (housed in a separate adjoining chamber). The *ardhamantapa* of Sri Mulanathar has images of Patanjali and Vyaghrapada. The *deva-koshta* areas have been conventionally filled — with shrines of Vallabha Ganapati, Mohana Ganapati and Dakshinamurti on a continuous platform on the southern side of the Mulasthana shrine; the symbolical *Kalpaka vrksha* in stone (interpreted by some as the *sthala vrksha*, Tillai, and by others as a banyan tree), along with the other deities, on the western corridor; the sixty-three Nayanmar in the north, Candesvara in the north corridor, Annamalai in *linga* form in the north-east corner. Thus, the Sri Mulanatha shrine is the basic conventional temple in the Nataraja temple complex.

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* "பெரும்பற்றப் புலியூர் திருமூலட்டானத்தார்" - Appar.

Owing to the evolution of the Cidambaram temple complex over different phases and periods, the East Gopuram is slightly to the south of the east-west axis of the present Sri Mulasthana shrine including the Nandi in stucco outside the wall of enclosure. With the *Alankara mantapa* thrown in at the north-east corner of the second *prakara* adjoining the *yagasala* (which is a protuberance in the east on the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai), the Nandi and the Sri Mulasthana shrine have been physically partitioned off; and while a Nandi in stone of a smaller size and a *balipitham* have been provided inside the Mulasthana shrine in front of the *linga*, there is no provision of a *dhvajastambha* in front of the Sri Mulasthana shrine.

The shrine of Nataraja had obviously become the main shrine by then. As we have pointed out earlier, various theories on the identity of Edirambalam are afloat. A suggestion has been made identifying Edirambalam with the Nrtta Sabha on the ground that the latter is located directly in front of the Cit Sabha. There is no support for this theory. Some scholars hold the view that Edirambalam is the Deva Sabha. We do not agree with this view either. Another scholar has propounded the theory that 'Edirambalam' is the Kanaka Sabha as it is opposite the Cit Sabha. This view too is untenable. The reason is simple. Kulottunga I has left clear epigraphical evidence that an inscription from the original Edirambalam has been re-engraved on the outside of the northern side of the first wall of enclosure (at a spot which is opposite the present Sri Mulasthana shrine). Obviously, there is no evidence of, nor was there any need for, shifting any inscription from the Kanaka Sabha. The structure of the Kanaka Sabha does not lend itself to any inscription being engraved on it or any having to be taken out of it during renovation. This argument alone should refute this theory emphatically.

The 47th year inscription (ARE 290 of 1913) of Kulottunga I is unimpeachable proof that the Sri Mulasthana shrine *is* Edirambalam. The view that a Sri Mulasthana shrine within the *prakara* walls did not exist prior to the 13th century, also, does not appear to be correct; for Kulottunga I would have only refined the ancient shrine at the same site — it is sacred ground — and the second wall of enclosure would have been built encompassing it. The view that the Mulasthana shrine was built by Kopperunjinga is also untenable.

There are two interesting inscriptions (A.R.E. 305 and 307 of 1913) of the 7th year and 17th year respectively of Sakalabhuvanacakravartin Avaniyalappirandan *alias* Kopperunjingadeva in regard to the Mulasthana shrine in the Nataraja temple complex at Cidambaram.

The first inscription (A.R.E. 305 of 1913) registers an order of Solakon that eight *sandhi* oblations like those offered at the shrine of Mulasthanam Udaiyar (in the temple) of Tiruccirrambalam be also offered at the shrine of Dakshinamurti and that the gift of land made for providing five of these eight *sandhis* be made free of tax.

(It may be noticed that in a conventional Siva temple, Ganesa and Dakshinamurti are fixed in compact niches flush with the southern wall of the shrine on the *prakara*. While, as we have argued later in this Chapter, in answer to Dr.J.C.Harle's point of view, the Mulasthana shrine at the Nataraja temple complex is a conventional Siva temple with the Ganesa image (Vallabha and Mohana —— two of them) and the Dakshinamurti image located on the southern side at the prescribed points, these two sub-shrines are not on niches but accommodated on a platform on the southern side of the Mulasthana shrine. Kopperunjinga has taken congnizance of this unusual feature at the Mulasthana shrine).

The second inscription (ARE 307 of 1913) registers an order of Solakon that a gift of land was made for additional offerings in the shrine of Dakshinamurti (referred to in No.305 of 1913) and that this land was made a rent-free *tirunamattukkani* under the command of the king.

These two specific references to Dakshinamurti in the Mulasthana shrine establish that the Mulasthana shrine, as renovated by Kulottunga I, existed as a full-fledged Siva temple when Kopperunjinga came on the Cidambaram scene and that Kopperunjinga did not renovate the Mulasthana shrine, as some scholars claim.

Even to the point of appearing repetitive (!), we have summed up here the comments we have offered already on this question in Chapter Four.

(It is interesting to recall that in the nineteenth section in *Tantra* Two of his *Tirumandiram*, Tirumular warns the kings of the disaster that would befall them and their kingdom if they attempt to 'transplant' a *sthavara linga* —— a well-established *linga*. Kulottunga I, like Koc-cenganan before him, would have doubtless heeded this stern injunction of Tirumular.)

In an east-oriented Siva temple, it is usual to place the Nataraja icon in a niche in the north-east corner of the temple. Going by this tradition, the choice was open to the early builders to develop the Nataraja shrine at the north-east corner of the present Sri Mulasthana shrine; but as the Nataraja shrine was to be developed as a major shrine, it *could* have been located at the site of the present 1000-Pillared *mantapa* —— the spot which lies to the east of the Sivaganga tank could have been vacant at that point of time. But its further expansion as a major Nataraja shrine would have been inhibited by the Sivaganga to its west and the scarcity of space for expansion on the east and the north, and expansion towards the south would only have hindered the approach from the east to the Sri Mulasthana shrine, and the location of the four *gopurams* would have posed problems.

These considerations should have weighed strongly with the original builders of the Cit Sabha and the Kanaka Sabha when they decided to locate the two *sabhas* to the south of the Sri Mulasthana shrine as it gave them the freedom to expand southwards. Of course these comments are offered , in retrospect, on what is purely a speculative basis. But these comments appear necessary because some scholars have, while discussing Cidambaram, raised the question whether more than one shrine in a temple can claim to be the *sanctum sanctorum*.

Dr. J.C. Harle observed in A.D. 1963: "In a temple oriented to the east, as is usually the case, the *garbha grha* is in the western half; and the greater part of the temple lies in front of the Holy of Holies. The same would apply to the temple oriented in another direction. At Cidambaram, however, the Holy of Holies lies in the southern end of the temple. If the orientation of the temple is truly to the south, then the greater portion of the temple is situated behind the *sanctum sanctorum*."

Our response to the comment is simple. There can be no doubt that the Sri Mulasthana shrine, facing east, is the earliest shrine in the Nataraja temple and it continues to be the basic temple of the entire complex. As S.R. Balasubrahmanyam has repeatedly emphasized in this context, it should also be appreciated that, with the installation of the Nataraja shrine south of the Sri Mulasthana shrine (and facing south), the Nataraja shrine became the major centre of attraction but it did not affect the status of the Sri Mulasthana shrine as the basic shrine of the complex. So, the southern orientation of the Nataraja temple complex is a logical sequel. Incidentally, the South *gopuram*, too, is located directly on the north-south axis of the Cit Sabha, the Kanaka Sabha, the *balipitha*, the *dhvajastambha*, the Nrtta Sabha, and across the second wall of enclosure with the Nandi in the third *prakara*. Only, there is no formal entrance at the point where one would expect it to be or at any other close-by point, on the southern portion of the second wall of enclosure, in the same way as there is no opening on the northern portion of the same second wall of enclosure — nor did the Colas (or later rulers) seem to have felt the necessity for such an entrance on the north or the south of the second wall of enclosure. (As for a possible opening on the southern side of the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai on either side of the Nrtta Sabha, we have already offered our comments in Chapter Four.)

The north-south orientation of the Nataraja shrine (the major point of attraction) is, however, not inconsistent with the eastern orientation of the Sri Mulasthana shrine. The subsequent additions of shrines to the north of the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai during the days of the Later Colas do not make the two orientations incompatible or inconsistent (of the Mulasthana shrine to the east and the Nataraja shrine to the south, each having its own principled justification by the compulsions of the ground realities at the time of expansion of the Nataraja temple complex).

The first wall of enclosure is designated as Kulottungasolan Tirumaligai in the inscriptions (A.R.E. 267/1913 and 279/1913) and as Vikrama Solan Tirumaligai in the inscriptions (A.R.E. 276/1913 and 282, 4, 7, 9/1913) . "It may be safely concluded that the pious act of building or rebuilding the first *prakara* was the work of Vikrama Cola who might have named the first wall of enclosure after his father, Kulottunga Cola I. The second *prakara* wall which encloses the Mulasthana and the enclosure already mentioned, is also called Vikrama Solan Tirumaligai. Evidently Vikrama Cola constructed the second *prakara* as well. Consequently, it would appear that the Mulasthana shrine was likewise renovated about this period and its inscriptions transferred to the *prakara* wall (the first wall of enclosure) enclosing the Golden Hall". We are in general agreement with the trend of these observations in A.R.E. 1914, except to emphasize again that the renovation of the Mulasthana shrine was carried out by Kulottunga I.

B) Sivaganga tank, the pivotal factor

The pivotal factor in the grand history of the evolution of the Nataraja temple complex is the Sivaganga tank itself — no matter what its configuration would have been in the misty past *vis-a-vis* what it is now. The development of the rest of the temple complex hinges on the location of the Sivaganga tank — indeed it has even been a constraint, in an inverted sense — as we shall endeavour to show in the succeeding pages. This basic fact has to be fully appreciated in our survey. The oldest temple in Cidambaram is, as has been described, the Sri Mulasthana temple "on the *bund* of a sacred tank" — undoubtedly, the Sivaganga tank. The original *linga* shrine should have been a very modest structure. The Linga Purana took concrete shape by A.D. 400. The Lord was, according to tradition (which cannot be denied), worshipped by Patanjali and Vyaghrapada at this shrine and the Lord danced the Ananda Tandava at this sacred spot.

According to the "*Cidambara Puranam*", the traditional belief is that this *linga* is *svayambhu* (self-evolved or self-existent) and emerged as the head of a hillrock from the nether world, and, from time immemorial, the 'Tillai Three Thousand' (Dikshitars) have been offering worship to this *linga* according to the '*Vaidika*' procedures. A modest structure was perhaps put up during the period of Koc-cenganan. Kulottunga I appears to have undertaken the reconstruction of this shrine in his reign and the shrine came to be called Edirambalam (the 'opposite shrine') as by that time the Nataraja shrine had acquired greater importance and attention.

It is clear that the original Mulasthana shrine and the sacred tank attached to it should have been adjoining each other; and thus the shrine should have been located south of the Sivaganga tank and well within the contour of the new Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai (the second wall of enclosure) as the renovated Mulasthana shrine is flush with it completely on the north, where, in the corridor, the sixty-three Nayanmar are consecrated. The second *prakara* and the first *prakara* alignments are so clear of the present Mulasthana shrine, and the northern side of the wall of enclosure is so aligned with the northern side of the present Sri Mulasthana shrine, that the entire shrine complex of the present Sri Mulasthana temple is perfect in all respects and there is no evidence of any improvisation or of tampering with any existing structure. The Mulasthana temple is a perfect example of a conventional (Later Cola) temple, comprising the *garbha grha*, *ardhamantapa*, *bali pitha*, *devakoshtas* and Nandi on one axis, with the Consort's shrine located at right angles to this axis, the latter facing south.

C) The Five Sabhas of the Nataraja temple:

These are: Cit Sabha, Kanaka Sabha, Nrtta Sabha, Deva Sabha and Raja Sabha. The last named is the Thousand-Pillared *mantapam*.

Cit Sabha and Kanaka Sabha

The structure of the greatest importance at present is the Nataraja shrine, which is also referred to as the Cit Sabha or Jnana Sabha (in Sanskrit) and Cirrambalam (in Tamil). It is held by tradition to have been gilded by the Devas and was gilded (in historical times) by various Pallava, Cola and Pandya rulers and others. The Cit Sabha is a rectangular chamber erected on a stone basement; on the three sides of the Sabha, there are timber walls resting on a stone basement, and on the fourth side, there are wooden doors, trellis windows and pillars. The beams are placed over five pillars which are identified as the five senses (*Panca Indriya's*).

There are nine gilded *kalasam's* fixed to the ridge of the roof of the Cit Sabha arranged attractively in a row and they represent the nine *Sakti's*: Vama, Jyeshtha, Raudri, Kali, Kalavikarini, Balavikarini, Balapramathani, Sarvabhutatmani and Manonmani.

On the upper part of the ceiling of the Sabha, all the 64 *kalas* (arts) are represented in the shape of beams. The various worlds numbering 224 are in the shape of planks. The leaves in the roof number 21,600 — a number which represents the total number of our inhalations and exhalations per day. The various kinds of human nerves numbering 72,000 have taken the shape of rails.

The Kanaka Sabha, also rectangular in shape but larger, and abutting on the Cit Sabha, is known as the *Vijnanamaya kosa*. Our worship of Nataraja and His Consort Sivakamasundari should begin with homage to the Nandisvara (the sacred bull) in the Kanaka Sabha placed at its southern edge and facing Nataraja. Like the heart in the human body, the *garbha-grha* is situated not right in the middle but slightly shifted to one side. Like blood entering the heart from different directions, there are two entrances (provided with steps) from the first *prakara* to the Kanaka Sabha, one on the east, the other on the west, symmetrically placed. There is no entrance to the Kanaka Sabha from the front (south fringe) of the shrine. The Kanaka Sabha is also known as the Hema Sabha (in Sanskrit) and Ponnambalam (in Tamil).

The eighteen pillars in the Kanaka Sabha are deemed to represent the eighteen *Purana's*; the five stone steps covered with silver plates leading from the Kanaka Sabha to the Cit Sabha — the *garbha grha* of Nataraja — are identified as the *Pancakshara's* (five letters): *na ma si va ya*; the ninety-six silver plates on the windows are deemed to be the *Tattva's* (*Siddhanta*). We refer to these ninety-six *Tattva's* in Section Two of this book.

The doors of the nine openings to the Kanaka Sabha, which are looked upon as representing the nine holes in the human body, are covered with brass, while those of the two-leaf doors of the entrance into the Cit Sabha are embellished with silver plates.

Of the ten pillars in the *Brahma pitham*, the lower six are looked upon as the *Sastra's,* the upper four as the *Veda's*. The *Pranava Pitha*, in which the Cidambara Rahasyam is enshrined, is located close to the Sadasiva Pitha. On the Sadasiva Pitha are located Nataraja to the proper left of the "Rahasya" and to His proper left is Sivakamasundari, Nataraja's Consort. The *sphatika* (crystal) *linga* (Candramaulisvara — which is believed to have emerged as "solidified rays" from the crescent moon on the head of Nataraja) and Ratnasabhapati, the *Manikka* (ruby) figure of Nataraja, are placed in certain fixed positions on the Sadasiva Pitha very close to the Nataraja icon, on His left, and they are taken out to the Kanaka Sabha for the daily *abhishekams* at the appointed hours. Svarna Kala Bhairava, Sri Bali Nayakar and Kalyana-Sundarar are located on the sides of the Cit Sabha.

The Pranava Prakara, which covers the *Pranava Pitha* in the rear, is a compact unit where only one person can enter at a time; and only the Dikshitar nominated for the day's *puja* of Nataraja is allowed to enter it. "*Candanak-kappu*" (anointment with sandal paste) is periodically carried out for the sanctified *Pranava Prakara*.

The *sanctum sanctorum* is dedicated to the Lord of Ether (*Akasa*) and it is represented by the "Cidambara Rahasyam" —— parallel strings of *vilva* petals fashioned in gold, in suspension, with a black curtain, of *ajnana* (ignorance), normally covering it. This curtain is lifted three times for public worship after each of the daily *pujas*. It is also exposed to the view of devotees who arrange special *arcana* (worship) for Nataraja and Sivakamasundari, when the black curtain is lifted up and lighted camphor is offered before the petals. Only the Dikshitar assigned for the day's *puja* to the Nataraja shrine is authorised to arrange the *darshan* of the "Cidambara Rahasyam". The "Rahasyam" can be worshipped only from outside, through the windows of the Cit Sabha, at vantage points in the Kanaka Sabha and the first *prakara*. The "Cidambara Rahasyam" represents *Cit akasa* (the consciousness of infinite space, ether), or *Jnana akasa*.

The concept of the 'Cidambara Rahasyam', the Nataraja cult and the concept of Ananda Tandava are being dealt with in subsequent chapters in Section Two of this book.

As suggested earlier, the Nataraja cult must have originated between the second century B.C. and the fifth century A.D. No definite date can be suggested for want of conclusive evidence. It is noteworthy that Tirumular (who can be assigned to the 5th-6th centuries A.D.) makes a pointed reference to Ponnambalam and mentions in his *Tirumandiram* (verse 2722) the Tamil name 'Cidambaram' —— perhaps only the *Tirumandiram* has two references to Cidambaram in all the Twelve *Tirumurai's* (*Panniru-Tirumurai*). His entire approach to Nataraja in his *Tirumandiram* would have been possible only if the Nataraja cult had been well-established and had assumed a concrete form and was in adoration by Tirumular's time. The gilding of the Sabha was taken note of even then.

Many kings are said to have gilded both the Cit Sabha and the Kanaka Sabha and both the Sabhas are held sacred as the abode of Nataraja. Kanaka-Sabhapati, Ratna Sabhapati, Cit Sabhesan, Ponnambala-nathan, Kuttapiran, Adalvallan, Adavallan, Cidambaresvara, Ambalavanan, Ananda Tandavan, Anandakkuttan, Tillai-Piran are among the numerous names commonly used as synonyms of Nataraja.

The icons of Nataraja and Sivakamasundari in the Cit Sabha face south. The explanation appears to be that it is symbolic of Siva's lordship over Yama. (In any Tamil temple, the niche of Nataraja always faces south). The three units —— the Cit Sabha, the Kanaka Sabha and the Govindaraja shrine —— are encompassed by a wall of enclosure called the Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai. It is also called the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai and Naralokaviran Tirumaligai (in inscriptions relating to Naralokaviran's benefactions). The use of the names appears rather loose.

A *Mukhamantapa* for the Nataraja shrine, said to have been constructed by Kulottunga III, is no longer in existence, apparently because of the vicissitudes the Nataraja shrine and the Govindaraja shrine have gone through. The Kanaka Sabha should be rightly regarded as the *Ardhamantapa*, the Cit Sabha being the *garbha-grha* of the Nataraja shrine.

The existence of two *dvarapalakas* at the southern gateway in the first wall of enclosure shows that the Nataraja shrine was one unit of worship during the Cola period. Further south of the gateway stands the *dhvajastambha* (flag-staff) encased in sheets of gold, where the deity's flag is hoisted (*dhvajarohana*) at the commencement of the festivals of Lord Nataraja held twice a year now.

For many centuries, there were apparently three such festivals — one each in Ani and Margali (as now), and the third was the Masi-Makham festival (as the inscriptions and the Devaram hymns confirm), when the Lord was taken to Killai on the sea coast (five kms. away). Naralokaviran refers in his inscription to the road to Killai that was specially laid for the purpose and the *Mantapa* there where the God and the Goddess were lodged for public view during the festival. This third festival for *Masi Makham* has been given up, we hear, for reasons of security in transit.

D) Nrtta Sabha:

Situated slightly further south of the *dhvajastambha* in the second *prakara*, the Nrtta Sabha (Hall of Dance) has the structure of a chariot drawn by horses and is provided with wheels. The Nrtta Sabha is remarkable for its stone icon of Urdhva-Tandavamurti associated with the dance contest between Nataraja and Kali. Fergusson held the erroneous view that the Nrtta Sabha was the oldest part of the Nataraja temple and that it should be ascribed to the seventeenth century A.D. The Mulasthana (or Tirumulanathar shrine) is the oldest part of the temple, though it was renovated later. The Nrtta Sabha must have been built in the days of Kulottunga I. This shrine, *Terk-koyil,* (as it is called, mentioned in an inscription of Vikrama cola), is in the shape of a *ratha* (or *ter*, in Tamil — chariot), is similar to the *ratha vimanam* of Melakkadambur (about twenty miles from Cidambaram, near Kattumannargudi) built some time before the 41st regnal year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1111).

The question of the age of the Nrtta Sabha has been dealt with exhaustively in Chapter Four. There is no need to go over the same ground again. It is relevant to point out that it is an independent shrine of the period of Kulottunga I, for reasons already indicated. Recently, the wheel on one side and the horse on the other were found to have been damaged and the damaged portions have been plastered up. This does not, however, detract from the dignity and charm of this monument.

The presence of an icon of Sarabhamurti close by in the Nrtta Sabha and the style of the large pillars near the *dhvajastambha* have led some scholars to infer that the Nrtta Sabha should be assigned to Kulottunga III, who could conceivably have fashioned it on his Tribhuvanam model. This conclusion is not justified because the structure itself is charmingly flush with the second wall of enclosure — which was completed in Vikrama Cola's time — and steers clear of the second *prakara* (also of the same period) and Nataraja's *dhvajastambha*. This splendid location would not have been possible if it had been left to Kulottunga III to fill this space with this monument. On the contrary, it would be reasonable to postulate that Kulottunga III, following Kulottunga I's style, would have attempted in Tribhuvanam a magnificent refinement of Kulottunga I's achievement in Cidambaram and Melakkadambur, in regard to style.

The Sarabha Shrine:

From its modest beginning in the Nrtta Sabha at Cidambaram in the closing years of Kulottunga I himself, and at the Vikramasolisvaram temple at Tukkacci, ascribable to the days of Vikrama Cola (A.D. 1118-1136), the representation of Sarabha(-murti) evolves over a short time-span into the finished versions at the Rajarajesvaram at Darasuram, of the days of Rajaraja II (1150-1173 A.D.), and at the Kampaharesvaram at Tribhuvanam, of the days of Kulottunga III (1178-1218 A.D.) — see Pls. 178, 250 and 334 of "Later Cola Temples" by S.R. Balasubrahmanyam — in much the same way as the *ratha-vimana* motif of the Nrtta Sabha at Cidambaram (an adjunct to the main temple there) leads (in the same reign, of Kulottunga I) to the (full-fledged, independent) temple of Amrtaghatesvara at Melakkadambur (near Kattumannarkoil, Cidambaram taluk).*

The Sarabha cult was a new one, evolved in the latter half of the Later Chola period. It is said that Narasimha, an *avatara* of Vishnu, continued His rampage even after achieving the immediate purpose of the *avatara*, namely, the destruction of the demon-king, Hiranyakasipu. *Devas* and men suffered, and the devotees of Siva prayed to their Lord for protection. Hence Siva assumed the form of Sarabhamurti, and relieved peoples' distress by destroying the fierce Narasimha and sending back Vishnu to Vaikuntha.

The *Kamikagama* describes Sarabhamurthi as follows:

"The body of Sarabha is that of a bird of golden hue; it should have two wings which should be uplifted. Sarabha has two red eyes, four legs, resembling those of the lion, resting upon the ground and four others with sharp claws kept lifted upwards, and an animal tail — the body above the loins should be that of a human being, but having the face of a lion, which should have upon its head a *kirita-makuta*. There should also be side-tusks and on the whole a terrifying appearance. Sarabha is to be shown as clutching Narasimha with two of his clawed feet. The figure of Narasimha should be the ordinary form of a human being with the hands held in *anjali* pose."

The bronze image of Sarabha found in the Tribhuvanam temple has three legs, the body and face of a lion, a tail and four human arms; in the right upper hand is the *parasu* (axe), in the lower right one, the *pasa*; in the upper left one, the *mrga* and in the lower left one, *agni*. With the front leg, Sarabhamurti has pinioned down Narasimha, who is struggling against his adversary with eight arms.

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* **Rathakaras:**

1. S.R. Balasubrahmanyam (p.153 of "Early Chola Temples", 1971) refers to the settlement of the privileges granted to certain members of the *Anuloma Rathakara* castes, including blacksmiths, carpenters and stonemasons.

The *Rathakaras* are described as the sons of a *Mahishya* father by a *Karani* mother(according to authorities such as Yagnavalkya, Gautama, Kautilya, Bodhayana and others).

The following are the means of livelihood laid down for adoption by the *Rathakaras* :

(1) Architecture.
(2) Building coaches and chariots.
(3) Erecting *gopurams* of temples with images on them.
(4) Preparation of instruments required by the *brahmanas* in their sacrificial ceremonies such as the ladle (*sruk*).
(5) Building *mantapas*, etc.

2. There is an inscription dated in the 48th year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1118) at Uyyakkondan Tirumalai, which relates to the decision of a complicated question of caste and lays down the professions to be followed by *rathakaras*. The *bhattas* of Rajasraya Caturvedimangalam defined a *mahishya* as one born of a Kshatriya father and a Vaisya woman, and a Karani as the daughter of a Vaisya father and a Sudra mother.

Such was perhaps the way the Saivites wanted to establish the supremacy of Siva over Vishnu among the Hindu Trinity (See "Elements of Hindu Iconography", T.A. Gopinatha Rao, Vol. II, Part I, pp.172-174).

In the "Art of South India — Tamil Nadu and Kerala" (1978), K.V. Soundararajan, speaking of the *Sabha* opposite to the Nataraja *Sabha* (presumably the Nrtta Sabha) and the Pandyanayakam shrine at Cidambaram, points out:

> "In Cholamandalam itself, during the reign of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1070-1120) already, an *anuloma* caste of *rathakaras* or regular chariot-making carpenter-craftsmen were established in different parts of the realm, to offer their expertise not only for the designing of the wooden temple cars, but also the *gopura* work, thus fixing the profession to be followed by these *rathakaras*, as decided during Kulottunga's reign, in conformity with Sastras and Jainistic laws like Mitakshara."

It is fair to draw the inference that this new 'chariot' pattern of the Nrtta Sabha, evolved during the reign of Kulottunga I, was carried over right upto the period of Kulottunga III with due elaboration and further refinement of the pattern which is reflected at Tukkacci, Darasuram and Tribhuvanam, among others.

We now move on from the Nrtta Sabha.

E) Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai, the second wall of enclosure

The second wall of enclosure encompasses not only the Nrtta Sabha but also the shrine of the Vaishnavite Goddess, Pundarika Valli Nacciyar (of a later period, perhaps of Vijayanagar), of Tirumulanathar on the northern side and the Deva Sabha on the eastern side.

There was a wooden gateway on the second wall of enclosure, in line with the South Gopuram. Our enquiries show that it was not meant to be a temple gateway but was improvised, in the early years of this century, when the Govindaraja shrine and the Tayar *sannidhi* were renovated, and was used mainly for the transportation of stones and other building material. It now remains closed.

Other structures of interest :

F) Akalankan Tiruvasal

The western gateway leading from the second *prakara* to the third *prakara* is called Akalankan Tiruvasal, after a surname of Vikrama Cola. This has steep steps. This factor alone justifies my view that the entire second *prakara* should have been 'roofed' by the Colas when they built it and the second wall of enclosure. The roofs might have been renovated by the Nagarathars in the 19th century, if they had been damaged by political turmoil.

G) Alankara Mantapam

On the north-east corner of the second *prakara* is the Alankara Mantapam, where the processional deities are decorated before being taken out during festivals.

Close to it on the eastern side is the *yagasala*, the scene of sacrificial rites performed on the eve of and during important festivals.

H) Navagraha (nine planets) shrine

On the eastern side close to the first wall of enclosure and west of the Deva Sabha is the Navagraha (nine planets) shrine with a special shrine for Sani (Saturn) in a separate niche. A separate passage opposite to the Uma Parvati shrine of Sri Mulanathar temple leads upto the Sani shrine and the Navagraha shrine.

I) Deva Sabha

Between the two eastern gateways of the first and second walls of enclosure is the Deva Sabha, facing south. It is the abode of the festival (processional) images during non-festival periods and the Dikshitars (Tillai Moovayiravar) hold their periodical meetings in the Deva Sabha. It is said that Anapaya (Kulottunga II) gilded the Deva Sabha.

On the north-west side of the Deva Sabha and to the east of the corridor linking the Navagraha and Tirumulasthana shrines is Alagar, the custodian of the keys of the temple, with the figures of Sankhanidhi and Padmanidhi by his side.

J) Third Prakara

While the area and the shrines of the Nataraja temple complex encompassed by the first and second walls of enclosure and the first and second *prakaras* form a compact set, the installation of fresh shrines and *mantapas* outside this sub-complex and in the third *prakara* not only enlarged the area of the temple complex enormously but could be neatly planned and executed because of one major factor — the favourable location of the Sivaganga tank lying to the north of the old complex. The Sivaganga tank is the oldest link in the chain (speaking from the view-points of tradition and literature), and any expansion programme had therefore to take cognisance of its location, and the growth had to be necessarily around it, essentially only to the north, west and east of it. Luckily, while the Sivaganga tank was not a constraint, it has obviously determined the contours and the locations of the various shrines and *mantapas* and the four main *gopuras* too in the pattern of enlargement of the temple complex. If, in the process, the four *gopuras* were not always centrally located (in their respective directions) — in the middle of the wall of enclosure, the reason is clear. The temple complex has a lateral expansion from the original complex to the north mainly because there was no scope for expansion in the east, the south or the west.

K) The Main Shrines in the Third Prakara

The main shrines and buildings enclosed in the third *prakara* are those of Ganapati in the south-west corner, and of Sivakama Sundari Amman, the Consort of Lord Nataraja, a Durga temple (attached later), the Subrahmanya temple (called Pandya Nayakam), the Sivaganga tank with its *tiruccurrumaligai* (cloistered perambulatory passage) around it, the Hundred-Pillared hall, to the west of the Sivaganga tank and the Thousand-Pillared hall on the north-east. In the present location of the Durga temple had once been installed a sculpture of Andabharana Devar, which is referred to in an inscription of Kopperunjinga on its east wall (A.R.E. 326 of 1913). Evidently the installation of the Mahishasura-mardani deity must have been a development later than the thirteenth century. The wall enclosing the third *prakara* is called the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai after a surname of Kulottunga III. The present shrines of Ganapati and Subrahmanya should be ascribed to the age of Kulottunga I, Vikrama Cola and Rajaraja II. The *mantapa* in the latter shrine has the features of a chariot with wheels, with prancing horses and elephants on either side as in the Nrtta *sabha*. As this shrine is called Pandya Nayakam, it has been deemed to connote some connection with a Pandya king — one of the two Varaguna Pandyas of the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., who might have been interested in this shrine and built it or paid adoration to this deity as his Ishta Devata. If this theory is correct, there is no evidence to show which of the two Pandyan kings it was named after.

N.S. Ramaswami described Pandya Nayakam as one of the finest achievements of the Later Pandya times, keeping alive the memory of the builder, Maravarman Sundara Pandya (A.D. 1216-1251), to keep the then accepted chronology.

Some scholars associate Pandya Nayakam with Kulottunga III (who is said to have been given the name Pandyar Tambiran) along with the nearby wall of enclosure — Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai, which he is known to have built all round the enlarged temple complex.

Despite all these aspects, I cannot resist the conclusion that whatever be the *raison d'etre* of the appellation Pandya Nayakam, the structure belongs to the period of Rajaraja II (A.D. 1146-1172); the elephant motif along the steps and the design of the pillars indicate a style similar to that of Darasuram. It may well mark a stage of quick transition from Rajaraja II to Kulottunga III. Whatever embellishments any Pandyan ruler might have accomplished later on this structure, to justify the name Pandya Nayakam, could only have been of a marginal or renovatory nature. But, basically, it is an example of the late Later Cola style.

L) Sivakama Sundari Amman Shrine (Tiruk-kamakkottam)

To the west of the Sivaganga tank and between the Hundred-Pillared *mantapa* and the Pandya Nayakam shrine is situated the Sivakama Sundari Amman shrine, known also as the Tirukkamakkottam.

Epigraphical evidence indicates that the construction of this shrine should have been undertaken by Naralokaviran in the reigns of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Cola, and it seems to have been completed in the days of Kulottunga II. The final additions were made in the time of the Pallava Kopperunjinga and Kulottunga III. The *mukhamantapa* between the *gopura* of the Amman shrine and the Sivaganga tank was added in the days of Kulottunga III, as testified by his inscription at Tribhuvanam (A.R.E. 190 of 1907). (See Appendices.)

There was no independent Amman shrine in any of the South Indian temples till the days of Kulottunga I. It seems very likely that the Sivakama Sundari Amman shrine built by the first ruler of the Later Colas was the first among independent Amman shrines. The present Mangalambika shrine in Tirukkandiyur is a Siva shrine converted into an Amman shrine. Tiruvaiyaru also has two shrines — the *Vada* and the *Ten Kailasams*. Similarly, in Gangaikonda-colapuram, there are two shrines, on the north and south sides of the main shrine, also called *Vada Kailasam* and *Ten*

Kailasam. Both of them were Siva shrines, and the *Vada Kailasam* was later converted into an Amman shrine. In the Early Cola period, only idols of the Amman (Bhoga Sakti) were set up either in the *garbhagrha* or in the *ardhamantapa* and there is no evidence of the existence of a separate, independent Amman shrine till the days of Kulottunga I, except for a few Durga shrines. What applies in this respect to the Cola country also applies to the Pandya country.

Sivakama Sundari Amman faces east. On the outer wall of the *garbhagrha*, there are three niches containing the three Saktis. There is a covered *ardhamantapa* in front. These are enclosed by a *prakara* and a wall of enclosure (*tiruccurrumaligai*). There is a shrine of Ganapati in the south-west and one of Subrahmanya in the north-west and the *Saptamatrikas* are installed on a platform on the south side of the south *prakara*.

A smaller shrine, dedicated to Citragupta, the record-keeper of Yama (the god of Death), is located on the south-east corner of the second *prakara*. A frieze of dancing figures, attendant musicians and drummers running all around the base of the two-storeyed *tiruccurrumaligai* deserves special mention. The ceiling of the *mahamantapa* carries some paintings, done perhaps during the Nayak period. The central panel carries a fine portrait of Bhikshatana.

There is an underwater *linga* in the Sivaganga tank and this tank itself is deemed to be an embodiment of Siva. The *devi* in this Amman shrine is said to be always looking at Her Lord through a window provided in the wall near the western corridor of the tank.

A diamond decoration of *tatanka* for the Amman was specially fabricated on the occasion of the *kumbhabhishekam* of this shrine, performed in February 1972.

The reference to Hymavati in the Upanishads and Sri Sankara's *stotras* is construed by some scholars as evidence for the assumption that the Sivakama Sundari Amman shrine existed even in those periods. There is no basis for this theory as this Amman shrine was built only in the days of Kulottunga I and his successors. A *sricakra* is installed in a cell on the north side of the enclosed *prakara* of the Amman shrine.

(Fergusson held the view that the temple of Parvati (Sivakami Amman) in the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram was added "most probably in the 14th or 15th century and to that age the great *gopurams* and the second enclosures also belong." — an obviously unacceptable view. We repeat that the Amman temple and the second wall of enclosure of the Nataraja temple were the work of the Later Colas — Kulottunga I and Vikrama Cola).

The second *prakara* of the Sivakamasundari shrine is also notable for the exquisite sculptures of Bharata Natyam poses.

An Inscription of Kopperunjinga dated in his eighth year on the north wall of the third *prakara* of the Nataraja temple — A.R.E. 308 of 1913 (S.I.I. XII 154) — refers to an order of Solakon granting four velis and six *ma* of land for building residences for the Nagarathar Saliyar (Weavers' Merchant Guild) with the stipulation that the latter should supply the cloth for the *parisattam* of the god (Nataraja) and the goddess (Tirukkamakkottamudaiya Periyanacciyar).

An inscription (A.R.E. 269 of 1913) attributed to Maravarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Vira Pandya Deva (acc. A.D. 1334) in his 8th year and 57th day, registers that under the orders of Vikrama

Pandya Gangeyarayan some land was set apart for building a quarter to be inhabited exclusively by the weavers (Soliya Saliyar) and named Teriyavaraninra Perumal puram, on condition that these weavers supplied four new clothes (every year) to the Goddess Sivakamasundari on the day of the *tiruppudiyadu* (திருப்புதியது) festival and five other small clothes for the shrine of Tirujnanasambandhar. (*Tiruppudiyadu* is apparently a corruption of *Tiruppudavai - yidu.*)

(This is indirect proof that a shrine of Tirujnanasambandhar existed in the Tirujnanasambandhar hall as referred to in Verse 26 of Naralokaviran's well-known inscription listing the latter's contributions to the Nataraja temple. Neither this hall nor this Jnanasambandhar shrine exists now, as we have explained in Chapter Four.)

M) The Hundred-Pillared Mantapa

H. Krishna Sastri, the veteran South Indian epigraphist, held the view that even the building of hundred-pillared halls dated only from Vijayanagar days. This view is not tenable. We have such halls at Tiruvadigai near Panruti and at Cidambaram, both in South Arcot district. Both were built by the Cola chieftain, Naralokaviran, who was a famous General and Minister of the Cola kings, Kulottunga I and his son Vikrama Cola, in the eleventh century and early part of the twelfth century A.D. There are two inscriptions which are verses in Tamil and which describe the building activities of this Chief in the temples at Tiruvadigai and Cidambaram (vide Tiruvadigai inscription: 369 of 1921 and Cidambaram inscription: 120 of 1888). The Cidambaram inscription is found outside the first *prakara* on the north side of the Nataraja temple.

Tiruvadigal inscription (ARE 369 of 1921):

"மன்னொளிசேர் நூற்றுக்கான் மண்டபத்தை மால்வரையால்
மன்னதிகை நாயகர்க்கு வந்த மைத்தான் மன்ன
ரிகை கொடா தோட விகல் கொண்டாங் கெட்டுத்
திகை கொடார் கூத்தன் தெரிந்து"

Cidambaram Inscription (ARE 120 of 1888):

மல்லற் குலவரைய னூற்றுக்கான் மண்டபத்தைத்
தில்லைய பிரானுக்குச் செய்தமைத்தான் – கொல்லம்
அழிவு கண்டான் சேரனளப்பரிய வாற்றற்
கழிவு கண்டான் றொண்டையா ரேறு.

(For a long time, the Hundred-Pillared hall at Cidambaram was kept closed. Even now, it is. The temple management have now some plans of renovation. In the 1930's, my father, Padma Shri S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, noticed the existence of these inscriptions and drew the attention of the Department of Epigraphy and got them copied.)

In the Hundred-Pillared Hall, there are inscriptions on a few pillars. One set refers to 'Svasti Sri Vikrama Cola'. Hence it has to be inferred that this is, in fact , the very hall built by Naralokaviran, who must have dedicated it to his overlord, Vikrama Cola, and named it after him as Akalankan

Tirumantapam. ARE 109 of 1953 states that the Mantapam was the gift of Akalankan. Thus it is clear that hundred-pillared halls came to be built at least as early as the beginning of the twelfth century A.D.

We now turn to a brief account of this Chief's life and work.

N) Naralokaviran

He was a resident of Manavil in Manavil Nadu belonging to Manavil Kottam in Tondaimandalam (A.R.E. 175 of 1919, no.vii of the foot-note below).* This place has been wrongly identified with Eyil in South Arcot or Kanci. But it must have been situated on the south bank of the Pennar (vide *Tenkarai-manavir-kottam* : S.I.I., I, No.86). He claims credit for victories over the kings of the Pandya country, of Kollam, Kongam, Orissa (Oddam) and Kalingam.

From the provenance of his inscriptions in the Pandya country (nos. xii, xiii and xiv of the foot-note) and his assumption of the title, 'Madhurantakan', we may infer that he was responsible

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*** Sources relating to the history of this Chief are:**

I. Literary: The Vikrama Colan Ula. This Tamil work mentions the achievements of this Chief.

II. Epigraphical:

i. A.R.E. 374 of 1908, Neyvennai, 23rd year of Kulottunga I.
ii. " 369 of 1909, Siddhalingamadam, Saka 1025-King Jayadhara (Kulottunga I).
iii. " 207 of 1923, Tiruppulivanam, 45th year of Kulottunga I.
iv. " 367 of 1909, Siddhalingamadam, Rajendra Cola II.
v. " 97 of 1927-28, Tiruppugalur, second year of Vikrama Cola.
vi. " 250 of 1925, Tirukkadavur, fourth year of Vikrama Cola.
vii. " 175 of 1919, Tribhuvani, fifth year of Vikrama Cola.
viii. " 128 of 1896, Madhurantakam, sixth year of Vikrama Cola.
ix. " 473 of 1919, Kancipuram, Naralokaviran's building activities.
x. " 120 of 1888, Cidambaram, verses detailing the building activities of Naralokaviran.
xi. " 369 of 1921, Tiruvadigai, verses detailing the building activities of Naralokaviran.
xii. " 98 of 1908, Tiruppattur (former Ramanathapuram district), third year of Parakrama Pandya.
xiii. " 131 of 1908, Tiruppattur (former Ramanathapuram district), 12th year of Parakrama Pandya.
xiv. Inscription Nos.220, 633, 634 and 798 of the List of Inscriptions of Pudukkottai State found at Kottaiyur in the Tirumayam taluk of the State. They refer to the temple called Naralokavira Vinnagara Alvar Koyil or Karumanikka Perumal Koyil as it is called in modern times.

From No.vii (*supra*) we learn that his name was Arumbakkakkilan, Madhurantakan Ponnambalakkuttan *alias* Porkoyil Tondaimanar. He had various surnames such as Tondaiyarkon, Naralokaviran, Manavilareru, Manavilkuttan, Arulakara, Sabhanartaka, Kalingaraya, Manavatara.

for breaking the power of the contemporary Pandya ruler. Further, the reference to the Naralokaviran hall and *sandhi* in inscriptions of the contemporary Pandya king, Parakrama Pandya, also indicate that the Pandya king had to submit to Cola supremacy.

Discussing no. xi, the Government Epigraphist held the Naralokaviran of this record 'to be different from the Naralokaviran of the Ramnad record' (nos. xii and xiii) and postulated two Naralokavirans. He further opined that 'Naralokavira' might well be 'one of his (Parakrama Pandya's) surnames'. But there is no warrant for such a theory. Parakrama Pandya was a contemporary of Kulottunga I and Naralokaviran claims to have conquered the Pandya King. Hence it is but proper to assume that the Ramnad records also refer to the same hero as the one eulogised in the Cidambaram and Tiruvadigai records and there is not sufficient reason or evidence for the postulation of two Naralokavirans.

Naralokaviran was a very pious man, equally devoted to Vishnu and Siva. He is said to have constructed the kitchen, a *mantapam*, the *prakara* walls and set up a recumbent image of Hari (Vishnu) at the Arulala Perumal temple at Kancipuram. Another Vishnu temple named after him was built at Kottaiyur. The Siva temple at Siddhalingamadam was rebuilt by him. He constructed many edifices in the temples at Tiruvadigai and Cidambaram, among which are the hundred-pillared *mantapams* in both these places.

Is Naralokaviran, surnamed Tondaiyarkon, the same as Karunakara Tondaiman, the hero of the expedition to Kalinga described in the Tamil poem, Kalingattupparani? No. Karunakara belonged to Vandi Nagar and to the *brahmana* caste (*Marai-mozhinda pati-marabin vanda Kulatilakan*), whereas Naralokaviran was a resident of Manavil, the Chief of Arumbakkam and belonged to a different caste (*Velan kudi mudalon Tondaiyarkon*).

O) Vira Pandya's Anointment at the Mantapam

Reference has already been made to one set of inscriptions on some of the pillars of the Hundred-Pillared *mantapam* at Cidambaram. Another set refers to a Vira Pandya. The inscriptions read, 'Svasti Sri Vira Pandyan Tirumantapam'. Who was this Vira Pandya? There was, at the time, a certain Jatavarman Vira Pandya I who was intimately connected with Cidambaram. He came to the throne in A.D. 1253 and was the co-regent of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (accession A.D. 1251).

Vira Pandya's reign seems to have lasted at least twenty eight years, that is, upto A.D. 1281 (M.E.R. No.117 of 1907, from Kallidaikkuricci, Tirunelveli district). His inscription, which has the elaborate historical introduction beginning with *Tirumagal valar mulai tirumarbu talaippada* contains a conventional list of kings of Gangam, Gaudam, Kadaram, Kasipam, Kongu etc., who are said to have paid him tribute. But very soon we meet with historical events. The successful fight with the Cola at Kavikalam, the establishment of good government (*sengol*) in the land of the Vadugas (the Telugu country) and the expedition against the ruler of Ceylon and 'Savanmaindan' are then described.

Some other inscriptions refer to him briefly and without the elaborate introduction mentioned above, as one 'who conquered Kongu and Ilam (Ceylon), destroyed the hill of the fierce Vadugas, and brought under his sway the region watered by the Ganga (*Gangai iru karaiyum*) and the Kaveri.' Then he was pleased to stay (that is, hold a *durbar*) at Cidambaram, received tribute from the Kadava Chief and celebrated 'the anointment of hero and victor' at Puliyur (or Perumparrappuliyur or Tillaimanagar, as it is variously described in different inscriptions). It is highly probable that it was in the Hundred-Pillared Hall that this celebration took place; and the inscription under reference might have been engraved to mark this occasion.

The earliest reference to the celebration of his anointment occurs in an inscription of his sixth year. The text of the inscription is mutilated and so the date can only be a conjectural restoration. The astronomical details point to 1260 A.D. but we do not find any mention of the Kadava paying his tribute till the 14th year of his reign.

Who was this Kadava Chief? He should be identified with Sakalabhuvana Cakravartin Avaniyalappirandan Kopperunjingadeva — the lion among kings — of Sendamangalam. Even in an inscription of the seventh year of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (c.1258 A.D.) there is a vivid description of the campaign of this Pandya ruler.

The tribute paid by the Pallava was rejected and he was put in chains. Sendamangalam, claimed to be a city of impregnable fortifications, was besieged, and many fierce campaigns were conducted around his (capital) city. His capital, territory, treasures, elephants, horses and other insignia of royalty were secured. Then the Pandya king was pleased to restore him his liberty and territory . After this campaign, the Pandya king went to Cidambaram and worshipped the Lord of Dance at Tillai Ambalam.

We do not hear of any such celebration of Sundara at Cidambaram. So the anointment of hero and victor celebrated by Vira Pandya should have been occasioned by the revolt of Kopperunjinga or by the need to put down one 'Vallan' referred to in Vira Pandya's inscriptions, before his anointment at Cidambaram (15th year, 374 of the Pudukottai List and 16th year, MER, No.297 of 1923).

If there was a celebration of anointment by Vira Pandya in or before the sixth year of his reign (A.D.1260), was there another in the fourteenth year (A.D. 1267) when he is said to have camped at Cidambaram to enforce and receive tribute from the Kadava? The evidence is by no means clear.

In any event we have the following three significant inscriptions with us which help us to postulate certain conclusions:

(1) The Kudumiyanmalai inscription of Jatavarman Vira Pandya dated in his 11th year, 113th day (366 of the Pudukkottai Inscriptions) reads (A.D.1264):

திருமகள் வளர் முலை திருமார்பு தளைபட-
ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீகோச்சடைய பன்மரான திரிபுவன சக்ரவர்த்திகள்
ஸ்ரீவீரபாண்டிய தேவர்.

(2) The Perungalur inscription (370 of the Pudukottai Inscriptions), which relates to year 14, reads as below;

கோச்சடைய பன்மரான - பொற்புலியூர் வீற்றிருந்து
காடவர் திறை இடக்கண்டு இனிதிருந்து வீர அவி(பி) ஷேகமும்
பண்ணியருளிய வீரபாண்டிய தேவர்க்கு —

(3) No. 374 of the Pudukkottai Inscriptions, which relates to the 15th year, reads as below:

கோச்சடைய பன்மரான திரிபுவன சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஈழமும்
கொங்கும் சோழமண்டல முங்கொண்டு வல்லானை வென்று
பெரும் பற்றப்புலியூரில் வீராபிஷேகமும் விசயாபிஷேகமும்
பண்ணியருளிய ஸ்ரீவீர பாண்டிய தேவர்க்கு ——

Kadava Kopperunjinga ceased to send tribute to the Pandyan overlord sometime prior to Vira Pandya's 9th year (A.D. 1262), and, in the final event, by the 14th year of Co-regent Jatavarman Vira Pandya, the Kadava was worsted in battle and made to resume his tribute, and then Jatavarman Vira Pandya proceeded to Perumparrappuliyur and celebrated his Virabhishekam and Vijay-abhishekam and this event would have been marked by renovations and embellishments to Naralokaviran's 100-Pillared hall — evidenced by the token presence of pillars in that hall bearing brief lithic engravings on a few pillars which read "Svasti Sri Vira Pandiyan Tirumantapam".

The practice of calling an edifice by one's name even though it had been in existence even earlier, duly attested by epigraphical and literary evidence, was of frequent occurrence, as for example the North gopuram claimed by Krishna Deva Raya, the South gopuram which bears the Pandyan insignia, and so forth. We have to attribute the renaming to a sense of royal vanity, which took the shape of putting forth claims of ownership, even if their contribution had been token, marginal or merely renovatory, in nature.

It has to be borne in mind that the Pandya emperor had a disturbed frontier in the north, and the need for keeping under check the turbulent Chiefs of the frontier necessitated frequent demonstrations of Pandyan military power. Kopperunjinga must have been the chief cause of unrest on the northern borders of the Pandyan territory.

Vira Pandya's actual control of the region of Cidambaram is also corroborated from another source. The Kattumannarkoyil inscription of Perumal Sundara Pandyadeva furnishes the order of succession of the kings who held sway over this region. The prescriptive right to perform *puja* in the temple of Kattumannarkoyil is said to have been enjoyed during the reigns of the following rulers in succession:

Kulottunga Coladeva II, who covered the temple with gold, Rajarajadeva II, Perumal Tribhuvana Viradeva (that is, Kulottunga III), Rajarajadeva III, Avanialappirandan Kopperunjingadeva, Perumal (Maravarman) Sundara Pandyadeva, Perumal Kulasekharadeva, Vira Pandyadeva and even upto the 11th year of the ruling king Perumal (Jatavarman) Sundara Pandyadeva I.

The Vira Pandya of this record could be identified with the famous Vira Pandya who claims to have performed the anointment 'of hero and victor' at Cidambaram.

P) Later History

In later times, this *mantapa* seems to have been used for celebrating festivals. During the days of Acyuta Deva Raya, the worship of Govindaraja seems to have been re-established, and with it came the revival of hostility between the followers of the Saivite and Vaishnavite sects. The Hundred-Pillared *Mantapa* formed the bone of contention between the trustees of the two temples. With the patronage of the Vijayanagar rulers, this *mantapa* seems to have passed under the control of the Vaishnavites. This might have taken place either in the days of Acyuta (c. 1529 A.D.) or in the reign of Sri Ranga. This right to the use of the *mantapa* was again contested towards the end of the eighteenth century. For, according to an agreement entered into by the two parties on October 17, 1796, just a few years prior to the passing of the Carnatic into the hands of the East India Company (1801), and during the administration of the Arcot region by Hazrat Muhammad Moinuddin Khan Saheb (evidently the local Chief under the Nawab of the Carnatic), the Saivite party were made to concede 'we shall deliver into *their* (Vaishnavite) possession the Hundred-Pillared *Mantapam* which belongs to the Vishnu temple according to *mamool* (custom) for the *utsavams* (festivals) usually performed in the Perumal temple'. But, in spite of this agreement their differences do not seem to have been resolved amicably. The *mantapa* has been kept closed in recent times, perhaps to prevent the possibility of the Vaishnavites gaining possession of it. It may be recalled that in the Cidambaram inscription (ARE 120 of 1888), there is a clear indication that Naralokaviran built the Hundred-Pillared *Mantapam* at Cidambaram in honour of "*Tillai-piran*". It is unfortunate that such a dispute should have arisen at all.

The Hundred-Pillared *Mantapam* is about 160 feet long (east to west) and 100 feet broad (north to south). The base is 4 $^1/_2$ feet high with a frieze of *yalis* all around on the topmost layer, which may be said to be a distinctive feature of Dravidian architecture.

On the western end of the *mantapa*, there is a raised platform, on which perhaps the coronation ceremonies of kings took place and, in later times, the *puja* of the principal deity. In front of it, and to the east, is a large hall surmounted by a vaulted roof which, together with the flat ceiling all around, must have once been covered over with frescoes. Of these, only a few traces — a lotus design, some human figures — now remain. They seem to be the oldest paintings in the temple.

There are two entrances to the *mantapa*. Each has a small tower above it. One is in the east and the other in the south. The latter seems to have been the main entrance and it is provided with a flight of steps; *dvarapalas* are installed in the niches below on either side of the steps.

There are four main types of pillars. Most of them are cylindrical in shape with corbels of the Later Cola style. At the portico of the southern entrance, we have rows of fluted octagonal pillars mounted with a bulbous capital. Where the portico and the central dome meet, there are two large cubical pillars combining the features of *pattam* and *caturam* in their formation. That these pillars form part of the old structure is evident from the fact that one of them bears an inscription of Vira Pandya (discussed above). There are also two similar pillars where the main dome rests, on the eastern side. At the extreme corners of the *mantapa* there is again another set of cubical pillars but smaller in size than those described above. They are decorated with buds of lotuses oriented upwards and downwards in appropriate proportion. It is worthy of note that these four different sizes of pillars are assembled together in the construction of this *mantapa*.

Q) Raja Sabha or the Thousand-Pillared Hall

This is one of the most striking monuments in the Nataraja temple complex at Cidambaram. As already pointed out, it is obvious that since the Thousand-Pillared Hall is located east of the Sivaganga tank and within the third wall of enclosure called Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai, its construction should also have begun some time before the reign of Kulottunga II and been completed during the days of Kulottunga III. There is a clear case of a thousand-pillared hall having been constructed in the second year of Kulottunga III at Tiruvakkarai in the South Arcot district (A.R.E. 190 of 1901: Illustration 301, "Later Chola Temples"). The Thousand-Pillared Hall is also often referred to as the Raja Sabha — the fifth in the series of *sabhas* in the Nataraja temple — since it has been used for ceremonial occasions such as the coronations of the Cola kings. Two big stone elephants at the entrance and the *ratha* aspect are striking features of this monument, and the elaborate friezes of dancing figures on the basement of this Hall are note-worthy and resemble those of the enclosure walls of the Amman shrine. There is a legend that Koc-cenganan was crowned at Cidambaram and it is unlikely that the present Thousand-Pillared Hall existed during his time. Kulottunga II *alias* Anapaya seems to have been crowned at Cidambaram in this Hall. In an inscription at Tirumanikkuli in South Arcot district, he claims to have been crowned at Cidambaram presumably in the Thousand-Pillared Hall, work on which was in progress during his reign.

Sekkilar expounded the *Periya Puranam* in this Hall. The Raja Sabha is also used for the *mahabhishekam* of Nataraja and Sivakama Sundari twice a year, during the Ani Tirumanjanam and Ardra festivals in the Tamil months of Ani and Margali respectively, followed by a ceremonial procession from the Raja Sabha to the Kanaka Sabha and Cit Sabha. (See Chapter Four for further comments.)

The following extract from the District Gazetteer of South Arcot district is quite misleading in regard to the dating of the Thousand-Pillared Mantapam, based largely on James Fergusson's wrong assessment of A.D. 1891:*

> "On the far side of the Sivaganga tank already mentioned is the thousand-pillared mantapam, which is some 310 feet by 180 feet. It is one of the five Sabhas or halls of the temple which are frequently mentioned, and is called the Raja Sabha or Hall of State. Mr. Fergusson says of it, 'the pillars are arranged twenty-four in front by forty-one in depth, making 984, but in order to get a central space, four in the porch, then twenty-eight, then two, and again twenty-four, have been omitted, altogether fifty-eight; but, on the other hand, those

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* It is understandable that the Editors of Gazetteers generally reproduce readily available data and concentrate on updating the information. The Tamil Nadu Government should associate scholars in future editions with such an effort so as to modify the conclusions in the light of new facts which emerge from fresh studies from time to time.

> of the external portico must be added, which nearly balances the loss, and makes up the 1,000. It must be confessed this forest of granite pillars, each of a single stone, and all more or less carved and ornamented, does produce a certain grandeur of effect, but the want of design in the arrangement and of subordination of parts detract painfully from the effect that might have been produced. Leaving out the pillars in the centre is the one redeeming feature and that could easily have been effected without the brick vaults, formed of radiating arches, which are employed here — a certain proof of the modern age of the building. These vaults are certainly integral, and as certainly could not have been employed till after the Muhammadans had settled in the south, and taught the Hindus how to use them. . . The hall was almost certainly erected between 1595 and 1685, at which time, we learn from the Mackenzie Manuscripts, the kings of the locality made many donations to the fane' ".

Equally confused and ill-informed is a further statement in the same Gazetteer: "The thousand-pillared mantapam is stated to have been built by a king named Naralokavira, who is identified as Parakrama Pandya of the thirteenth century."

R) Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai

All the monuments mentioned above are enclosed by the third wall of enclosure called the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai, so named after a surname of Kulottunga III (Inscription No. A.R.E. 80 of 1928), to whom should be attributed the construction of this (third) wall of enclosure of the Nataraja temple. The contour of Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai, which belongs to the period of Kulottunga III, is a vital clue, in our judgement, to the dating of the four main Gopurams of the Nataraja temple — a subject which is being dealt with in detail in the next section.

The fact that all the four main Gopurams are located on the same alignment as the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai (which was the creation of Kulottunga III : A.D. 1178 to 1218) establishes beyond a shadow of doubt that at least the base stone structures of all the four Gopurams had been located and built by the 12th and 13th centuries during the periods of the Colas so that their merging and continuity with the cloistered third wall of enclosure known as the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai was ensured. It was not as if the location of any of these four Gopurams had to be improvised in later centuries with the consequent inevitable adjustments of space. So, the theory that some of the gopurams were built after the Cola period and that of Kopperunjinga totally falls to the ground. It is necessary to emphasise this point here, as a prelude to our observations in the next section on "Gopurams".

One other vital aspect also calls for emphasis at this stage. The choice of the locations for the East, South and West Gopurams should have been comparatively easy because it was only a question of steering clear of the second wall of enclosure (the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai, as it is called). In determining the location of the North Gopuram, the Later Cola rulers had necessarily to take into account the location of the Sivaganga tank, lying to the north of the temple complex encompassed by the second wall of enclosure. The expansion of the temple complex during the reigns of Kulottunga I, Vikrama Cola (Naralokavira assisting), Kulottunga II and Kulottunga III had necessarily to be on the northern side. The Hundred-Pillared Mantapam, the Sivakamasundari shrine and the Pandya Nayakam had been developed to the west of the Sivaganga tank and the

Thousand-Pillared Mantapam to the east of the Sivaganga tank by the Cola rulers of the Later Cola period. The North Gopuram could not, therefore, be located right in the middle of the northern part of the third wall of enclosure (because such an entry would have led on straight into the Sivaganga tank) but either to the west or the east of the tank. The east had to be ruled out because the Thousand-Pillared Mantapam had been planned and executed already during the days of Kulottunga II and the North Gopuram would therefore have been no more a North one but another East one ! The choice should therefore have fallen inescapably on the present site of the North Gopuram because the further passage inside the complex aligned to it steers clear of the tank (on its east) and the Pandya Nayakam, Sivakamasundari shrine and the Hundred-Pillared Mantapam (on its west). And, to crown it all, Kulottunga III had the time, the wisdom and the foresight to link up, in his reign, all the four Gopurams by the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai; and obviously by the time he undertook in his reign the construction of this beautiful third wall of enclosure, at least the bases of all the four Gopurams were well set in their present locations.

That the Nataraja temple complex is longer South to North than East to West therefore stems from the evolution of the temple complex over the centuries, particularly the 12th and 13th centuries under the Later Colas. In retrospect, it is a matter for gratification that the expansion has not been cramped by lack of space nor has there been any haphazard growth. The entire complex is very well laid out and has been neatly maintained over the centuries owing to the vigil and zeal of the Dikshitars and the Trustees of the Govindaraja shrine and the zealous cooperation of the devotees to whom the very soil is sacred. The third *prakara* is obviously not a perfect rectangle in its outline as the temple has expanded enormously (though splendidly beyond doubt) over the centuries, without any pretensions to a once-for-all predetermined plan or pattern. But by no means can it be said that the enlargement scheme has been haphazard. On the contrary, it is positively fascinating. Knowing the history of the six-fold enlargement of the temple complex during the period of the Later Colas, we cannot look for a "consistent application of a single principle of temple planning." We have already pointed out that James Fergusson, writing in A.D.1891 on what he called the "Chillambaram temple", had described the Nataraja temple as one of the most venerated and one of the most ancient temples in South India and he said that the temple aggregate had developed in different ages and had grown by accident rather than design.

It must be appreciated that the location of the Govindaraja shrine in juxtaposition with the Nataraja shrine within the first wall of enclosure, the original Mulasthana shrine and the Sivaganga tank have been the major factors to reckon with, in this expansion process.

The third wall of enclosure, Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai, has a two-storey pillared cloister, running the round of all four sides, with the exception of parts of the sectors between the North and East gopurams on the northern wall and behind the 1000-Pillared Mantapam besides a part of the eastern wing, south of the East Gopuram. The continuity, except for these minor breaks, and the architectural beauty of the cloister are remarkable. The Third *Prakara* is almost entirely paved throughout and provides a convenient thoroughfare, too, for pedestrians moving from one part of the town to another, with due piety while within the temple complex.

It is established conclusively that the wall called Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai could have been erected only after the four *Gopurams* — at least the gateways — had come up. We now proceed to justify the attribution of Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai to Kulottunga III.

There are several inscriptions of the thirteenth Century which refer to the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai and Tiruvithi.

An inscription (S.I.I., IV, 229 — A.R.E. 124 of 1888) on the West Gopuram at Cidambaram of the 28th year / 56th day of Maravarman Kulasekhara Deva (A.D. 1296) makes an unambiguous reference to the location of the Kulottunga Sola Vinayaka Pillaiyar shrine near the West gopuram. It is reproduced below.

> "இராசாக்கள் தம்பிரான் திருமாளிகை மேலைத்திருமாளிகையில்
> நிலையெழு கோபுரத்திருவாசல் புறவாசல் தென்பக்கத்து
> எழுந்தருளியிருந்து பூசை கொண்டருளுகிற குலோத்துங்க சோழ
> விநாயகப் பிள்ளையார்க்குச் சிறுகாலை சந்திக்கும் - அமுதுசெய்ய" (சுந்தரபாண்டியன் சந்தி)

An inscription (ARE 366 of 1913) dated the 29th year of the same king (A.D.1297) Maravarman Kulasekhara Deva (on the West Gopuram, left of entrance) registers an order of Kalingarayan and provides for offerings to the god Kulottunga Sola Vinayaka Pillayar, who is enshrined on the south side of the exterior entrance of the seven-storeyed gopuram on the western segment of Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai. It refers to Ellandalaiyan Perumal (a reference to Sundara Pandya), as already pointed out in Chapter Six. This confirms our view that the four Gopurams and Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai are on the same alignment on all the four sides and it also establishes that Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai had come into being in the days of Kulottunga III himself and derived its name from his surname 'Rajakkal Tambiran'.

In yet another inscription (ARE 295 of 1913) of the 4th year of a Maravarman Vikrama Pandya Deva on the north wall of the first *prakara*, an order is recorded of Kulasekhara Solakon exempting duties and assessments on lands presented by a certain Chedirayan for maintaining 36 persons employed in a water shed in the mantapa known as Anai-yerru-k-kudam (ஆனையேற்றுக்கூடம்) south of the seven-storeyed gopuram on the east side of Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai, 54 persons who prepared offerings for the god, 32 learned *brahmanas*, 54 persons who prepared offerings at Sikali (the shrine of the goddess?) and lastly the temple supervisors. It is obvious from this inscription that the construction of at least the gateway stone structure of the East Gopuram and Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai should have been accomplished during the period of the Later Colas and the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai took the alignment totally of the four gopurams — a point we have repeatedly emphasized in these pages. (There were four Pandyas of the same name and it is not clear to which of them this inscription refers). Presumably such a *mantapam* existed on the eastern side of Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai near the East Gopuram. But as a brick wall has recently been put up in the garden portion near the East Gopuram — as indeed all the Gopurams — I have not been able to verify whether the relics of such a *mantapam* remain now. Presumably this *mantapam* near the East Gopuram was the stage at which a caparisoned elephant greeted the pilgrim as he or she entered the precincts of the temple complex for worship.

In an inscription dated in the eighth regnal year of Kopperunjinga (A.D. 1243+8 = A.D. 1251) an order of Solakon is registered in respect of the settlement of the Saliyars wherein mention is made of three streets viz. Kopperunjingan Tiruvithi, Kulottunga Colan Tiruvithi and importantly, Rajakkal Tambiran Tiruvithi (line 9 of the inscription). This confirms that the Rajakkal Tambiran Tiruvithi existed as an earlier settlement *(Kudiyiruppu nattam)* by the time of this grant of land and the appellation Rajakkal Tambiran can apply only to Kulottunga III who is last heard of in AD 1218 only — thirty-two years prior to this inscription of Kopperunjinga (S.I.I. Vol. XII 154 ; A.R.E. 308 of 1913).

The title 'Rajakkal Tambiran' has been attributed by scholars variously to Kulottunga III (A.D. 1178-1216), Maravarman Vira Pandya (acc. A.D. 1268) and Maravarman Vikrama Pandya (A.D. 1283-1295/6). We attribute it to Kulottunga III alone since the title appears already in the inscription A.R.E. 308 of 1913 dated A.D.1251, and also the construction of this wall of enclosure to his reign.*

This position, together with the fact that the third wall of enclosure is the wall on which the four great Gopurams are located, establishes clearly that these gopurams were already there during the reigns of the last few of the Later Cola kings. This also explains why S.R. Balasubrahmanyam has consistently and steadfastly given frequent expression to his life-long conviction that "there is no Pandyan gopuram at all in the Cidambaram temple". We stand by his conclusion. (The only point at which the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai takes a short western course and resumes its south-north course right up to the Pandya Nayakam shrine is where its contour has to accommodate the 100-Pillared *mantapa*. This hardly matters.)

Gopurams

'Gopura darsanam papa vinasanam' — is an old saying: "The mere sighting of a *gopuram* eliminates all sin". This adage reflects in some measure the sanctity our tradition attaches to *gopurams*.

The Nataraja temple at Cidambaram has four towering Gopurams, one in each of the four main directions — East, South, West and North. Each of them has seven storeys and is adorned by thirteen large copper *kalasam's* on top. The gateways are nearly 40 feet high.

It is not known what kind of *gopurams* existed at the Cidambaram temple in the Early Cola period (A.D. 850-985).

It is a traditional belief that, of the four great Saiva Saints (*Nalvar*), Sambandhar entered the Nataraja temple by the South gateway, Appar (Tirunavukkarasu) by the West, Sundaramurti by the North and Manikkavacakar by the East.

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* Inscription 80 of 1928 from Tiruppugalur in Nannilam Taluk, on the east wall of the second *prakaram* of the Agnipurisvara temple, gives the following details, to help prove that Rajakkal Tambiran is a title of Kulottunga III.

King Parakesarivarman *alias* Tribuvanacakravarti Kulottunga Cola Deva "who was pleased to take Madhurai and the crowned head of the Pandya."

Date of Inscription	:	10th year and 52nd day
Synopsis	:	Begins with the customary introduction. States that some lands were taken from Tiruppugalur and Tottakkudi *alias* Rajendrasolanallur for forming a new street called Rajakkal Tambiran Tiruvithi. The land survey of the 16th year of Kulottunga Cola is mentioned.

The present four Gopurams were constructed during the latter half of the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth century. As the movements of the four Nayanmar took place between the 6th and 9th centuries A.D., it is clear that these saints should have entered the Nataraja temple by such gateways of the original temple structure as possibly existed in their time. What kind of temple gateways existed before the enlargement of the area to the present temple complex can only be a matter of mere conjecture. The term *'Elu nilai Gopuram'* has been used in the cantos on Sambandhar and Appar in Sekkilar's *Periya Puranam.*

Thus seven-tiered gateways to which Sekkilar makes reference in his *Periya Puranam* as the *'Elu nilai gopurams'* weré already in existence at Cidambaram at the time Sekkilar's *Periya Puranam* was launched in Kulottunga II's period at Cidambaram in A.D.1139. This fact also establishes conclusively that all attempts to attribute the *Gopurams* at Cidambaram to later periods like those of the Pandya and Vijayanagar rulers are unjustified except in regard to some of the super-structures, as we have indicated elsewhere at appropriate places.

Let us now briefly state our conclusions on these structures. We elaborate on them shortly below.

1) Of the four main *gopurams* of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram, the West Gopuram is the most ancient and the most typical *gopuram* of this period (12th century A.D.) The gateway portion of this tower is to be attributed to the period of Vikrama Cola (A.D.1118-1135). And the seven storeys of brick and stucco over the gateway are the work of his successor, Kulottunga II (A.D. 1133-1150). The earliest reference to a seven-storeyed gopuram (*elu-nilai-gopuram*) occurs in a contemporary quasi-historical literary work called Kulottunga Colan Ula composed by his court-poet.

2) The main gateway portions (stone bases) of the North and East Gopurams were built in the days of Kulottunga II (A.D.1133-1150). The seven storeys of the North Gopuram were re-built much later by the Vijayanagar ruler, Krishna Deva Raya, and perhaps completed by Acyuta Deva Raya.

The superstructure of the East Gopuram was built or completed or embellished by the Pallava Kopperunjinga. A renovation of the East Gopuram was carried out by Suppammal of the Pachaiyappa Mudaliar family in the later part of the eighteenth century.

3) The South Gopuram was built by the Pallava Kopperunjinga (A.D.1243-1279), though the two-tier stone gateway, in some form, should have existed during the period of the Later Colas.

4) S.R. Balasubrahmanyam has repeatedly argued that there is no Pandyan Gopuram at all in the Cidambaram temple. We reiterate that view. The reasons for this view have been clearly set forth in the following sections.

5) The four seven-storeyed Gopurams are located in the cardinal directions on the third wall of enclosure (Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai) at points which do not in all cases correspond to the centre of the wall — for reasons explained earlier. Rajakkal Tambiran is a surname of Kulottunga III (A.D.1178-1216), during whose reign this work on the Tirumaligai should have been completed.

6) These tall Gopurams, with seven storeys *(elu-nilai-gopuram)* and with gigantic gateways, of 'Dravidian temples' were the creation of the Cola kings of the 12th century and Kopperunjinga.

In the face of these facts, based on unimpeachable literary and epigraphical evidence, we are unable to accept the view that the 'Dravidian gopurams' were of Pandya or Vijayanagar origin.

The confusion on the dating of these four Gopurams is reflected in the following extract from the District Gazetteer of South Arcot under the caption 'Chidambaram' (page 441):

> "Chidambaram is famous for its temple of Siva, which is one of the largest, most ancient, and most sacred of the temples in South India. This temple covers an area of not less than 39 acres and is built almost entirely with granite which must have been brought from a great distance, the nearest quarry being 40 miles away across the Vellar. It must have been no easy task in those days of poor roads and primitive vehicles to transport all this stone, especially the large blocks, some of which were no less than thirty feet long and three feet square. The main buildings are enclosed within two high walls faced with dressed granite. Outside these run four 'car streets', sixty feet wide, which are said to cover the site which formerly occupied the ditch surrounding the fortified walls. Between the walls are numerous flower gardens and coconut topes. Through both walls run four main entrances facing the four points of the compass. Above the entrances in the inner wall are four great gopurams (towers) embellished with numerous sculptures representing religious scenes. The gopuram over the northern entrance bears an inscription which shows that it was built by Krishna Deva Raya, the greatest of the Vijayanagar kings (1509-1530). The eastern gopuram bears inscriptions of Sundara Pandya Deva of Madurai, who ascended the throne in 1251, and is, therefore, older than the northern one. Of the other two gopurams, the one on the west was built by Kopperunjinga, the Pallava king, whose capital was at Sendamangalam in the South Arcot district. The southern gopuram is supposed to have been built by one of the Chola kings. These gopurams, the tallest of which is 157 feet above sea level and therefore about 140 feet above the ground, are visible even from the sea and they and the lights which are lit on them on holy days are well-known landmarks for mariners. The lower portions of the gopurams, which are built entirely of stone, are decorated with little panels containing dancing figures."

What appears to us as the correct appreciation is presented in the following sections.

West Gopuram

The oldest of the present four *gopurams* is the West Gopuram, which should be attributed to the days of Vikrama Cola. It was perhaps completed by Vikrama Cola's successor, Kulottunga II. This Gopuram is of very special importance as the sculptures in the niches of the first tier of this Gopuram are all labelled, in the Grantha script of the twelfth century. These labelled figures are:

Ganesvaran, Devendran, Subrahmanyan, Sridevi, Vishnu (on Garuda), Agastyan, Kamadeva, Agni, Yaman, Jnana Sakti, Bhudevi, Nirukti, Adi Candesvaran, Gangadevi, Kshetrapala Pillaiyar, Chandran, Bhadra Kali, Yamunai, Nagan, Vinayakar, Jayan, Vijayan, Sukran, Durgai, Dhanvantari, Tripurasundari Devi, Varunesvaran, Kriyasakti, Sani Bhagavan, Vayu Bhagavan, Alakesvaran (Kubera), Naradar, Rahu-Ketu, Rudra deva, Visvakarma and Mahishasuramardani.

The East and West Gopurams at Cidambaram have yet another noteworthy feature. On the inner facades of the gateways of these two *Gopurams*, there are also labelled sculptures illustrating the 108 *karanas* in accordance with Bharata's Natya Sastra.

During our tours, we were able to bring to light three more labelled sculptures in the niches on the eastern face of the inner section of the West Gopuram, namely, those of Surya, Brahma and Sarasvati. Here are representations of the guardian deities of the eight directions, the three Sakti's, Rishis, the River Deities, the planets, Devis, Naga-Naginis and the Trimurti's.

The Airavatesvara temple at Darasuram near Kumbakonam (built by Rajaraja II, in the twelfth century A.D.) also has similar features, but in this case only the labels remain while the sculptures have disappeared. Hence, the West Gopuram of Cidambaram is truly of great interest to lovers of iconography and art.

On account of the presence of two inscriptions of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I on this Gopuram, on the celebration of his *tulabharam*, T.V.Sadasiva Pandarathar holds the view that this Gopuram was built by this Pandyan king and named after him. This view is not tenable, as these inscriptions are a later insertion on an earlier Cola monument of Vikrama Cola's days.

(One of the fundamental axioms in scientific archaeology, particularly when epigraphy is the basis for dating monuments, is that the presence of a dated and authentic inscription on a monument proves merely that the monument was in existence on the date of inscribing the record. No further deductions regarding the date of the monument can be drawn from it. We should go by a foundation inscription for dating a monument. Any deviation from this axiom leads to speculation and not scientific deduction.)

On the right of the West entrance leading from the second to the third *prakara* of the Nataraja temple, there is an incomplete inscription (S.I.I., IV, No.624) of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I beginning with his historical introduction of *Samasta Jagadadhara*. This inscription mentions a *matha* called Tirunokkalagiyan Tirumadam on the eastern side of the Sokkacciyan Kural, in the *sannidhi* (street) of the Sundara Pandyan *Tiru-nilai-elu Gopuram* (A.R.E.176 of 1892).

On the strength of this evidence, T.V. Sadasiva Pandarathar in his history of the Pandyas, *Pandya Varalaru*, asserts that the West Gopuram was named the Sundara Pandyan Gopuram. The *matha* is said to have been in the eastern row of the *sannidhi* of the gopuram. This fact will fit in only with the South Gopuram, not with the West. So, according to this inscription, the South Gopuram was called the Sundara Pandyan Gopuram. It may be added that the Pandyan crest of two fish is engraved on the lintel and jambs of this Gopuram. This may seem to justify the claim that it is Pandyan. But we know that the South Gopuram was built by the Pallava Kopperunjinga, out of the income from the gift of 301$^{3}/_{4}$ *velis* of land in the village of Attur (Arrur) in Chingleput district, made in his fifth regnal year (A.D. 1248 : Attur record of Kopperunjinga : 285 of 1921). The inscription adds that it was the southern gateway of the temple called Sokkacciyan *Tiru-nilai elu-gopuram*, that is, a *gopuram* of seven storeys (not 'having seven gopurams in a line' as interpreted in J.C. Harle's "Temple Gateways in South India," p.64). The text reads, 'in-Nayanar koyil-terkil-tiru-vasal Sokkacciyan Tiru-nilai-elu-gopuram' (S.I.I., XII, No.119: A.R.E. 285 of 1921).

The Cola country was conquered by Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I by A.D. 1258, and Kopperunjinga was made to submit to the Pandya. It is very probable that on account of his victories

Sundara Pandya claimed the South Gopuram (called Sokkacciyan after a surname of the Pallava builder) and renamed it Sundara Pandyan Gopuram as a mark of the imposition of his imperialism.

In the light of the above discussions, we hold that neither the South nor the West Gopuram can be called a Sundara Pandyan Gopuram. Incidentally, the East Gopuram has some inscriptions of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I, of about a century after it had been built. It is wrong to hold (as do Dubreuil and Percy Brown) that the East Gopuram was a Sundara Pandyan gopuram and that such a dating for the gopuram is well-attested.*

We reiterate that the West Gopuram was built by Vikrama Cola and his successor Kulottunga II.

In our opinion there is no Sundara Pandyan gopuram at all in the Cidambaram temple.**

North Gopuram

The gateway portion of this Gopuram, as of the East Gopuram, is made of stone and was constructed in the days of Kulottunga II. The gateway and the sculptures in the lowest two tiers of these two gopurams are of stone and similar in style. Some of the stone sculptures on the lower tiers of the North and East Gopurams seem to have suffered damage at the hands of vandals and some of them seem to have been replaced by new ones. The sculptures in the upper tiers are well-preserved and all these can be safely assigned, from their style, to the period of Kulottunga II (A.D. 1133-50). They also resemble those of the days of Rajaraja II (A.D. 1146-73) at Darasuram. The Darasuram temple and the cuboidal stone gateway of the North gopuram with evidently all the seven tiers (*elu-nilai*) came up over the same time, give or take a ten-year variation, in the span from A.D.1133 (acc. of Kulottunga II) to A.D.1173, the end of Rajaraja II's rule, i.e., a span of forty years — understandably in this spell of Cola rule when political stability spurred the rulers to great socio-cultural activity.

The sculptures of Kalyanasundarar, Bhikshatanar and Kankalesvarar in the second tier of the North Gopuram and the grand sculpture of Dakshinamurti on the south face of the East Gopuram (twelfth century) deserve special mention. Sculptures of Vyaghrapada and Patanjali are found in all the Gopurams except the West. The North Gopuram bears an inscription (No.371 of 1913) of Krishna Deva Raya of the Vijayanagar dynasty (A.D. 1509 to 1529) and it states that, after conquering Orissa, he erected a pillar of victory at Simhadri Pottanuru (modern Simhachalam in Vizag district of Andhra Pradesh), came to worship the Lord of Ponnambalam and built the North Gopuram.

In a Tamil verse (ARE 371 and 374 of 1913), Krishna Deva Raya also claimed that "while the other three gopurams were the gifts of kings who wore a crown, the North Gopuram was built by God himself — a poetic expression of the feeling that the North Gopuram was the most splendrous or a humble acknowledgement that only divine grace made it possible.

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* Jouveau-Dubreuil, G. "Archaeology of South India" (Paris, 1914);
Percy Brown, "Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)", Taraporevala & Sons (Bombay), Ch. XVIII.

** J.C. Harle in "Temple Gateways in South India" (pp.65-67), accepts our view that the West Gopuram is the oldest. But J.M. Somasundaram, in "Annamalai University's Environs" (pp.40-45) does not agree with our view.

A portrait of this emperor in stone is installed in a western niche of the Northern gateway. There is an inscription of his successor, Acyuta Deva Raya, who also claims to have built the North Gopuram. Only the building of the superstructure of the North Gopuram in brick and mortar was begun by Krishna Deva Raya and completed in the days of Acyuta Deva Raya. (Eighty-two villages were also gifted towards the car festival of Nataraja). It is not correct to hold that the entire North Gopuram was built by Krishna Deva Raya. Perhaps some renovation was undertaken during the Vijayanagar period. The gateway portion built of stone and the stone sculptures (except replacements) of the second tier of the East and North gopurams have features of the twelfth century, of the age of Kulottunga II. Some of the panels, the *koshtas* and their sculptures which might have been dislodged or gone off the plumb line might have been later set right. The upper tier sculptures are original and, judging by style, belong to the twelfth, not to the sixteenth, century A.D.

East Gopuram

The gateway portion of this *Gopuram* was also constructed in the days of the Cola king, Kulottunga II (c. A.D. 1150). The Pallava, Kopperunjinga (A.D.1243-79) claims in his Tripurantakam (Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh) inscription that he defeated the kings of the four quarters and embellished the four sides of this *gopuram* (said to resemble Mount Meru) with the booty he had captured from his enemies. This claim should refer only to the building of the super-structure of this *Gopuram*. There is also a later inscription — separated by nearly a century — of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I, who describes the celebration of his *tulabharam* at Cidambaram. As it is a later inscription, the attribution of the construction of this *Gopuram* to Sundara Pandya cannot hold good. If the construction of the Eastern gopuram was begun during the days of Kulottunga II (A.D. 1138-50) and if Cola rule was finally overthrown only in the middle of the 13th century, it is clearly wrong to classify this monument as a work of art under the Pandyas. Again, in the late eighteenth century, the sister and mother-in-law of Pachaiyappa Mudaliar, the renowed philanthropist of Kanchipuram, renovated the upper structure of this *Gopuram*. On both sides of the gateways of the East and West Gopurams, as mentioned already, there are 108 *karanas* of Bharata's Natya Sastra with descriptive labels in Grantha script above each figure. As Koppperunjinga claims the title of 'Bharatam Vallan' and claims also to be a builder of the superstructure of this gopuram, a view has been taken that these labelled sculptures in the East and West Gopurams were installed in his period.

Since Rajaraja I himself had the *karanas* carved out at Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur and the East and the West Gopurams of Cidambaram were the handiwork of the Later Colas, it seems reasonable to conclude that the *karanas* with the attached Grantha labels in the two-tier stone gateway on the East and West Gopurams at Cidambaram had been fixed by the Later Colas themselves at the time of the construction of the Gopurams and the only conclusion that the Tripurantakam inscription might warrant is that Kopperunjinga merely added embellishments to the East Gopuram with his booty. (Refer to Chapter Five also.)

The East Gopuram contains the sculptures of Pachaiyappa Mudaliar and his mother-in-law, Suppammal, who repaired the East Gopuram and founded an *agrahara* (A.R.E. 342 of 1913).

Slightly norh of the East *Gopuram* is the *Titti-Vasal* — a bland gate — through which all processional deities are taken out of the temple during festivals. Therewith is associated a concept. As there are sculptures of Gods and Goddesses on the Gopuram, the processional deities — the *Pancamurtis*, Bhikshatanar, Nataraja and Sivakamasundari (on the car festival days) do not pass through the gateway portion of the gopuram. In fact there is a strict injunction that the processional deities should not be carried through the gateways of gopurams.

It is significant that the *Tittivasal* is close to the Sivaganga tank and to the later addition, the Thousand-pillared Mantapam and closer to the Sri Mulasthana shrine. Perhaps this is the oldest entrance on the East, which had been in use even before the East *Gopuram* was built.

South Gopuram

The two-tier stone gateway of this Gopuram is obviously the work of the Later Cola rulers. The rest was the work of the Pallava king, Kopperunjinga. In his fifth regnal year, he made a grant at Attur village in Chingleput district — a gift of 301 $^{3}/_{4}$ *velis* of land—towards the construction of the *gopuram*. He built it as a seven-storeyed *gopuram* and named it after one of his surnames, the Sokkacciyan *'Tiru Nilai-elu gopuram'*. There is an inscription of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I in which the *gopuram* is named after himself (the Pandya). This claim cannot be accepted as the construction must have been completed by the Pallava ruler before the time of Sundara Pandya I, that is, between A.D. 1248 and 1258. The latter had his Pandyan crest (of two fish) engraved on the jambs and the crossbars of the gateway of the South Gopuram. This only indicates, as pointed out earlier, Sundara Pandya's imposition of his supremacy over the Cola country. Incidentally, the stones used for the gateway and the sculptures in the two tiers of the South Gopuram are inferior in quality; also, the sculptures of this Gopuram are not as good, with regard to style, as those of the other *gopurams*. The South Gopuram should therefore be attributed only to Kopperunjinga.

"Tiruvasal Sokkacciyan Tirunilai Elu Gopuram"

The Attur inscription of Kopperunjinga is dated in his 5th year (S.I.I., XII. No.119 A.R.E. 285/ 1921) (See Chapter Five also).

The inscription of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I in which he claims that the South gopuram is named after him is S.I.I., IV No.624 : A.R.E. 176 of 1899.

The Tripurantakam inscription mentions Kopperunjinga's claim that he embellished particularly the southern, the eastern and the western sides of the East Gopuram.

To repeat, all the four main Gopurams are located on the third wall of enclosure known as the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai. All these are further enclosed by a coconut tope surrounded by the fourth wall of enclosure called the Veerappa Nayakkan Madil (after one of the Nayak rulers of Madurai in the seventeenth century). There was also a ditch surrounding the iast enclosure which, in recent times, has been filled up and the four main (car) streets now enclose the whole temple complex.

There is no sculpture of Tirumular in any of the *gopurams* of the Nataraja temple. The figure illustrated as Tirumular, against p.34 in the Tamil publication on Cidambaram by the

Dharmapuram Adhinam, may be Visvakarma, akin to the corresponding labelled sculpture in the West gopuram.

As for the *karanas* of Bharata's *Natya Sastra* on the Gopurams of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram, a note is attached in the Appendices, on the basis of Dr. B. Venkataraman's latest study in April 1994. We have also reproduced in the Appendices extracts from the 1914 Epigraphical Reports on these Karanas. The ravages of time are however visible on some of the lower panels in the East Gopuram. A pity, they show signs of erosion. The brick walls near these majestic gopurams, which the modern renovator has put up in recent years, have made certain parts of the lower tiers of the gopurams inaccessible to the scholar for a fresh look at and study of these stately sculptures. Mushroom shrines have grown up around some of these niches, detracting from the architectural integrity of some of the *gopurams.* The modern craze for riotous colours has given the gopurams a bizarre look and detracts from their grace and old-world charm.

In the Appendices we reproduce extracts from the 1914 Epigraphical Reports on the *karanas* on the East and West Gopurams, along with our special note referred to above.

A *gopuram* in a temple is regarded as the Lord's *sthula rupam* (the gross image or form). For the devotee, the beholding of the *gopuram* is therefore considered as efficacious as of the *sanctum sanctorum* itself. The work '*Cidambara Mahatmyam*' says:

"Namami Gopuranisa tava murtyantarani vai."

The location of the temple *gopuram* is determined by the plan and orientation of the entire temple. In respect of the Nataraja temple, the locations of the four *gopurams* give the onlooker the impression of a lack of symmetry. Neither of the two pairs of *gopurams* facing each other is on the same axis. Only the South *gopuram* comes near to being right in the middle of the corresponding wall. It is reasonable, therefore, to infer that the location of the *gopurams,* which have been built by various kings at different points of time, has been determined largely by the position of the structures already in the temple complex. The East and West Gopurams are well towards the southern end on the respective sides because the *prakaras* and the Sri Mulanathar, Nataraja and Govindaraja shrines lie in the southern part of the third *prakara*. The North Gopuram has been placed far to the west because of the position of the Sivaganga tank and the need to provide a clear access into the temple, clear of the holy tank on one side and the Hundred-Pillared *mantapa*, the Sivakamasundari shrine and the Pandya Nayakam shrine — all three — on the other side, situated west of the tank. Neither the East Gopuram nor the West *gopuram* is directly opposite the entrances into the second *prakara* — namely, the twenty-one steps on the East and the Akalankan Tiruvasal on the West.

It is noteworthy that the base stone structures of the four great *gopurams* have more or less the same plan down to the smallest detail of ornament. The height of the North Gopuram, which is probably the tallest, is generally given as 140 feet; the entrance portion is approximately 40 feet high. The West Gopuram is the oldest of the four. The pilasters, carrying the *karana* panels, have been divided in the West Gopuram into nine square sections as against eight sections on the East Gopuram. As S.R. Balasubrahmanyam has repeatedly emphasized, the West Gopuram is unique from the point of view that the *karana* panels have Grantha labels affixed to them for description of the *karanas*. The West Gopuram should be regarded as the starting point for the style of the four major *gopurams* of the Cidambaram temple. On grounds of style and other allied factors, we repeat our view that the West Gopuram is the oldest and it should be attributed to Vikrama Cola (A.D. 1118-1135).

As for the North Gopuram, we endorse and reiterate S.R. Balasubrahmanyam's view, consistently maintained by him throughout his lifetime and arrived at on the basis of definite data and proof material, that the lower portion belongs to the Later Cola period, and Krishnadeva Raya and Acyuta Deva Raya could only have built the super-structure.

What offers confirmation of this contention is the fact that, when Kopperunjinga, who built the superstructure of the South Gopuram (or renovated it) through a repair donation of 301 $^3/_4$ *velis* of land, was worsted in battle by Sundara Pandya, the latter made use of the land grant and continued the work on the superstructure, claiming, (understandably) in the tradition and practice of the times, that he 'built' the gopuram.

What he really did was to proceed with and complete the renovation of the superstructure (in seven tiers), an operation Kopperunjinga was dedicated to, commenced, made grants for and would have completed but for the termination of his suzerainty by Pandya ascendancy in Coladesa.

T) The Theory of a "Pandyan Gopuram" at Cidambaram

On the question of style, there is a lot of erroneous views. Burgess, Fergusson and Dubreuil are pioneers who laid the foundations of South Indian Archaeology. Their methods were systematic and scientific, and their conclusions are sound upto the extent original sources of art history were then available to them. Their successors in the field, instead of following their methods, simply, even blindly, echoed their views though outdated by the progress and enlargement of the frontiers of our knowledge during the course of nearly a century. Without a full survey and careful study of dated monuments and dated sculptures, no satisfactory results would be possible.

Dubreuil divided 'Dravidian style' into five main periods, and his generalisations were too sweeping. He enunciated the first three phases as follows:

(1) **The Pallava Phase (A.D.600-850):** It was characterised by rock-sculptures. The Bahur temple was wrongly included in this group. It seems to be a foundation of the period of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III (10th century A.D.).

(2) **The Cola phase (A.D. 850-1100):** It was held a period of grand *vimanas*. In this group were included the Koranganatha temple at Srinivasanallur (which he and others attributed, owing to inadequate appreciation of evidence, to Parantaka I) and the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur.

(3) The third was the **Pandyan phase** which, according to him, extended from A.D.1100 to 1350; he characterised it as the period of grand *gopurams*. He included in this group the east *gopuram* in the third wall of enclosure of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram, the small western *gopuram* in the second wall of enclosure of the Jambukesvarar temple at Tiruvanaikka (which he dated as of A.D.1251), the main eastern *gopuram* of the Samgapani temple at Kumbakonam and the Ballala (Hoysala) *gopuram* at Tiruvannamalai. He added: "The

monuments belonging to the Pandyan style are very rare. They are all *gopurams*.....The east *gopuram* at Cidambaram is the best example of architecture of the Pandyan epoch. The date of its erection is undoubted since it bears an inscription of Sundara Pandya. This style is found in a large number of monuments of this epoch."

These views of Professor Dubreuil found an echo in Percy Brown's 'Indian Architecture' (pages 107-108) and in Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's 'The Colas' (Second edition, 1955, page 716). Witness Prof. Nilakanta Sastri's observation: "To some extent the Pandyan practice began when the Cola style had not cleared the stage and the Pandyan *gopurams* of Cidambaram, Tiruvannamalai and Jambukesvaram (1100-1350) chosen by Jouveau-Dubreuil to illústrate that style considerably overlap the later Cola period." Percy Brown observes: "Of this series, the eastern gateway of Cidambaram is perhaps the most characteristic of the period, and as it bears an inscription of the Pandyan ruler, Sundara, who reigned in the middle of the13th century, its date is authenticated. There is still much of the old traditional beauty of the Cola Style in the design of its structure ..All these *gopurams* of the Pandya period are of much the same character."

Again, Dr.C. Sivaramamurti, in his masterly treatise on Nataraja published in 1974, speaks of a "Sundara Pandya *gopuram*" at Cidambaram. The authors of the book "Tandava Lakshanam" (page 9, 1971 edition) fell into the same fallacy: they said: "That the southern *gopuram* must have been the work of a Pandyan king may be inferred from the Pandyan crest, the fish, on the cross stone connecting the right and the left niches of the tower."

The formidable combination of such eminent authorities on the subject seems to have invested the "Pandyan *gopuram*" theory with a guarantee of immortality ! It would, therefore, be necessary to reiterate what has been already brought out in considerable detail, viz., that there is no "Pandyan Gopuram" at all at Cidambaram.

The Cola supremacy in the *Coladesa* was unquestioned till 1216 A.D., i.e., the closing year of Kulottunga III, and even after that, under Rajaraja III, i.e., till around 1250 A.D., the Cola control over their traditional territory remained intact though by the implied consent of the Pandyas. The first massive intrusion of the Pandyas with lasting impact on Cola suzerainty was after Sundara Pandya eliminated both Rajaraja III and Kopperunjinga. There was thus no Pandyan presence in Coladesa till 1258 A.D., and in the short span of a whirlwind campaign, the Pandyas absorbed the Cola territory into their own domain during the reign of the last though valiant Cola ruler, Rajendra III.

If, thus, there was no Pandyan suzerainty over the traditional Cola country prior to 1250 A.D., the question of Pandyan monuments in the period prior to that date in the Cola country cannot and does not arise. The observation of Brown, Hultzsch, and following them other authors not excluding Professor K.A.Nilakanta Sastri and latterly Dr.J.C.Harle, has therefore to be considered as a mere macro-division in terms of a broad time-frame unrelated to historically proven facts.

It is not possible therefore to sustain the theory of a Pandyan phase of 'Dravidian style' in the Cola country between A.D.1100 and A.D. 1350, certainly not till 1250 A.D. — till when the Colas were in full command of not merely the political authority but also of the cultural and religious and consequently religio-architectural activity in their kingdom.

U) Conclusion:

According to the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy 1914, (H.Krishna Sastri), one of the Chief Ministers who issued orders, perhaps on behalf of the King, was Perumal Pillai *alias* Solakon of Aragur. Tennavan Brahmadirajan, Jayatunga Pallavaraiyan and Tillai Ambalapallavarayaṉ were some of his other officers mentioned in the Cidambaram inscriptions. On a pillar in the western entrance into the second *prakara* of the temple and on another in the *gopura* of Goddess Sivakami Amman, is recorded the fact that the pillars were placed there by Solakon for the merit of his master, Avaniyalappirandan Kopperunjinga Deva. Though now one other similar pillar is found on a new entrance cut open by the Nattukkottai Chettiars close to the east main *gopura* of the temple, there is little doubt that it must have been originally connected with that g*opura*.

The Report refers to a triangular inscription from Tripurantakam that a certain king named Maharaja Simha (Kopperunjinga) built the eastern gopuram of the Cidambaram temple and decorated the four sides of it with the booty acquired by subduing the four quarters. The Report adds:

"The East and West *gopuras* are being richly decorated and bear on their inner walls the firm specimens of images of which a large number illustrate the various dancing postures".

The Report observes: Maharaja Simha of the Tripurantakam inscription could be no other than Kopperunjingadeva on whose account the Chief Solakon set up the pillars referred to above (as in ARE 321, 324 and 325 of 1914).

Wrapping up this detailed examination of the Cidambaram *gopurams* and their period, I cannot do better than quote S.R.Balasubrahmanyam (*Later Chola Temples*, 1979, p.xi).

> "There are many erroneous views on the dates of *mandapas* and *gopurams*. The Nritta Sabha at Cidambaram, belonging to the days of Kulottunga I, like the temple at Melakkadambur, has been attributed by some authors wrongly to the 17th century. The independent Amman temple, the Hundred-Pillared Hall and the Thousand-Pillared Hall, and the three walls of enclosure of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram, with seven-tiered *gopurams* in the third wall —— all belong to the Later Cola period, not to the Pandyan or Vijayanagara age. There is no Pandyan *gopuram* at all in the Cidambaram temple."

It would be as well to conclude this survey of the *Gopurams* at Cidambaram with what S.R. Balasubrahmanyam wrote in his '*Early Cola Temples*' (1971), pp. 303-4. It sums up our views on this subject.

> "The Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1908-9 mentions that 'the high towers of most of the famous temples of the South must have been built in the time of Krishna Raja as also the picturesque and extensive additions known generally as the hundred-pillared and thousand-pillared *mandapas*. We frequently hear of Rayar-*gopuram*, which means the tower of Rayar (i.e., perhaps Krishna Raya). It is not possible at this stage of epigraphical research to say how many temples were benefited thus by Krishna Raya's charities. It may be presumed that his liberal hand was practically extended to the whole of the empire.'

"Fergusson and Burgess held that the thousand-pillared hall at Cidambaram could be attributed to the period between A.D.1595 and 1685.

"We have evidence to prove that these additions were the work of the Later Colas (A.D. 1070-1280). The first two walls of enclosure of the Nataraja temple called Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai and Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai, the Amman (Tirukkamakkottam Udaiya Nacciyar) shrine and the hundred-pillared hall were the works of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Cola and their minister Naralokaviran. Of the four seven-storeyed *gopurams* (*elu-nilai gopuram*), the western was built by Vikrama Cola and Kulottunga II, the gateways of the northern and the eastern by the latter, and the southern *gopuram* by Pallava Kopperunjingan. These four *gopurams* on the third wall of enclosure named Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai, after a surname of Kulottunga III, should therefore be considered as the achievements of the Later Colas. The thousand-pillared hall must have existed even in the days of Kulottunga II, as Sekkilar's *Periyapuranam* was expounded here. The gateway portions of the east and north *gopurams* were built in the days of Kulottunga II. Only the brick super-structure was rebuilt by the Vijayanagar rulers in respect of the north *gopuram* ("Four Chola Temples", p.35; also J.C. Harle's "Temple Gateways in South India", pp. 58-63 and pp. 67-69).

"An important development in the sphere of South Indian Art and Architecture is the evolution of the seven-storeyed *gopuram* under the patronage of the Later Colas, from Kulottunga I to Kulottunga III (A.D.1070 to 1216). And now, the centre of gravity in this field of art shifts to Cidambaram. In this period, the *gopuram* dwarfs the *vimana* and dominates the temple-complex and the ever-enlarging temple-city. In spite of this new development, the essential features of the Tanjavur example were still followed at Darasuram and Tribhuvanam."

Some additional inscriptions relating to the Mahratha and Later periods

(Dr. B. Venkataraman)

Mahratha Period:

There is a record in Sanskrit and Tamil verse (with Telugu and Kannada versions) inscribed on a pillar built into the south wall of the Sivaganga tank in the temple campus, which states that the tank was repaired by one Gopala Dadaji of Vasishtha gotra, who was the Secretary of Harisa, whose overlord was Sambaji, when one Ranasimha, the son of Tukkoji, was ruling over the region around Cidambaram (ARE 329 of 1961-62). It would be relevant to connect this record with another found on a stone in a field at Mammangalam (in the taluk of the same name) relating to the same ruler dated in Saka 1605 (cyclic year Rudhirogarin, Tamil month of Adi and day 6) which conveys the order of Subedar Gopala Pandita Aiyan declaring a tax-free gift of 800 *kuli-s* of land by Rayasri Tukkojiraja, to the deity called Visvanathasvamin, as *'ubhayam'* at Palayankottai (in Tirunelveli district).

Gopala Pandita Aiyan seems to have held a prominent position in the civil administration in the region around Cidambaram. Starting as a *subedar,* he served Harisa Prabhu, who was the General of Sahaji, son of Sambhaji and grandson of Chatrapati Sivaji. Gopala Pandita seems to have continued to serve Sahaji, the grandson of Sivaji. However, we gather that Cidambaram was under the remote control of the Mughals, who had defeated the Tanjavur rulers. We are also able to gather from the inscription above, the assignment of the income from several taxes for the merit of Rayamanniyaraya Maharayar Sayabu by Raya Reguvoji Panditar Aiyan. It is dated in Saka 1611 (Sukla, Masi 6, asterism Uttirattadi which equates to February 2, 1690). If Maharayar Sayabu could be the Mughal overlord, it has to be a reference to Aurangzeb. We are aware from other sources that Reguvoji Panditar Aiyan was his Agent at this time (Sewell, "Historical Inscriptions of South India," p.289).

Later Inscriptions:

On the Nandi Mantapa near the eastern gopuram, there is an inscription, whose date or authorship is not contained in it. However, it mentions that the mantapa was built by one Jagadisuran Rajasurya Tondaiman. It is in characters of more recent days. We are not able to date the document.

The East Gopuram of the temple contains some inscriptions. The south face of the entrance contains an inscription relating to the obeisence of Vasanta Raya Mudaliyar, son of Cidambaranatha Mudaliyar of Palaiyanur, who carried out the construction of the southern mantapam and gopuram in his capacity as the agent of Pachaiyappa Mudaliyar. On the southern face of the entrance is a statue, below which is an inscription (ARE 163 of 1961-62) which identifies the statue as that of the benefactor, who is mentioned as a Trustee of the temple of God Sabhanayaka of Cidambaram. This has reference to the renovation that was carried out in accordance with the wishes of this benefactor in the 19th century.

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CHAPTER 10

The Govindaraja Shrine

Cidambaram (Tillai) is undoubtedly the most conspicuous example of a religious centre where Siva and Vishnu co-exist. The Mohini/Bhikshatana episode in the Daruka forest is itself striking testimony of the age-old eclecticism of the Tillai tradition. While Tillai Tiruc-cirrambalam is sacred to the Saivites, Tillai Tiruc-citrakutam is equally sacred to the Vaishnavites. Terri-Ambalam or Tiruc-citrakutam is an elevated platform, on which the Govindaraja shrine had been consecrated in the earliest times.

As to the antiquity of the Govindaraja shrine and its early history, the oldest references we have are those of Tirumangai Alvar and Kulasekhara Alvar (referred to already in Chapter 3), in which Lord Vishnu (the stone idol) and Rama (the metal idol) are mentioned, as being worshipped by the 'Tillai Three Thousand' *brahmanas* (*Tillai Muvayiravar*) in accordance with the *Sastras.* This would justify the inference that the entire management including that of the Vishnu shrine was being looked after by the Dikshitars and it also seems reasonable to infer, according to some scholars, that the Vishnu shrine had, at that point of time, no separate existence, independently of the Nataraja temple complex. In other words, the Vishnu shrine was regarded only as that of a '*parivara devata*' (one of the retinue) — a view that the Vaishnavite devotees would not accept.

The next reference of consequence to Govindaraja's shrine is in verse 86 of Manikkavacakar's *Tiruc-cirrambalak-kovaiyar*, in which Vishnu is described as lying on the serpent-couch in the courtyard of Tillai-Ambalam supplicating Nataraja; when, in response to Vishnu's prayer, Nataraja had already showed him one foot, the recumbent Vishnu prayed that He might show him the other foot too. (Manikkavacakar refers to Tillai Nataraja in verses 42,105,132 and 157 also in his *Tirukkovaiyar*).

On the basis of Tirumangai Alvar's verse referred to above, it has also been concluded by some scholars that the Pallava ruler, Nandivarman (A.D. 726 to 775), established the Govindaraja shrine at Tillai.

Centuries of peaceful co-existence of the followers of Nataraja and Govindaraja followed till signs of hostility manifested themselves in the reign of the Cola ruler Kulottunga II (A.D. 1133-1150). His court-poet Ottakkuttan's *Ula's* and his work entitled *Takkayagapparani* describe the various services rendered to the Nataraja temple by Kulottunga II and say that in order to find space for the expansion of the Siva temple and its renovation work, the "Vishnu god had to be forced back to his former abode — the sea". From Vaishnavite accounts on Ramanuja and other Vaishnavite literature of the times, it is learnt that the Vishnu deity was thrown into the sea (near Killai) and the shrine itself was got vacated to create additional space for the Cola ruler to expand the Siva temple. At the time of Ramanuja (A.D. 1016-17 to 1137), the *Citrakuta* was known to have been removed from the scene. The image of Govindaraja was shifted away by the Vaishnavas to Tirupati, and when Ramanuja heard of the removal of the Vishnu shrine and the subsequent transportation of the image by the Vaishnavite devotees to Lower Tirupati, Ramanuja went to Lower Tirupati, where he had the Govindaraja image consecrated and enshrined in what is known now as the Govindaraja temple at Lower Tirupati. Mahavidvan M. Raghava Aiyangar (one of the revered scholars of this century) is reported to have determined the date of this episode as A.D. 1127. The removal of the idol and its consecration at Lower Tirupati (according to V.G. Ramakrishna Aiyar) should have taken place somewhere between A.D. 1123 and 1136 perhaps nearer the latter date. *

The massive *Mulavar* (Vishnu in stone in a lying posture on the serpent-couch) must have been allowed to remain somewhere within the temple campus on a platform. My discussions with some of the present trustees of the Sri Govindaraja shrine indicate the traditional belief that even when this massive stone idol was thrown into the sea near Killai, the fishermen of the area were quick to bring it ashore and restore it to the temple at Cidambaram for preservation, perhaps at some obscure place within the temple precincts, pending its restoration.

V.G. Ramakrishna Aiyar suggests that, even if Ramanuja had hugged any hopes of restoring the Govindaraja shrine at Cidambaram in his life-time, he would have abandoned the hope because Cidambaram had by then become the strong-hold of Saivism. Not only was Nataraja the *Kulanayakam* of the Cola kings: Cidambaram had become one of their royal seats.

This brings the history of the Sri Govindaraja shrine upto the middle of the 12th century A.D.

The next literary reference to the Govindaraja shrine is in the period of Vedanta Desika, the Vaishnavite apostle (A.D. 1268-1369), when, it is claimed, worship in the Govindaraja shrine was again set up with the aid of Gopannarya of Gingee. The *Guruparamparai Prabhavam* seems to suggest it too. Cidambaram could not escape the consequences of Malik Kafur's invasion of South India in A.D. 1311; but the Vijayanagar empire under Bukka and his lieutenants Gopanna and Kampanna was a bulwark later against Muslim invasions, and many Hindu temples were re-built during this period of Hindu revival. (This theory of the restoration of the Govindaraja shrine in the fourteenth century A.D. at Cidambaram is, however, discounted by some scholars. We have referred to this question already in Chapter Seven.)

The earliest epigraphical reference in the temple is a record of the Vijayanagar king, Acyuta Deva Raya (A.D. 1539: ARE 272 of 1913), who ordered that the image of Tillai Govindaraja at Perumparrappuliyur in Valudalampattu usavadi, a sub-division of Vennaiyur-Nadu in Rajadhiraja Valanadu, might be set up according to the rituals of *Vaikhanasa Sutra*; and he granted five hundred *pon*, the income from four villages, for the upkeep of daily worship. It is said that the inspiration came from a famous Vaishnava teacher, Doddacarya *alias* Mahacarya of Sholinghur. The question has been posed whether Acyuta Raya's act was a consecration or a re-consecration. The re-consecration theory supports the contention that Govindaraja was in existence in the temple even prior to the time of Acyuta Raya, such existence of the image of Govindaraja is to be inferred from tradition and religious literature, and that the idol appears to have occupied one of the *mantapas* in the *Tirumaligaippatti* (platform near the wall) around Nataraja's shrine. There is no epigraphical evidence to indicate that in Acyuta's time or prior to it there was a separate shrine for Govindaraja.

The present Trustees of the Sri Govindaraja shrine tell me that the Govindaraja idol that had been carried to Lower Tirupati had stayed on there and that a fresh idol was consecrated with *Vaikhanasa* rituals in the period of Acyuta Raya (A.D. 1539) in the present Govindaraja shrine at Cidambaram. The entire tenor of Acyuta Raya's order would indicate that the *Vaikhanasa* ritual was introduced here by him for the first time in its history. It would also appear from inscriptions (Nos. 546 and 548 of 1918) that in order to build a *vimana* in front of the Govindaraja shrine and to provide a separate entrance for that shrine, an old Cola wall was broken. A.R.E. 1 1915 (A.D. 1538) refers to the 're-consecration of Govindarajasvamin at Citrakudam by Acutaraya.' This opening of a separate entrance to the *sanctum sanctorum* of Govindaraja would justify the inference that such an entrance did not exist prior to Acyuta Raya's period and that it should have been permitted as a compromise formula between the devotees of Govindaraja and Nataraja to assuage sectarian feelings. This opening should have been provided on the eastern side of the first wall of enclosure (Kulottunga Colan-Naralokaviran Tirumaligai). Some scholars have also drawn the inference that before this new entrance and a *vimana* were provided in Acyuta's reign and the *Vaikhanasa* form of worship was enforced, both the Nataraja and the Govindaraja shrines should have been under one and the same management (of the Dikshitars) and adopted the same type of ritual. There seems to be no reason to doubt it. The idea that Govindaraja's was only a *'Parivara'* shrine of the Nataraja temple seems to have originated from their earlier relative situation, although, with the installation of a full-fledged shrine for Govindaraja under Vijayanagar patronage, the situation apparently changed.

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* Some scholars maintain that the Govindaraja at Tirupati is different.

This development should have called for additional facilities in the east-west direction for the Govindaraja shrine, which could have been provided only by a structural interference with the north-south axis of the Nataraja shrine — neither the *Mukhamantapa* of Nataraja (which was built by Kulottunga III) nor the Jnana Sambandhar Mantapa on its eastern side (which had been built much earlier, in the days of Naralokaviran, for the recitation of the Devaram hymns) exist today, and we have no satisfactory explanation as to how these two 'Saivite' facilities provided under Cola rule disappeared.

Father Heras, in p.553 of his work, "The Aravidu Dynasty," wrote:

> "A notable instance of the struggle between the two sects (Saivite and Vaishnavite) is the lamentable event that took place at Cidambaram in A.D.1597, while Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji, himself a staunch Vaishnava, was there superintending improvements which he had ordered at the temple of Govindaraja within the great Saiva temple. Father N.Pimenta who passed through Cidambaram at this time narrates in one of his letters a great controversy that arose at this time."

The contents of Father N. Pimenta's note have already been noted in an earlier chapter on the history of the Cidambaram temple (Chapter Seven). The dispute arose over the Vishnu shrine having the Vaishnava symbols placed in front of it; this proposal apparently provoked a strong objection from the Saivites. Krishnappa, obviously, had made some improvements to the Vishnu shrine and (some scholars have hinted) even enlarged it ("Sources of Vijayanagar History" by Dr.S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, p.272). This situation also appears to have led to a sharp reaction.

In A.D. 1643, Sri Ranga of the Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagar, then ruling from Vellore, appears to have renovated the *Mukhamantapa* (the big *mantapa*) in front of the Govindaraja shrine and the gopuram of the Govindaraja shrine and the *vimanas* of the Goddess Pundarikavalli Tayar (the Lord's Consort) and Sudikkodutta Nacciyar (Andal), and also the *mantapa* in front of Tiruvalli Alvar (refer to Inscription No.271 of 1913 in this context). Sri Ranga is also said to have given away five villages in rent-free grants, for the benefit of the Sri Vaishnavas of the place. (Connect Chapter Seven).

During the latter half of the 18th century, fresh disputes are said to have arisen between the custodians of the Siva and Vishnu shrines, leading to an interruption in worship at the Govindaraja shrine and the closure of the entrance. The Saivite priests submitted a *kararnama* (agreement) on 17th October 1796 A.D., and, under the directives of the Nawab of Arcot in the year 1797 A.D., the respective rights and claims of both the parties were defined. But there were signs of conflict again in A.D.1849.

In A.D. 1862, the Dikshitars of the Nataraja temple and the management of the Govindaraja temple had to work out an agreement that there would be no interference with the rituals and the festivals of the Nataraja temple and that the Vaishnavite management could arrange for worship at the Govindaraja shrine and that the Vaishnavite followers would agree not to celebrate the *Brahmotsavam* of their temple. This agreement was ratified by the law courts in A.D. 1867.

In A.D.1896, when the renovation of the Siva shrine was undertaken, the *Sankha* and *Cakra* of the Vishnu temple were reported to have been defiled, the *vimana* of the Narasimhasvami shrine was demolished, the icons of the Alvars were removed from the Alvar shrine, the *Asthana Mantapa* was pulled down. The Vaishnavites are reported to have developed an apprehension that there was a threat to other Vishnu shrines too.

During British rule, the disputes between the two shrines were fought out in the law courts, with varying fortunes. Now the bones of contention have been laid to rest and the managements of these two great shrines have resolved to co-exist in peace and harmony.

The credit for the renovation work of the shrine in the 19th century should go to the Chettinad family. And, at the beginning of this century, the mediation efforts of Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad, the Founder of the Annamalai University at Cidambaram, paid rich dividends. He arranged for the renovation of the ruined *mantapa* in front of the Nataraja shrine and the Govindaraja shrine, repaired the latter shrine (which was in a dilapidated state), reconstructed the Gopuram and the *vimana* over the *garbhagrha* and reconstructed the *sannidhi* itself in A.D.1934. (See the illustrations for a view of the pre-1934 situation.)

An era of peace was thus ushered in after decades of conflict between the two sects. The Govindaraja shrine at Tillai (Cidambaram) has, thus, had a chequered history.

Professor K.A.Nilakanta Sastri summed up the situation with characteristic terseness when he wrote in "The Colas" (A.D. 1955, p.644) : "The fact remains that the Saivas and the Vaishnavas of South India became strangers to that friendly feeling which subsisted between them in an earlier age when they waged a common war against the Buddhas and the Jainas.

"The attitude of the two groups of devotees (Saivites and Vaishnavites) that have to jostle in the premises of the temple is hardly as friendly as the relative positions of the deities they worship would seem to require."

A few aspects of the situation that has now emerged in relation to the ground realities of today in the wake of these vicissitudes of centuries that have plagued the Nataraja shrine and the Govindaraja shrine remain to be answered satisfactorily:

1. The co-existence in such close proximity of Nataraja and Govindaraja at Cidambaram is a symbol of a remarkable attitude in worship, but this time-honoured proximity has thrown up a lot of problems over the centuries. All the three units: the Cit Sabha and the Kanaka Sabha associated with the Nataraja shrine, and the Govindaraja shrine, are encompassed by a single wall — the first wall of enclosure of the temple, called the Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai. (It is also called Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai by some scholars as well as Naralokaviran Tirumaligai.) The first wall of enclosure has been in its absolutely stream-lined form right from the Later Cola period. The present *Gopuram, Balipitham,* and the gate on the East (beyond the *mantapa*) in front of the Govindaraja shrine are obviously post-Cola developments. The existence of the two *Dvarapalakas* at the southern gateway of the Nataraja shrine outside the first wall of enclosure, the *Dhvajastambha* and the *Bali-pitha* in front of the Nataraja shrine in a gorgeous pavilion with thick ornate pillars will establish irrefutably that all these have constituted one unit of worship right from the Cola period. That the *Mukhamantapa* provided by Kulottunga III is no longer in existence (because it was demolished) appears to be a part of the development of facilities for the Govindaraja shrine during the Vijayanagar period.

We consider that the Cit Sabha should be regarded as the *garbha-grha*, the Kanaka Sabha as the *Ardha-Mantapa* with entrances on the East and the West alone. An entrance with steps from the South is not possible as the *Vrshabha (Nandi)* is located at the southern fringe in front of Nataraja in the Kanaka Sabha which is also used for the six daily *abhishekams* of the *sphatika linga* (Candramauli) and the morning *abhishekam* of Ratnasabhapati, the six daily *pujas* to Nataraja and Sivakamasundari, and four annual *Mahabhishekams* of Nataraja and Sivakamasundari. Nor is such an entrance from the south compelled by the canons of temple architecture. Many *ardhamantapas* are known in the Tamil land where only one or two side entrances are provided. The fact that the *Mukhamantapa* has ceased to exist does not detract from the "singleness of the entire unit" right from the Cit Sabha to the *dhvajastambha* on the south with the two *dvarapalakas* one on either side.

2. It is also clear that Kulottunga I, Vikrama Cola and Naralokaviran, who constructed the Kulottunga Cola-Naralokaviran Tirumaligai (the first wall of enclosure), did not provide an entrance or a *gopuram* or a flagstaff or *Balipitham* for the Govindaraja shrine. The Colas, apparently, had no such plan. The opening (in the east) was made (and in the process the Jnanasambandhar Hall and Kulottunga III's *Mukhamantapa* were presumably disturbed) only in Acyuta Raya's period or Sri Ranga's.

From my discussions with some of the Trustees of the Govindaraja temple, the impression was gathered that, in fairness to the Vaishnavites, Govindaraja's should have been treated all along as an independent shrine on the same footing and of the same importance as Nataraja's, with a separate gate being provided for the Govindaraja shrine opposite to it on the second wall of enclosure (Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai) on the eastern side, and similar to the present gateway on the second wall of enclosure which has twenty-one steps. The Cola rulers, Kulottunga I and

Vikrama Cola, who built the second wall might have had misgivings that two separate gateways on this wall on the east would have led to safety hazards for the entire temple complex and possibly more conflicts between the two groups. Furthermore there is a platform running North-South in front of the Deva Sabha. This would have had to be split to make a passage beyond the gateway of the Govindaraja shrine. It is clear that the Colas did not plan it that way. While it might not have been the intention to treat the Govindaraja shrine as a mere *Parivara* (satellite) shrine, the Colas perhaps thought it prudent not to mar the architectural beauty of the structure of the entire temple complex by any such additional openings in the eastern part of the second wall of enclosure. They were content with providing only two entrances on the second wall of enclosure: one on the east (with twenty-one steps) and the other on the west, the Akalankan Tiruvasal. They did not provide entrances on the second wall of enclosure on the south and the north. The wooden double-sleeved door which is now seen on the southern side of the second wall of enclosure near the Nrtta Sabha (and which remains normally closed) was apparently not meant for the entry of worshippers — it is not a "*Sastrika*" entrance — it was only an improvisation for the transport of building materials into the main temple complex at various stages of the renovations during the 19th and 20th centuries when the Nagarattar community took up such work. This is the impression we have gathered from our study and personal observation.

4. While the Govindaraja shrine is within the first wall of enclosure and in close proximity to the Nataraja shrine (and traditionally so), the Consort of Govindaraja, Pundarikavalli Tayar, has been given lodgement in the second *prakara*, outside of, and south-west of the *dhvajastambham* of, the Nataraja shrine. The question arises: why did this separation — rather difficult to comprehend — take place? Was the Pundarikavalli Tayar shrine a later development or installation in the period of Sri Ranga of Vijayanagar? Did this shrine exist earlier as a separate entity, say from the 8th century, along with the Govindaraja shrine? If it did, the area of the unit, too, should have been much smaller than now — till the Vijayanagar kings came on the scene and perhaps enlarged the size of the Tayar shrine by taking over a portion of the second *prakara*. It is not clear either what happened to the Pundarikavalli Tayar shrine when the Govindaraja shrine was not under worship for some centuries. Of course the same remarks would apply to the satellite deities of — Sudikkodutta Nacciyar (Andal) and Tiruvalli Alvan and to the *Asthana Mantapam*. The space encompassed by the first wall of enclosure around the Nataraja and Govindaraja shrines had been limited to just these two over the centuries right from the beginning; and obviously the Vaishnavite devotees would not have been able to accommodate all these satellite shrines of Vishnu within the first wall of enclosure in proximity to the Govindaraja shrine, and would have had necessarily to fall back on any open spaces available in the southern part of the second *prakara* adjacent to the Nrtta Sabha. It seems reasonable to infer that these satellite constructions of the Vaishnavites should therefore be a late Vijayanagar development in successive reigns in and after Acyuta Deva Raya's period.

In his "Art of South India — Tamil Nadu and Kerala" published in A.D. 1978, K.V. Soundara Rajan has observed:

"The positioning of the Tayar shrine immediately to the southwest of the first *avarana*, facing east, became common in Vijayanagar times and to balance it and to revive the full plenitude of the female potential associated with Vishnu, Andal or Goda Devi (embodiment of Bhudevi) was located at the north-west of the new shrine, again facing east. Such had become the fixation of the orientation of the Devi shrine in terms of both south-west corner and eastern orientation that this was scrupulously followed even where the main temple is not itself facing east but west, as in the celebrated Varadaraja temple at Kanchi, thereby making these two shrines face each other."

The court proceedings of A.D.1899 refer to the support from the West and South walls of the second *prakara* for the building of the Nacciyar shrine, the *Madappalli* and the *Yagasala* for the Vishnu group of shrines subject to the customary right of way for the Saivite processions.

These facilities are mere brick structures and do not fit in at all with the general stone architecture of the area. In order to enable a "24-feet-poled Vishnu vehicle turning readily", space had been provided; the north boundary is provided by the north wall of the Nacciyar *sannidhi* for a length of 34 feet and the east boundary by producing the west edge of the Nrtta Sabha portico to meet the above line.

If my boyhood memories of A.D. 1925-1934 serve me right, there were at least two more square stone pillars, of the same ornate style as now stand in front of Nataraja's *dhvajastambha* and the Nrtta Sabha, on the southwest corner of the second *prakara* just in front of the Dandayudhapani shrine; and the present situation where there is no roof over the second *prakara* in front of the Dandayudhapaṇi shrine and at the southwest corner of the *prakara* is a post-1934 situation. These two large pillars have perhaps been replaced by two smaller pillars, and the roof of the second *prakara* here removed. This would explain why this area is now "open to the sky". This was possibly done as part of the renovation in A.D.1934 just to allow more circulating space between the Nrtta sabha and the present Pundarikavalli Tayar shrine, which apparently had been enlarged in front — the additional circulating area presumably being a compromise arrangement to accommodate Vaishnavite satellite shrines.

Three large-sized pillars were got ready by Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad for installation in the precincts of the Nataraja-Govindaraja shrines during the renovation scheme of A.D. 1934; apparently the idea was to broaden the southern sector of the second *prakara* at the south-west corner in front of the Dandayudhapani shrine, to the standard width, and provide roofing too in this area; but, it is understood, this idea did not find favour and had to be given up. The three large-size pillars so fabricated in 1934 A.D. and the logs of wood which were brought from Kerala for hoisting these mighty pillars can still be seen lying unused in the temple complex.

Apparently, it was part of the compromise formula arrived at by Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar in 1934 that the construction of the passage would be allowed for the enlargement of the Pundarikavalli Tayar shrine and the *mantapam* in front of the Govindaraja shrine put up to provide access to the flagstaff and at the same time serve the interests of the Nataraja shrine too for a direct access to the *dhvajastambha* in the south. The idols of Sambandhar, Appar and Sundarar from the damaged Jnana Sambandar *Mantapam* were shifted — perhaps in 1934 — to the cloistered verandah of the first *prakara* to the east of the Cit Sabha and accommodated there along with Bhairava.

The surrounding space of the Nrtta Sabha, though a covered *mantapa* in itself, is "open to the sky" completely — as it should be; it is an independent shrine built by Kulottunga I and its southern side is completely flush with the second wall of enclosure, Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai. The fact that an unseemly corrugated iron sheet cover has been provided, linking the *dhvajastambha* portion of the *Mantapam* with the top of the *Nrtta* Sabha, and this iron sheet roof has been extended upto the south-west corner of the second *prakara* clearly establishes that the original roof provided by the Colas and later renovated by the Nagarathars — of the second *prakara* in this area — has been disturbed at some point of time. There is a vacant triangular area lying unused in the south-west corner, with a small brick wall recently erected, which does not fit in with the main structure at all. This is a 'grey area' in our study, where firm conclusions cannot be reached in the absence of clear information. But it proves that the wide second *prakara* had been disturbed at this spot to accommodate the enlarged Tayar shrine, perhaps during the Vijayanagar period or later when the second *prakara* was renovated.

The result is that after we pass the *dhvajastambha* - Nritta Sabha area of the second *prakara*, the latter suddenly takes a jerky turn to the right in front of the Pundarikavalli Tayar shrine and reduces to a narrow corridor in front of the Dandayudhapani shrine, opening out again at the south-west corner into the western part of the second *prakara* and resuming its normal width. This distortion is brought home most forcibly when the procession of the Nataraja and Sivakamasundari icons passes through this area on the *Rathotsava* days twice a year. The Cola rulers would not have contemplated such a sharp and sudden bend at the western end of the southern part of the second *prakara* and it is clear that there has been an interference with the original layout and architecture of this area because of the unfortunate feuds of recent centuries.

I was given the impression during my discussions that the second *prakara* had no roof till nearly one hundred and fifty years ago. It appears rather difficult to accept this theory for the following reason: the Sri Mulasthana shrine, the *Yaga Salai*, the Deva Sabha, the Nrtta Sabha, the East gate with twenty-one steps and the West gate (Akalankan Tiruvasal), the first and second walls of enclosure — all these appear to have been so well set and co-ordinated during the periods of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Cola that it is difficult to believe that the Colas could have left any portion of the second *prakara* 'uncovered'. Even if the Colas had 'covered' the entire second *prakara*, it is possible — though we have no clear evidence — that during the Anglo-French wars and the Carnatic and Mysore wars, when foreign troops occupied the temple, they tampered with the roof of the second *prakara*. It has been pointed out that, towards the end of the 19th century, the forefathers of Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad had constructed the corridors round the second *prakara*. Basing our argument on this fact, we find it difficult to understand why there is a gap in the roof of the second *prakara* near the *dhvajastambha* of Nataraja, the Nrtta Sabha, and the Dandayudhapani shrine — the "open to sky" area, right upto the south-west corner of this *prakara*. There should have been a subsequent interference with this area towards the end of the 19th century A.D. — a situation which obtains to this day.

Invoking again my boyhood memories of 1925-34, I have a vivid recollection that the common space in front of both the Nataraja shrine and the Govindaraja shrine, short of the first wall of enclosure on the eastern side and the southern side, was open to the sky; there was an entrance on the eastern side of the first wall of enclosure with remnants of a dilapidated *vimana*, the right-hand portion of the gateway projecting upwards a little more than the left-hand portion. (See the Illustrations for the 1934 situation.)

The two huge gongs which are always rung during the six daily *pujas* of Nataraja were then installed near the Kanaka Sabha in the south-east corner, very close to the area where the *sphatika linga abhishekam* and the Ratnasabhapati *abhishekam* are now performed daily. The florists plied their trade and made garlands for the Lord in the area close to the Deva Sabha in the platform spaces; and they moved into the new *mantapa* opposite to the Nataraja and Govindaraja shrines only after the 1934 renovation of this area by Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar. The two huge gongs have also been shifted to the south-east corner of the first *prakara* when the new *mantapa* was built in 1934. The entire *mantapam* now in use in front of the Nataraja and Govindaraja shrines is the result of the renovation of 1934 carried out by Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar.

In this context, the South Arcot District Gazetteer (p.447) says:

> "When the Nattukkottai Chettiars took up the renovation of the Nataraja temple, the trustees of the Govindaraja temple objected to the construction of a covered cloister which was being put up round Nataraja's shrine. The matter was taken to the courts several times but was settled finally by renovations being executed to both the shrines."

In retrospect, the entire problem seems to be a part of the larger context of the "co-existence" of Nataraja and Govindaraja in such proximity. Thus the second quarter of this century brought back to Cidambaram its great traditions, where successive generations of princes, nobles and devotees of every rank have paid their hearts' homage to Him Who is immersed in Yogic Sleep and to Him Who performs the Dance Divine to sustain life in this world. Govindaraja — Vishnu reclining on Adi-Sesha — looks on from this posture the ecstatic dance of Nataraja. He is a spectator, a Sakshi. The *Yoga Nidra* — or the sleep of *Yoga* of Govindaraja points to a state of transcendental bliss and tranquillity. While Govindaraja embodies detachment and rest from action, Nataraja pulsates with creative will and vibrant energy. In a real sense, therefore, Govindaraja is involved, though indirectly, in the Cosmic dance of Nataraja. The two aspects are supplementary and together represent the entire phenomenon of the Cosmos.

Inscriptions speak of a similar co-existence of Siva and Vishnu at Vedaranyam (Tirumaraikkadu) in Tanjavur district; but the Vishnu shrine of old is no longer there at Vedaranyam.

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CHAPTER 11

A Round Of The Nataraja Temple

It is usual for the devotee or tourist to commence his visit to the extensive temple-complex of Nataraja and Sivakamasundari at Cidambaram from the east — though some consider entry from the south obligatory or preferable, since the Nataraja shrine faces the south. During festival time, the processional deities emerge from the temple premises only through the eastern gateways and also return to base only through them after perambulation along the four car streets — a pattern which applies also to the icons of Nataraja and Sivakamasundari on the car-festival days. The East Gopuram is reached through a modest, flat-roofed entrance further east of it, which is just wide enough to allow the processional deities to pass through. This gate is located on the fourth, outermost wall of enclosure called the Virappa Nayakan *madil* — parts of which, ravaged by time, were renovated during the last 25 years (by the Sabhanayakar Temple Renovation Committee) wtih financial aid from philanthropist-devotees. A small (*'Sannidhi'*) street lined with houses and shops on either side leads from this modest gateway into the East Car Street; at the north-east corner of the intersection of these streets is the *ter-adi* (the base for the temple-cars). The icons of Nataraja and Consort are carried up a flight of steps and seated on the *ratha* on the car-festival days, which take place twice a year, in the Tamil months of *Ani* and *Margali*. The processional deities emerge from the temple-complex through a compact, modest eastern gateway called the *Tittivasal*, to the north of and in line with the East Gopuram on the third wall of enclosure (the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai, on which all the four main gopurams lie), and then pass through the other eastern gateway (on the Virappa Nayakan *madil*) mentioned earlier, then along the East Sannidhi Street and then clockwise along the four car streets, returning also through this Sannidhi Street and the two gateways (never through the East Gopuram). On return, they are taken across a south-north passage in front of the Thousand-Pillared *mantapa* in the third *prakara*. On the southern side, before you enter the East Gopuram, you have a Ganapati shrine and on the northern side a shrine for Subrahmanya, both facing east. As you pass through the East Gopuram; the sea-breeze from the east soothes you; compelling your attention are the beautifully sculpted Bharata Natyam poses and niches containing stone images of Pachaiyappa Mudaliar and Suppammal (his sister-cum-mother-in-law), who helped around the beginning of the last century in the renovation of the upper storeys of the East Gopuram.

You are now on the threshold of the east wing of the spacious third *prakara*. To your right, in the northeast part of this *prakara*, is the massive Thousand-Pillared *mantapa* (to the east of the Sivaganga tank). Slightly to the right of you, facing west, is a huge stucco Nandi, located on the same east-west axis as the Sri Mulasthanam shrine, the shrine itself being located in the second *prakara* and separated from the Nandi by the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai (the second wall of enclosure). Proceeding left along the third *prakara*, you reach the (only) eastern gateway on the above wall, well-known for its flight of twenty-one steps leading into the second *prakara*. If however you proceed further south along the third *prakara* and then along its south wing, you reach the South Gopuram known as *Sokkacciyan* after a surname of its builder, the Pallava Kopperunjinga. As Nataraja faces south, the Lord's flag (the *annak-kodi*) flutters atop this *gopuram*.

(The *gopurams*, it will be noticed, are all thus located on the outer fringe of the third *prakara.)* During the *Ani* and *Margali* festivals, the saffron-coloured flag (symbolic of *vairagya* : renunciation) is hoisted on the South Gopuram on the *dhvajarohanam* (flag-hoisting) day of either festival. Two *dvarapalas* flank the outer part of the South Gopuram gateway. On the same north-south axis as this *gopuram*, in the third *prakara*, are a huge stucco Nandi facing north (towards Nataraja), two *balipithas* and a shrine stated to be dedicated to Dakshinamurti. In alignment with these are the Nrtta Sabha and the *dhvajastambha* of Nataraja in the second *prakara* and the Cit Sabha, the sanctum sanctorum in the first *prakara* — proof positive of the integrity of the Nataraja shrine. Near the South Gopuram are to be seen small shrines for Ganesa and Subrahmanya, and outside it, a Nandi.

Going further west along the third *prakara*, you are struck by the continuity and beauty of the third wall of enclosure constructed in a cloistered *mantapa* form, the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai. You reach the grand shrine of 'Mukhakkattana Vinayaka' facing east; the imposing icon is eight feet high. He answers your prayers for the removal of obstacles and also grants your desires. This name means "entry fee", a devotee entering the temple complex through the South (or West) *gopuram* first offers his obeisance to this Lord! Over the years, the epithet got corrupted into 'Mukkuruni' (a measure) and it has become customary to offer at the shrine 108 or 1008 '*sidarum*' (shattered into fragments) coconuts, in fulfilment of vows.

You now turn right into the western part of the third *prakara*, with the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai to your left and the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai to your right, and reach the West Gopuram, the oldest of the four, built by Vikrama Cola and Kulottunga II, its gateway adorned by Bharata Natyam panels. If you pass through this *gopuram* from the third *prakara*, you have on your left the Karpaka Vinayaka shrine, facing west and abutting on the *gopuram* on the southern part of its base. It is known in inscriptions as the 'Kulottunga Cola Pillaiyar' shrine. The Lord is also known variously as Nartana Vinayaka (who danced to please Sage Durvasa), Sthala Vinayaka and Kshetrapala Vinayaka. A local legend has it that, in order to test the reputation of Tillai of never turning away the hungry (*அன்னம் பாலிக்கும் தில்லைச் சிற்றம்பலம்*),Sage Durvasa made his appearance there late one night, seeking food; apparently to maintain such a reputation, Goddess Sivakamasundari Herself offered him food, but he would have none of it unless he could see the Lord's Dance. To placate him, the Goddess directed Ganesa to dance, and this shrine is in commemoration of this episode. The holy tree to the west of the shrine is worthy of note.

On the northern, inner wing of the base of the *gopuram*, there is a Balasubrahmanya shrine. In the Tamil month of *Aippasi*, a six-day 'Skanda *Shashti*' festival is conducted there, the finale being '*Sura-samhara*'. A noteworthy feature of the shrine is the set of *Nava-vira* (nine valorous ones) figures comprising Vira-bahu, Vira-kesari, Vira-mahendran, Vira-mahesvaran, Vira-purandaran, Vira-rakshasan, Vira-martandan, Virantakan and Vira-dhiran.

Moving further along the thrid *prakara*, you pass a shrine dedicated to Minakshi and Sundaresvara, adjoining which is the imposing Hundred-Pillared *mantapa* built by Naralokaviran, also known as Vikrama Colan *tiru-mantapam*. Inscription A.R.E. 109 of 1935 states that the *mantapa* was the gift of 'Akalankan' ('the blemishless', a surname of Vikrama Cola). Vira Pandya was anointed at this *mantapa* in A.D. 1267. To the east of this *mantapa* is a compact one-pillared *mantapa* housing 'Tirumula Vinayaka'. Its deity is also known as Adi Vinayaka, Vyaghrapada being believed to have paid obeisance to Him first.

Further east, beyond the passage way from the North Gopuram into the complex, is the magnificent Sivaganga tank, the most ancient source of Cidambaram's glory and the pivot of the whole complex, 160 ft. long and 100 ft. broad, with a tastefully laid-out *tiruc-curru-maligai* (colonnaded gallery going all around it) with flights of steps on all four sides and with landings on the east, west and north, each capped with a *mantapa*. Though the most ancient element of the complex, the architecture is attributable to Naralokaviran. Some renovation has been done later.

Flush with the Hundred-Pillared *mantapa* and on the same north-south alignment, facing east, is the spacious Sivakamasundari Amman (*Tiruk-kamak-kottam-udaiya Periya Nacciyar*) shrine, the oldest independent Amman shrine in Tamil Nadu. The porch of the shrine is a compact, beautiful structure, which neatly fills the gap between the Sivaganga tank and the shrine. The *maha-mantapa*, in which the flag-staff is located, is quite extensive. The Bharata Natya panels and paintings are striking. A chain carved in stone compels your attention. This neatly laid-out shrine is a haven of peace. A sub-shrine dedicated to Citragupta (the 'recording angel') is located in the south-east corner of the spacious second *prakara* of the shrine against the backdrop of the sumptuously executed *tiruc-curru-maligai.*

In his "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture" (1891), James Fergusson wrote about this shrine:

> "It is principally remarkable for its porch, which is of singular elegance. The outer aisles are 6 ft. in width, the next, 8 ft., but the architect reserved all his power for the central aisle which measures 21 ft. 6 in. in width, making the whole 50 ft. or thereabouts. In order to roof this without employing stones of such dimensions as would crush the supports, recourse was had to vaulting or rather bracketing shafts, and these brackets were again tied together by transverse purlins, all in stone, and the system was continued till the width was reduced to a dimension that could easily be spanned. As the whole is enclosed in a court surrounded by galleries two storeys in height, the effect of the whole is singularly pleasing.
>
> From the top of one of the pillars of the aisle hangs a chain of several moveable links cut from one piece of stone. In a corner of the court is a well lined with circular rings of stone about 4 ft. in outer diameter, each cut from a single slab."

The shrine has two *kalams* of *puja* (prescribed worship schedule) in the morning and two in the evening.

A *kumbhabhishekam* (re-dedication and re-consecration after renovation) of the shrine was performed in 1972.

As you emerge from the Sivakamasundari Amman shrine and turn north, you have a sub-shrine facing north, of Durga as Mahishasura-mardani, close to the shrine-wall.

Going further north, you have on your left the last major shrine of the complex, in its northwest corner, very close to the North Gopuram, the Pandya Nayakam shrine dedicated to

Subrahmanya. The deity, seated on a peacock, faces east and is flanked by His Consorts, Valli and Devasena (Deivayanai in Tamil). It has been concluded by some scholars, judging from the pattern of the pillars, and the *ratha-vimana* (with wheels and elephants) motif, that it could have been a creation of Kulottunga III, also surnamed 'Pandyar Tambiran'. Yet another view is that this beautiful structure was built by Maravarman Sundara Pandya (A.D.1216-1241). Some others see in it the architectural style of Kulottunga I as exemplified by the Nrtta Sabha. Since the shrine is enveloped by the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai, of the days of Kulottunga III, and since the *motif* also resembles the Darasuram temple, as also pointed out in earlier chapters, it seems reasonable to conclude that the shrine was at least begun in the days of Rajaraja II (A.D.1146-1172) and possibly completed by his son Kulottunga III before the third wall of enclosure in the latter's name took shape.

This shrine has evoked the devotion of the saint-poet Arunagiri-nathar. The *puja* pattern is: one *kalam* each in the morning and in the evening.

Close to this shrine is a shrine for Shanmukha (six-faced Subrahmanya), facing south, to the left and north of the main shrine.

Emerging from the shrine, you see the North Gopuram almost immediately to your left, in perfect alignment with the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai on either side of it. Going a few yards further east along the third *prakara*, you see a set of nine *lingas*, dedicated to nine *Togai Adiyars*, called the Navalingas, on the northern bank of the Sivaganga tank. It is also referred to as *Tiruttondat-togai Isvaram*.

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To the east of the Navalinga shrine as well as of the tank is the magnificently laid-out Thousand-Pillared *mantapa*, situated in the northeast corner of the third *prakara*. Also known as the Raja Sabha, and regarded as the *Annamaya Kośa* among the five *Sabhas*, this *mantapa* has an attractive front porch in the south, to which the icons of Nataraja and Consort are brought straight from the processional car and offered *laksharcana* on the night of the *rathotsava* (car-festival) day of the two major festivals. Overnight, the jewellery and decorations are removed, and in the early hours of the next morning, *mahabhishekam* is performed for both icons set on the same pedestal, beginning at 3 A.M. and completed before dawn. Then the icons are taken to the northernmost portion of the *mantapa* to be decorated for the *darsanam*, this being the main day of the festival of *Ani Tirumanjanam* or *Ardra Darsanam*. (Till the middle of this century, even the *abhishekam* was performed only well inside the *mantapa* near its northern fringe, and devotees were permitted to sit inside the *mantapa* and watch the proceedings. To accommodate the ever-increasing number of devotees, the above change has been made in recent years.) After *naivedyam* and *diparadhana* as per the schedule of *kattalais* ('worship-commitments' by devotees), the icons are taken out in a procession from the *mantapa,* about noon or a little later, on their return journey to the Cit Sabha (the Cit Sabha *pravesa*). The *darsan* of the Lord and Consort as they emerge from the Thousand-Pillared *mantapa* is considered highly auspicious and thrills large crowds of devotees. The *Panca-murtis* go the round of the four car streets in the morning of the day before the icons of Nataraja and Consort leave the *mantapa* for the *darsanam*.

So much for the third *prakara*.

The second *prakara* is accessible only through two gateways (on the Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai), one on the east with twenty-one steps, and the other on the west, called the Akalankan

Tiruvasal. As you walk down the corridor from the eastern entrance, the Cit Sabha, framed in the eastern doorway of the first wall of enclosure, comes into view. As you enter, on either side of the twenty-one steps is a *purusha mrga*. The devotee has to offer his obeisance to them on entering, to rid himself of any 'impurities' or 'lack of austerity', before going on to the precincts of the Cit and Kanaka Sabhas for worship. The blessings of the Mambala ('Mango') Vinayakar also have to be invoked before you proceed further.

If you turn left immediately after descending the twenty-one steps, into the second *prakara*, the flag-staff, *bali-pitha* and the *gopuram* of the Govindaraja shrine come into view (on your right). In the south wing of this *prakara*, you see the Nrtta Sabha to your left, housing the Urdhva-Tandava-murti facing east, and the flag-staff and *bali-pitha* of the Nataraja shrine on your right. Inside the Nrtta Sabha *(Manomaya kosa)* , there is a sub-shrine for Sarabha-murti, facing north.

Further down the southern wing of the *prakara*, at its south-west corner, is the shrine of Pundarikavalli Tayar, Consort of Govindaraja; facing its north wall, around a slight inward bend of the *prakara* here, is an elevated shrine for Bala-Dandayudha-pani on your right. Soon comes the west wing of the second *prakara* leading to the Akalankan Tiruvasal, the western gateway of the *prakara*. In line with this gateway and abutting on the first wall of enclosure is the shrine of '*Tirumurai-kanda Vinayaka*', facing west, associated with the discovery of the Devaram hymns. At the northwest corner of the *prakara*, there is an east-facing sub-shrine housing icons of the great *Nalvar* (Appar, Sambandhar, Sundarar and Manikkavacakar). In the northern wing of the *prakara* is located the elegant shrine of 'Perumparrappuliyur Tirumulattanar', the Mulasthana shrine. The *Cidambara Puranam* proclaims the *linga* here to be primal and self-evolved (*adimulam, svayambhu*), at the head of a hill projecting from the nether world (*patala*). This shrine is the oldest in the temple-complex. The 'Three Thousand of Tillai' have been offering worship here as prescribed by the Vedas (*vaidika puja*). The pattern of worship is: two *kalams* in the morning and two in the evening.

In the *mahamantapa* of the shrine are located, one on either side, Vyaghrapada and Patanjali, and Vinayaka and Subrahmanya.

On the southern platform of this shrine are the very attractive shrines for Dakshinamurti, Pallikesvara, Vallabha Ganapati and Mohana Ganapati, corresponding to the appropriate *devakoshta* positions of the shrine. In a cloistered verandah to the west of (behind) the shrine are stone sculptures of Dhundhi Vinayaka, Visvanatha, Ganapati, the *kalpaka vrksha*,* Ekamranatha (the Prthivi *linga* of Kanci) and Vaidyanatha. In a cloistered corridor north of the shrine are images of the sixty-three Nayanmar and of Sekkilar.

There is a shrine for Candesvara to the north of the Sri Mulasthana shrine (and west of the Uma-Parvati shrine). As you proceed further east and turn south, you see a figure of Arunacalesvara (Annamalai, in a large *linga* form). On completion of the circum-ambulation of the Sri Mulasthana shrine, you see a small Nandi and a *balipitha* (but no flag-staff). The sacred well close by, called Mulananda *kupa*, provides water for services in the shrines of Sri Mulanatha and Uma Parvati.

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* This is symbolic of the *ala* tree under which the Mulasthana *linga* was located when Patanjali and Vyghrapada came to Tillai to witness the Lord's Cosmic Dance. Some identify it as representing the *sthala-vrksha*, the Tillai tree.

Moving further east along the northern wing of the second *prakara*, you pass the Sasta (Ayyappa) shrine (to your right) to reach the *Alankara-mantapa* (decoration hall) located in the northeast corner of the *prakara*, where the processional deities are decorated during festivals, and from where the festival processions start; the various 'vehicles' are kept stored here. Further south and nearby is the *yaga-sala*, which is most active during festival days, with *homas* performed both morning and evening on those days. Proceeding further south, you come back to the eastern entrance (the flight of twenty-one steps).

If you now proceed westward along the broad corridor lined by raised platforms on either side (towards the Cit and Kanaka Sabhas), you have the Deva Sabha on your right; one of the five Sabhas and regarded as the *Pranamaya kosa*, the Deva Sabha houses the festival deities such as Somaskanda, and is the venue for the formal deliberations of the Dikshitars. The Tamil name is 'Perambalam'. Before commencing their deliberations, the Dikshitars invoke the holy presence of Nataraja on a lamp placed at the centre of the gathering, the invocation being called *avahanam.*

West of the Deva Sabha, on the raised platform, are the sub-shrines (*sannidhis*) of Sattanathar, Sani Bhagavan, the Navagrahas and Ardhajama Alagar. Convention demands that a visit to the temple-complex is to be rounded off with worship offered to Ardhajama Alagar, if one is to reap the fruits of *Siva-seva*. At the end of the day's schedule, after performing the *ardhajama puja* to Lord Nataraja, the officiating Dikshitar offers *puja* to this Alagar.

The Govindaraja Shrine

It is understood that the copper flag-staff (*tamra dhvajastambha*) in front of the Govindaraja shrine was recently erected. At its foot is an image of Garuda, Vishnu's vehicle. Proceeding within, we reach the floor area known as the *kamalam* (lotus) located at the intersection of the *sannidhis* of both Nataraja and Govindaraja, providing a vantage point from which both Lords can be seen and worshipped. Appayya Dikshitar (of whom, later) is said to have sung his decad of *slokas* beginning with '*Ma-ramanam Uma-ramanam*' from this hallowed spot.

Within the Govindaraja shrine, we have sub-shrines dedicated to Hiranya Narasimha, Sudarsana, Venugopala, Yoga Narasimha, Hanuman, Vishvaksena, the Ramapadas, Ramanuja and Kurattalvar.

In a huge, impressive, solemn stone sculpture, the presiding deity, Govindaraja, is shown reclining on His serpent-couch, the seven-headed Adisesha, in *yoga-nidra* (yogic sleep), head to the south and with Brahma seated on a lotus emanating from His navel (*nabhi-kamala*) and looking northwards (in the direction of Nataraja). The *utsava* icons made of metal, of Srinivasa with Sridevi and Bhudevi, are located in front of Govindaraja. Around them are located images of Parthasarathi, Andal, Rukmini, Satyabhama, and the *utsava-vigrahas* (festival icons) of Nammalvar, Kulasekhara Alvar, Tirumangai Alvar, Ramanuja and Manavala Muni. The Saivite Cidambaram literature avers that Govindaraja took up this permanent abode in order to have a constant view of the Ananda Tandava of Nataraja.

'*Rama-padukas*' (sandals of Rama) are momentarily placed on the heads of devotees and removed (*sadari* ritual) in the belief that thereby all sins will be decimated and the Lord's grace obtained.

The Nataraja Shrine

Separated from the *kamalam* area by a flight of steps and a corridor going round them are the Cit and Kanaka *Sabhas*, also directly accessible through an eastern gateway from the twenty-one steps, past the Raja Sabha. We deal comprehensively with the former two *Sabhas* in Section Two of this book, in our chapters on the Nataraja Cult, the Ananda Tandava and the Cidambara Rahasyam.

The Kanaka Sabha is the *Vijnanamaya Kosa* and the Cit Sabha is the *Anandamaya Kosa*. We pass on to discuss other aspects of the shrine.

The daily *pujas* at the Nataraja shrine

There is an exacting but remarkably well-executed schedule of daily *pujas* at the Nataraja shrine, at what are called the six *kalams* (specified points of time). The credit for the strict adherence to and smooth execution of this tight schedule goes entirely to the Dikshitar fraternity and the *kattalais* (committed contributions to worship) — of course by the will and command of the Lord! Of the six *kalams*, three are in the morning and three in the evening. The schedule on the festival days and on Mahasivaratri is, of course, even more demanding.

The temple opens at 6 A.M. In the *palli-arai* (decorated bed-room), in the first *prakara*, where the holy sandals of the Lord are ceremonially lodged for the night, offerings of milk, fruit and parched rice are made as *naivedyam*; *diparadhana* (worship by waving of lighted camphor and lamps) follows. The Lord's holy sandals are then carried in a tiny, beautiful palanquin to the Kanaka Sabha and then placed in the Cit Sabha close to Nataraja: then, milk, fruit and parched rice are ceremonially offered to Nataraja and Consort. This morning ritual is called *pal naivedyam* (offering of milk to the Lord).

At each *kalam*, *abhishekam* of the *sphatika linga* (Candramaulisvara) in the Kanaka Sabha is followed by offering of *naivedyam* thereto, followed by a *diparadhana* to Nataraja and Consort, in two phases, the first from the Kanaka Sabha and the second within the Cit Sabha itself, the time-gap between the two being filled by propitiatory chants (*mantras*) addressed to the Lord in chorus by the Dikshitars and the recitation of Devaram hymns by the *oduvars* and by some of the Dikshitars as well.

We now briefly describe the six epochs.

1. ***Kala Sandhi***: At 7:30 A.M., a *kumbha-puja* and a *homam* are performed, followed by *abhishekam* with *pancagavyam*, offering of *naivedyam*, and *diparadhana* to Nataraja and Consort at 9 A.M.

2. **'Second' *kalam***: At 10 A.M., the full *abhishekam* for the *sphatika linga* is performed. At 10.30 A.M., the ruby image of Ratnasabhapati (or Manikka Nataraja) is offered an *abhishekam* with milk, honey and sandal-paste. A beautiful feature of the ritual is that when lighted camphor is waved from in front, the image appears dark with an overtone of a golden

hue, while the contour is magnificent; and when the lighted camphor is waved from the rear, the *jyoti* of Nataraja radiates a sense of incomparable awe and beauty. Such a *puja* and *darsan* of the Ratnasabhapati icon is offered only at this time-period. These rituals are all performed in the Kanaka Sabha. The *diparadhana* to Nataraja at 11 A.M. rounds off this *kalam*.

3. ***Ucci kalam:*** This *puja* comprises an *abhishekam* to the *sphatika linga* and a *naivedyam*, followed by a *diparadhana* to the Lord and Consort at noon.

   The temple is closed after this *kalam*, the third of the day, to re-open only at 5 P.M.

4. ***Saya-rakshai:*** Undoubtedly the most elaborate and colourful of the six *kalams*, this is a thrilling experience for the eye, ear and heart. After the *abhishekam* to the *sphatika linga*, we have at 6 P.M. the *shodasa upacara :* sixteen kinds of offerings, including waving of lighted lamps and camphor and (metallic) flag, fan, umbrella etc. from the Kanaka Sabha, followed by the chanting of *mantras* and singing of the Devaram hymns by *oduvars*, and again by another elaborate round of lighted camphor offerings from inside the Cit Sabha. A display three times of the 'Cidambara Rahasyam' rounds off this *kalam*.

5. **'Second' *kalam* (of the evening):** At 7 P.M., an *abhishekam* is performed for the *sphatika linga*, followed by a *puja* to the 'Sri Cidambara Rahasyam'. The door and windows of the Cit Sabha are completely closed and all entries barred. Only the Dikshitar assigned for the day and his assistant in performing the *puja* to the `Rahasyam' are permitted inside the Cit Sabha. It is understood that an elaborate *puja* of *Navavarana* or a *laghu-puja* (a light one) of *Pancavarana* is performed to the `Sri Rahasyam'. This routine is followed throughout the year. During the festival days, however, this *puja* is performed in the morning, before the second *kalam*, as the *Panca-murtis*, the processional deities, would have gone out of the temple premises during the other hours.

   The *diparadhana* finale of the second *kalam* of the evening takes place at 8 P.M.

6. ***Ardha-jamam*:** This *puja* rounds off the day's schedule of worship to Nataraja and Consort. At 9 P.M., an *abhishekam* of the *sphatika linga* and a *naivedyam* take place, followed by a *diparadhana* to Nataraja at 10 P.M. The Lord's holy sandals (*Sri Siva-padukas*) are ceremonially taken out of the Cit Sabha, placed in a palanquin and carried to the nearby *palli-arai*. . *Naivedyam* and *diparadhana* are again offered there, followed by similar rituals to Brahma Candesvara, Bhairava and Ardha-jama Alagar, bringing this *puja* to a close.

An interesting story is told of the Svarna-Kala-Bhairava lodged inside the Cit Sabha. The Dikshitars follow a *vaidika* pattern of worship for Nataraja. The temple belongs to their community, and they receive no salary from it. Their only means of livelihood now are the *kattalais* (contractual offerings by devotees to them for conducting worship on their behalf at the temple), for which the Dikshitars seek and obtain sponsors from all over the Tamil country (and now the Tamil-speaking world). The story goes that long, long ago, the officiating Dikshitar of the day would leave, at the end of the day's *pujas*, a copper plate, two feet long, at the feet of this Bhairavar, and the next morning, the copper plate would have turned into gold (for the Dikshitar to claim as his own). For this reason, this Bhairavar came to be known as *Svarna-akarshana* Bhairavar (the 'gold-attracting'). The officiating Dikshitar was thus well provided for till his turn came again. According to some Dikshitar sources, this phenomenon used to happen as recently as till a hundred years ago.

All the rituals are performed in strict accordance with the *vaidika* (prescribed by the Vedas) pattern laid down by Patanjali.

Mahabhishekams

The Nataraja shrine observes six '*Mahabhishekams*' spread over the year. Two of these are part of the two *Brahmotsavams,* viz., Ani Tirumanjanam and Ardra Darsanam, and are performed at the Thousand-Pillared *mantapa* on the two *darsanam* days of those festivals between 3 A.M. and 6 A.M., being completed by sunrise. The other four are performed in the Kanaka Sabha, the gathering witnessing the ceremony from the first *prakara* and the *mantapa* in front of the Nataraja and Govindaraja shrines.

The prescribed auspicious days and venues for these six ceremonies are:

1. *Tiruvonam* star day, month of *Cittirai*, at the Kanaka Sabha.
2. *Uttara* star day, month of *Ani*, at the Thousand-pillared *mantapa,* as part of the Ani Tirumanjanam festival.
3. The *purva-paksha caturdasi* day in the month of *Avani* at the Kanaka Sabha.
4. The *purva-paksha caturdasi* day in the month of *Purattasi* at the Kanaka Sabha.
5. *Ardra (Tiruvadirai)* star day, month of *Margali,* at the Thousand-pillared *mantapa*, as part of the Ardra Darsanam festival.
6. The *purva-paksha caturdasi* day in the month of *Masi* at the Kanaka Sabha.

Details of these annual festivals are provided in Chapter Twenty Five (Section III).

Sri Candramaulisvara (the *sphatika linga*): The *sphatika linga*, normally kept in close proximity to Nataraja, near the *Pranava Pitha*, in the Cit Sabha, is known as Sri Candramaulisvara. Six *abhishekams* are performed to this *linga* daily. It is a *sukshma* ('subtle in form') *linga*. The word *linga* is interpreted as *layam + gam*, signifying that the elements, animate or inanimate, have all merged into it. The word is also interpreted as a display/manifestation of the *Panca-krtya* (the five-fold actions of Ananda Nataraja, comprising Creation, Preservation, Destruction, Concealment through Illusion, and Bestowal of Grace) — to which we revert in the Second Section of this book.

The *sphathika linga* here represents infinite space' (pure as crystal and limitless). While Nataraja has a *rupa* (formed) and the Cidambara Rahasyam is *arupa* (formless), the *sphatika linga* is considered *rupa-arupa* (formed and formless). Stated another way, Nataraja is *sakala*, the Rahasyam is *nishkala* and the *sphathika linga* is *sakala-nishkala.*

According to the *Cidambara Mahatmyam*, in the dim past, Nataraja concentrated the rays of the moon emanating from His head into a solid *sphatika linga* and gifted it for worship to the *'Tri-sahasra munis'* (the 'Three Thousand of Tillai') as His '*Atma-linga* Candramaulisvara'.

Sri Siva-padukas: These holy sandals of the Lord are usually lodged near His feet. They evoke considerable veneration in the faithful. As already described, they are taken by palanquin ceremonially to the *palli -arai* after the final (*ardha-jama*) *puja* of the day and brought back likewise in the morning after the *pal naivedyam.* Thus tradition attaches great value to this *'Sri-pada-seva'*. (We are providing the text and a translation of Umapati Sivacarya's celebrated '*Kuncitanghristavam*', in praise of the Lord's feet and generally on the Nataraja theme, in a Supplement to this book. The work is reminiscent of Bharata's worship of Lord Rama's *padukas* during the latter's exile and of Vedanta Desikar's *'Paduka Sahasram'* extolling the merit of worshipping the holy sandals of Lord Vishnu.)

Astra-raja: A silver column with three spikes at the top (*tri-sula*) is kept in the western part of the Cit Sabha and figures in all festivals. Daily *pujas* are offered to this *astra-raja*, and *abhishekam* on new moon days and on the first day of every Tamil month. On the flag-hoisting day, it is taken in procession round the four car streets. With a touch of *ugra* (sharpness), He is a symbol of Nataraja during the Brahmotsavams.

Siddhi-Buddhi Vinayaka: Housed on the west wing of the first *prakara*, this Vinayaka is prayed to before any festival commences.

Lingodbhava: This image is housed in a niche next to that of Siddhi-Buddhi Vinayaka. We have described elsewhere the background of the Lingodbhava concept.

Gajasamharamurti, Tripurantakamurti and Ardhanarisvara images are also housed in the west wing of the first *prakara*. There is a shrine for Shanmukha (Subrahmanya with six faces, namely, Sadyojata, Vamadeva, Aghora, Tatpurusha, Isana and Sadasiva), flanked by Consorts, Valli and Devasena, also in the same wing. The *palli-arai*, on the north wing, contains an image of the Amman, known as Palliyarai Siva-Bhoga Sundari. The *padukas* of Nataraja are symbolically lodged for the night in this chamber. In a *mantapa* on top of the *palli arai*, there is an *'Akasa linga'* , to which worship is offered daily. It is taken to signify that Cidambaram is the *Akasa kshetra.* Getting down from this *Akasa mantapa,* figures of Jaimini (disciple of Vyasa and an exponent of *Karma Mimamsa*, who came to Cidambaram seeking the Lord's grace), Patanjali and Vyaghrapada are to be seen. The traditional belief (*aidihyam*) is that these three prime devotees are in constant contemplation and worship (from the rear) of Lord Nataraja. There are shrines next for Tandi, Bhikshatana (with Vyaghrapada to the right and Patanjali to the left), and Kshetrapala.

The east wing of the cloistered verandah houses images of Surya, Candra and Bhairava. Separated from these and facing north are images of Appar, Sambandhar and Sundarar, once housed in the *Devara mantapa* built by Naralokaviran, and shifted here during renovation work by the Nagarattar community on the *mantapa* in front of the Govindaraja shrine.

The Paramananda Kupam: Believed to have originated from a glance of grace by Parvati, this sanctified well, situated east of the Cit Sabha, in the first *prakara*, exclusively provides the water-needs for *abhishekams* at the main shrine.

Brahma Candikesvarar shrine: Images of Brahma and Candikesvara are housed together in this shrine, in an unusual juxtaposition. The *Candesa Nayanar Puranam* seems to suggest that Brahma, denied temples dedicated to Him, gets the benefit of the *Ardhajama puja* offered to Candesvara at this shrine.

Conclusion

Our display of *Bhakti* (devotion to the Lord) takes many forms. In respect of a temple the *darsan* (viewing) of the Gods and Goddesses is of the greatest importance. The term *puja* indicates rites of worship and honour done to the gods and goddesses as part of the day's ritual; offerings of flowers after decorating the images, different methods of *upacaras* (offering of respect to the divine element) form part of the *puja*. *Sayarakshai,* the evening *puja* for Nataraja and Sivakamasundari in Kanaka Sabha and Cit Sabha, is noted for the *Shodasa upacara* (sixteen upacara's). An important aspect of the *upacara* is to offer worship with light. The *prasada* (sanctified food offerings) include cooked rice, sweet rice and what in the Nataraja temple is called *Sambha pavadai.* The food offering is spread out on a large wooden plate in front of the Lord. The Lord does not need the food. It is distributed as *prasada* to the priests (the Dikshitars) and the devotees after the Lord has notionally 'accepted' the offering.

When the *diparadhana* takes place, the deity is honoured with light. The idea is to illumine the area to help the devotee to obtain a clear vision of the deity — not that the Lord needs light ! The priest circles a five-wicked or many-wicked oil lamp in one row or many rows *(adukku diparadhana*, as it is called). The camphor lamp offered in front of the deity is called *arati* — the most important aspect of the *puja*, either in the daily routine or in *pujas* during festivals.

The ritual offerings are symbols of our devotion to the gods and goddesses; In their name and with their grace, the offerings are only distributed among the devotees and when they receive the *prasadams,* they feel blessed.

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CHAPTER 12

Temples in the Environs of Cidambaram

At Cidambaram the Nataraja temple has generally dominated popular attention as well as scholarly interest. But there are a number of modest shrines in and around Cidambaram which ought to interest any antiquarian, pilgrim or tourist. Accounts of some of these are presented here.

Tillai Amman and Kali Temple

According to one version (apparently the Tiru-alangadu tradition), Siva resolved to tame Kali who was consumed with pride. When therefore She proposed a dance contest, Siva is said to have performed the Pandarangam dance; pressed one foot on the ground and lifted the other foot straight upwards, towards the heavens. The worlds trembled; the constellations were shaken out of their orbit; Kali fainted. When Siva whirled round, Kali acknowledged Her defeat; with a touch of shyness and in a state of utter confusion and helplessness, She worshipped the Dancing Lord. In the Cidambaram tradition Kali was excluded from her shrine in the Tillai forest to beyond the confines of Tillai by Siva in His hour of triumph. Where now stands the Nrtta Sabha is said to be the scene of the Urdhva-tandava, as distinguished from the Cit Sabha where Siva performed the Ananda Tandava in the presence of His Consort, Patanjali, Vyaghrapada and a host of others.

In the Tillai Amman temple where the vanquished Kali settled down, She is worshipped both in her fearsome and benign forms. This important temple is situated on the northern side of Cidambaram town.

According to Cidambaram legends, Kali destroyed the Daruka forest and, even after this act, her ferocity remained unabated and she was destroying the rest of life in the Tillai forest, of which she was in virtual control. Siva thought it necessary to quell her supremacy over Tillai and tame her. When Siva appeared at Tillai for this purpose, she challenged Him to a dance contest and the two came to an understanding that the victor in the contest would stay in Tillai and the vanquished would move to its outskirts.

Nataraja performed the "Urdhva Tandava" dance, one of the nine dances of Siva according to our tradition, which is usually associated with Tiruvalangadu (near Arakkonam) in Tamil Nadu. Nataraja's Urdhva-Tandava with one leg lifted high above the head was more than what, with her sense of feminine modesty, Kali felt equal to. She gave up the contest and gracefuly conceded defeat. In consequence, she had to leave the Tillai area and "shift" to the outskirts of the town to a location now about half a mile north of the North Gopuram of the Nataraja temple.

The scene of this contest is said to have been the present Nrtta Sabha, where a beautiful image of the Urdhva Tandava-murti is to be found (under worship).

The Dancing Lord told Kali firmly: *தில்லையின் வட எல்லையில் இருப்பாயாக!* ("Stay in the northern part of the outskirts of Tillai".) Hence the old saying: "*தில்லைக்காளி எல்லைக்கப்பாலே*" (Tillai-k-Kali ellaikkappale) — "Kali of Tillai is enshrined outside the limits of Tillai".

It is the belief of ages that from this vantage point, at some distance from the North Gopuram, Tillai-k-Kali is 'protecting' Tillai; and it is part of our age-long tradition that worship at the Nataraja temple should be rounded off with prayers at the Tillai-k-Kali (Tillai Amman) temple.

Tillai-k-Kali has a fierce, frightful (*ugra*) form, with white robes, *kum-kum* (vermilion) applied liberally over the body, with powerful, piercing eyes. She and the Brahma Camundi, in a tranquil state, called Tillai-Amman, both have *garbhagrha's* in this temple, the former facing east, and the latter west. The two shrines are placed close together within the same complex.

There are twelve inscriptions in the Tillai-Amman temple, the texts of some of which have been reproduced in the Appendices, in view of the close association of Kopperunjinga with the construction of this temple in the thirteenth century A.D.

The temple of Tillai-k-Kali Amman should certainly be of some antiquity, though the present structure of stone was erected only in the thirteenth century, in the days of Kopperunjinga. The existence at an earlier date of a temple dedicated to Siva called Varanasi (Kasi) Mahadevar, in close proximity to the Tillai Amman temple, is proved by an inscription of the tenth year of Kopperunjinga (A.D.1253). This Siva temple may be the one now in a desolate state located north-west of the Tillai Amman temple. It is an *eka-tala* structure, consisting of the *garbhagrha* and an *ardhamantapa*. Apart from the *linga*, the only two sculptures surviving today — and not of a high quality either — are those of Ganapati and Subrahmanya. The daily worship at this Siva temple is now in the hands of the Vira Saiva community.

The Tillai Amman temple is mentioned in six inscriptions of the Pallava king, Kopperunjinga, ranging from his third to his fourteenth year. (According to our view, there was only one Kopperunjinga, not two). Four of these inscriptions refer to the sales of land as *Tiru-namattuk-kani* (gift of land to a temple) in favour of the temple of Kali, called Tillai Vanam Udaiya Mahesvari.

An inscription (312 of 1913 — S.I.I., XII, 159) in the 10th year (A.D.1253) of Kopperunjinga (found on the north wall of the third prakara of the Nataraja temple — Vikrama Solan Tirumaligai "*puravayil vadakkil*") establishes an order of Solakon (alias Perumal Pillai of Aragur) issued for the welfare of his master, exchanging 140 $^7/_8$ *kuli* of land in Pallippadai alias Vikramasolanallur in which was situated the temple of Pidari Tiruccirrambala Makali for an equal extent of land purchased from Varanavasi Mahadeva. The Pidari temple is mentioned as being situated on the south side of the street, Vikramasolan Tengu Tiruvithi along which the God of Cidambaram (called here Nayakar) is carried in procession to the sacred sea (Tirukkadal) during festival days (to Killai during Masi Maham).

Another inscription (A.R.E. 401 of 1903 — S.I.I., VIII-717) of Kopperunjinga of his 8th year in the north wall of the Bhairava shrine in the Tillai-Amman temple records the sale of 50 *kuli's* of land for 1000 *kasu's* to Solakon for the site land for locating the Pidariyar temple (Sri koil) and the temple premises (Pidariyarukku Srikoyilum Tirumurramum - aha) of the Pidariyar, and the street for housing the servants of the temple (Madavilagam), the site being located to the south of the Vikrama Solan Tengu Tiruvithi. This inscription corroborates the earliest inscription (of the 3rd year) of Kopperunjinga in the Tillai-Amman temple.

Thus the construction of the Tillai-k-Kali (Tillai Vanam Udaiya Paramesvari) temple by Kopperunjinga is clearly established. Kopperunjinga and his local agent, Solakon, made valuable gifts for offerings, flower gardens and festivals to the Nataraja temple. Further details of the inscriptions are available in the Appendices. (A revenue village called Pallippadai exists even now immediately north of the Tillai-Amman temple. Please see the Appendix where a revenue map of a part of Cidambaram Taluk is shown.)

As pointed out earlier in Chapter Five, the locality where Tillai-k-kali's temple (Pidari Tiruccirrambala Makali) is situated is called, in a thirteenth century inscription of Kopperunjinga

(A.R.E. 312 of 1913), Pallippadai alias Vikramasola Nallur; and in Jatavarman Sundara Pandya's (acc: A.D. 1251) inscription of his fourteenth year (A.R.E. 275 of 1913) it has been stated that Vikramasolanallur is also called Akkan-pallippadai (near Perumparrappuliyur). A view has been taken that the place was named Akkan-pallippadai after a sepulchral monument of Vikrama Cola's elder sister (Akkan). However, three other inscriptions (No.9, 12 and 13) from Perambalur of the same Pandya ruler (Jatavarman Sundara Pandya) seem to suggest that the term Akkan might refer to a Pandya queen.

According to an inscription on the north wall of the second prakara of the Nataraja temple, Cidambaram (A.R.E. 297 of 1913), attributed to the 8th year of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya (A.D.1250+8 = A.D. 1258), certain lands were granted for conducting festivals and providing offerings in the temple of Tiruccirrambala Makali, which was founded on the South side of the road by which the God was taken in procession for the sea-bath and this gift was ordered to be engraved on stone.

The Tillai-k-Kali Amman temple faces west. The tank, Sivapriyai, lies to its west. The main deity, in *satvik* (serene) aspect, now under worship, is called Tillai Vanam Udaiya Paramesvari. It is a standing figure with four arms and four heads (believed to represent the four Vedas). Another Amman (in fierce aspect), made of stucco and facing east, with a white garment covered in profusion with vermilion, is placed in a cell to the north-west of the main shrine. She is called Bhadrakali, believed to be a representation of Kali worsted in the dance with Siva. After penitence and a bath in the Sivapriyai tank, she assumed a calm aspect and acquired powers of conferring gifts and grace on her devotees. The festival of Tillai-k-Kali, which falls in the Tamil month Vaikasi (May-June in the English calendar), precedes the Ani Tirumanjanam festival of Nataraja. The daily worship of this deity is conducted by the Dikshitars according to the Vaidika rituals.

Kopperunjinga has to his credit many benefactions to both the Nataraja and the Tillai Amman temples at Cidambaram. Nataraja was his tutelary deity. He arranged a *tulabhara* — weighing himself against gold and precious stones, which were given away for the enrichment of the Nataraja temple. The Attur inscription of Kopperunjinga refers to his title *'Kanaka-Sabhapati-Sarva-Karya Sarva-Kala Nirvahakah'* (a servant of Nataraja wholly devoted to Him at all times and in all services to the Lord). He made a substantial gift of lands in Attur village in Chengalpattu district, for the construction of the South Gopuram of the Nataraja temple, besides the decoration of the four outer faces of the seven storeys of the East Gopuram.

Kopperunjinga's gifts to the Nataraja temple were many and were made for various forms of services, among which may be mentioned provisions for a large number of flower-gardens, coconut and arecanut groves; the formation of Perumal-Tiru-Odai, a water course for the growing and supplying of red and blue lilies for the gods and goddesses; grant of house-sites for the weaver community, called the *Nagara-Saliyar,* who supplied cloth (*pari-vattam*) for the deities; a gift of 1496 cows for a *tiru-gosalai (pasu-matham)* to supply milk for the worship of the deities of the temple and for the car festival.

The celebration of Tai Pusam is of great significance as it marks the beginning of the Nataraja cult and of the history of Cidambaram itself. An inscription of the 11th year of Kopperunjinga (A.D.1254) refers to a *matha* at Tiruvannamalai called Vadakkil-*matha*; the then Head of this *matha* (named Iravalar Kayilaya Devar) made an endowment by a gift of land after purchase — three-fourths of a *veli* and one *ma* in extent — called Kayilaya Devar Tiruppavadaippuram, for the supply of flowers to be grown in a flower-garden and for providing food offerings to Lord Nataraja on the *Tai Pusam* day. A part of this land is said to have been situated in Erukkattucceri *alias* Jayangonda Colanallur in Kidarangonda-Cola-Perilamai nadu — an eastern hamlet of Perumparrappuliyur, and this piece of land was purchased in the name of Kavuniyan Sivan Tiruccirrambalam Udaiyan from Madevan Satti, the wife of Ulaiccanan Kuttan Tiruccirrambalakkuttan (A.R.E.106 of 1934-35). The recipient was to supply ten *kalams* of old rice, two *kalams* of gram, four units of sugar, one hundred coconuts and ten jackfruits to the kitchen-stores named after Kulottunga Cola.

An inscription of the 14th regnal year of Kopperunjinga refers to the supply of vermilion to Tillaivanam Udaiya Paramesvari (A.R.E.396 of 1903).

Kopperunjinga was a great patron of Tamil and Sanskrit. He is described, in one of his inscriptions (Vayalur Verses, A.R.E.418 of 1922), as *'Penu Sentamil Valappiranda Kadavan'* (the Pallava king born to make beloved Tamil flourish). His equal devotion to Sanskrit earned for him the title, *'Sahitya Ratnakara'*. His love for Bharata's *Natya Sastra* won him the title *'Bharata Malla' (or Bharatam Vallan)*. According to some scholars, he has got carved, on the two inner sides of the East and West Gopurams, the 108 *karanas* of the Bharata Natya Sastra with the respective labels in Grantha script based on the text of Bharata's *Natya Sastra*. (We consider that this contribution should be that of the Later Colas themselves when they built the two-tier stone gateways of all the four Gopurams in Cidambaram, for reasons explained in earlier Chapters.)

Kopperunjinga's association with the Nataraja and the Tillai Amman temples at Cidambaram is thus both extensive and intimate.

Tirupparkkadal

Among the ten *tirthas* (holy tanks and wells) of Cidambaram, Tirupparkkadal is well-known. It is located on the northern side of the town, very near the Tillai Amman temple. The story goes that after the introduction of the Nataraja cult and Vyaghrapada's marriage to the sister of Vasishtha, a son was born to them and was named Upamanyu. While the baby was brought up on Kamadhenu's milk under Arundhati's care, Vyaghrapada tried to feed him in his hermitage with roots and fruits. The baby did not relish them and longed for the usual feed of Kamadhenu's milk. The child was brought sobbing before Sri Mulasthanar and, by the Lord's grace, divine milk was brought down to earth and, it is believed, collected in the tank now known as Tirupparkkadal — the tank of divine milk. That Tirupparkkadal is in poor shape today is a matter for sorrow for the antiquarian.

Tirupperunturai

There is a small Siva temple on the north-western side of Tirupparkkadal — re-built, perhaps, around the eleventh century A.D. — an *eka-tala* structure with a spherical *sikhara*. It is known as the Tirupperunturai temple. There is a seated figure of Manikkavacakar, considered unique, in front of the *garbhagrha*. The worship at this temple is in the hands of the local Vira Saivas, who have saved this shrine from total neglect.

Like the other, better-known Tirupperunturai (Avudaiyar Koyil), this shrine, too, has no Sivalinga; there is only a *bali-pitha*. This shrine is also called the Atmanathar temple, as at Avudaiyar Koyil.

Tiruvetkalam

Tiruvetkalam, from which the University town, Annamalainagar, has grown during the last seventy years and more is a suburb of Cidambaram, two miles east of the railway station. There is a shrine here dedicated to Pasupatesvarar and Nalla-Nayaki and celebrated by the great Nayanmar, Sambandhar and Appar. The shrine is associated with the legend of Siva as a hunter (*Kirata*) bestowing the *pasupatastra* on Arjuna, in appreciation of his skill, devotion and penance. The best of the bronzes now found in the temple are those of Pasupatesvarar, Arjuna and Manikkavacakar.

Appar and Sambandhar have sung hymns on this shrine. Tirunelvayil and Tirukkalippalai which also figure in the Devaram hymns are now part of Sivapuri, almost a mile south of Tiruvetkalam (modern Annamalainagar) and north of the river Kollidam. Sambandhar did not wish to 'defile' the sacred soil of Tillai (Cidambaram) by staying there. After worship of Nataraja, Sambhandhar always returned for rest to Tiruvetkalam, a centre held sacred next only to Cidambaram among the centres north of the Kollidam river.

According to an inscription (A.R.E. 259 of 1913) on a slab near the Pasupatesvara temple at Tiruvetkalam of Saka year 1488 (A.D. 1566), the village of Tiruvetkalam was gifted to the shrines of Cidambaresvara and Sivakamasundari Amman of the Tirumulasthanam temple by Acyutappa Nayaka, son of Siru Sevappa Nayaka, for the merit of Tirumalarajayan (i.e., Karnata king, Tirumala I). It is significant that in this inscription pertaining to the Vijayanagar period, the term 'Cidambaresvara' has been used for Nataraja and the temple complex has been described as that of Tirumulasthanam confirming our view that the central and the oldest shrine in the complex is that of Sri Mulanatha.

Singara-t-toppu (Parakesari Nallur)

1) Brahmapurisvarar (Tiruk-kalancedi Udaiyar) temple.
2) Arumolisvaram (temple).
3) Vikrama Colisvaram Udaiyar temple.

To the north-west of the town of Cidambaram and about two miles from the Nataraja temple lies the comparatively obscure suburb of Singarattoppu. It has rich historical associations with the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram. According to the *Koyil puranam* of Umapati Sivacarya, Simha Varman (later Hiranya Varman) and his *guru* Vasishtha, had made Singarattopu their residence and offered worship to Lord Tiruk-kalan-Cedi Udaiyar. It was from this spot that they started on their pilgrimage to the Cidambaram temple. They joined Patanjali and Vyāghrapada and proceeded to worship the Lord of Tiru-Mulasthana and Nataraja (just then inaugurated) and, after the miraculous cure of his disease, Hiranya Varman built the Mulasthana and Nataraja temples.

Singarattoppu is also sanctified by association with Marai Jnana Sambandhar, the third *Acarya* of the Saiva Siddhanta School and the spiritual *guru* of Umapati Sivacarya (early fourteenth century). Marai Jnana Sambandhar took up his residence here and spent his time in spiritual dedication and philosophical inquiry till the end of his life. His *samadhi* in Singarattoppu is now marked by a small shrine where replicas of his holy feet are worshipped. The *samadhi* is located north-east of the Siva temple and is being looked after now by the Vira Saivas.

To the north-east of Marai Jnana Sambandhar's *samadhi* is a shrine for Valampuri Ganapati (Ganapati with the trunk turned to the right). This stone figure of Ganapati may be assigned to the eighth century A.D. To the north of the Ganapati shrine lies the holy tank, Brahma Tirtham as it is known.

The Siva temple in this place, now popularly referred to as the Brahmapurisvarar temple, faces east and consists of a *garbhagrha, ardhamantapa* and *mahamantapa*. The *adhishthana* has an octagonal *kumudam*. In the *ardhamantapa*, there is a fine sculpture of Dakshinamurti, which may be assigned to the tenth century. Besides, there are some later sculptures of Amman, Candesvara, Brahma, Subrahmanya and Gajalakshmi. There are two *dvarapalas* at the entrance. This stone temple seems to have been built in the latter half of the twelfth century, perhaps in the days of Kulottunga III. On the main walls of the temple there are *devakoshta* figures of Dakshinamurti in the south (not original), Lingodbhava in the west, and Brahma and Durga in the north. There are two panels of miniature sculptures on the southern wall, depicting, perhaps, local legends. One panel, on the east side of the south wall, depicts Sambandhar in a dancing pose, Appar and Sundarar, and, on the other panel (on the western side of the south wall), we find a group of devotees such as Patanjali and Vyaghrapada, worshipping the *lingas*. There are four sub-shrines, three on the west and one on the north, which are devoid of any sculpture or deities.

There are, according to the Epigraphical Reports, six inscriptions on the walls of what is described, in the reports, as the Bhimesvara temple. The earliest inscription, on the north wall, is a record of Tribhuvana Cakravartin Rajadhiraja Deva *alias* Karikala Cola Deva (second year, 121st day = A.D.1168: A.R.E. 263 of 1913). This order was issued by one Villavarayan at the request of one Vaidumbarayan and it relates to the transaction mentioned in a subsequent inscription (A.R.E. 262 of 1913) of the second regnal year and 125th day (= A.D. 1180) of Parakesari Varman *alias* Tribhuvana-Cakravartin Kulottunga Cola Deva III. The king had ordered that, from that date, the assessed lands *(taramperra nilam)* held in the name of the Subrahmanya Pillaiyar shrine in the Arumolisvaram temple of this village be included with those of the latter, that lands declared to be superior to the eighth class *(ettam-taram)* be assessed as per those of the eighth class and that those below the eighth class be allowed to continue as before, and that the site of the temple of Tirut-tondat-togai Isvaram Udaiyar, its enclosures, premises and the sacred tank, till then included in the account of assessed lands, be removed from that register. The order was executed by the land survey committee (*nilam alavu pada perumakkal*) of the village assembly of Perumparrappuliyur.

This inscription refers to two temples, Arumolisvaram and Tirut-tondat-togai Isvaram. We are not in a position to identify Arumolisvaram. But, as there is one panel of sculptures on the south wall of the Brahmapurisvarar temple depicting the three Devaram hymnists, and as there is a distinct reference to a sacred tank in this description of Tirut-tondat-togai Isvaram, we are led to conclude that Tirut-tondat-togai Isvaram is perhaps a new name given to the old Tiru-k-kalan-Cedi Udaiyar temple. Salient and interesting details in respect of the classification of lands, at least up to the eighth class, the king's right to change the classification, the exemption of temples from taxes, the existence of local officers in charge of land survey and collection of revenue, and the careful maintenance of several records, with a wealth of detail, during the Cola administration, are clearly brought out.

An inscription on the south wall of the Bhimesvara temple at Singarattoppu of the sixth year of Tribhuvana Cakravartin Vira Rajendra Deva (identified as Kulottunga III) mentions a gift of a piece of land in the village of Manalur, for two lamps to the temple of Tiru-k-kalan-Cedi Mahadeva at Perumparrappuliyur — a *taniyur* in Rajadhiraja Valanadu (A.R.E. 260 of 1913).

On the north wall of the Bhimesvara temple, there is an inscription of the 17th regnal year and 21st day of Kulottunga III (A.R.E. 264 of 1913). It speaks of a gift of 1100 *kasus* for a lamp, including a lamp-stand, and its maintenance. It was stipulated that the grant was to be renewed at the end of every five years and the capital had to be produced after each period before the

Assembly and the *sthanattar*. This stipulation reflects a state of political unrest and instability in the Cola empire.

Another inscription, of the 20th year and 121st day of Kulottunga III, found on the north wall of the temple, records the gift of a lamp (A.R.E. 265 of 1913).

An inscription of the 11th regnal year of Kopperunjinga, engraved on the south wall of this temple, relates to a sale of land for 5000 *kasus* to the temple of Nayanar Tiru-k-kalan Cedi Udaiyar at Panangudicceri *alias* Parakesarinallur, a hamlet of Perumparrappuliyur. The land sold was a field situated in the western hamlet of Tillanangur *alias* Sundara-Cola-Pandya Nallur — included in the Gangaikonda Cola Perilamai Nadu.

It appears reasonable to conclude that the Bhimesvara temple of the Epigraphical Records is the same as the present Brahmapurisvarar temple whose deity is called Tiru-k-kalan Cedi Udaiyar.

This temple, with its sacred tank and the *samadhi* of Marai Jnana Sambandhar, has great associations and importance in the history of Saivism in South India.

A reference to yet another temple, called Vikrama Colisvaram, in this place (Parakesarinallur), is found in an inscription of the 12th year, 125th day of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1190-91), engraved on the north wall of the second *prakara* of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram.

The inscription says that a certain Edirilicolan *alias* Irungolan founded a temple called that of Vikramasolisvaram Udaiyar at Parakesarinallur, after having acquired land for the purpose from various people and after providing for houses for *brahmanas* and temple servants. Tribhuvana-cakravartin Kulottunga Cola 'who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pandya' ordered in his 12th year, 125th day that the assessment of this land be deducted from the revenues of the village, the same be entered in the temple accounts, with the original documents preserved in the temple, and that the whole transaction be engraved on the walls of the temple (ARE 309 of 1913).

As we see from the chart of succession, Vikrama Cola's son and successor, Kulottunga II, and the latter's son and successor, Rajaraja II, both bore the title, *inter alia*, of "Edirilicolan" and it seems reasonable to conclude that the local Chief Irungolan *alias* Sendamangalam Udaiyar Araiyan Edirilicolan erected this temple in honour of Vikrama Cola, possibly in the closing years of his reign (A.D. 1118-36), after acquiring land etc. Evidently, the revenue documentation left some lacunae, which Kulottunga III rectified. This temple is not traceable now.

Tiruppulisvaram and Ilamaiyakkinar temple

Tiruppulisvaram, with its sacred tank, enshrines the Lord whom Vyaghrapada set up for his personal worship; situated to the west of the Nataraja temple almost half-way between the main temple complex and the Anantisvaran temple located at the western-most part of Cidambaram town, the Tiruppulisvaram tank and the Ilamaiyakkinar shrine are associated with the episode of Tirunilakantha Nayanar, one of the Sixty-three Nayanmar. We invite the reader's attention to a description of this episode in Chapter Thirteen.

Anantisvaran temple

Situated in the west of the town of Cidambaram, the Anantisvaran temple enshrines the Lord whom Patanjali set up for his personal worship.

Cidambaram was included in the Cola empire ever since its foundation by Vijayalaya. The Nataraja temple at Cidambaram has also been in existence from early times. Still we have no inscriptional evidence, in the Nataraja temple proper, of the Early Cola Kings. It is clear that the original shrine underwent renovation in later times and its old inscriptional records should have been lost. The present structure belongs to the reign of Kulottunga I and his successors, from whose time onwards the six-fold enlargement of the Nataraja temple complex took place. We were fortunate in locating, in 1940, a few inscriptions of Vijayalaya and Parantaka of the Early Colas, on the walls of the Anantisvaran temple, which constitute the earliest extant inscriptions in Cidambaram.* Even the present structure of the Anantisvaran temple was renovated around 1940-41.

In the suburbs of Cidambaram, close to the Anantisvaran temple, there is the *matha* of Aghora Sivacarya (c. A.D. 1158), whose contributions to Saivite philosophy are considered very valuable.

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* Refer to Chapter Four for an account of the 'Oldest Cidambaram Inscriptions' discovered at this temple in 1940 by S.R. Balasubrahmanyam.

CHAPTER 13

Saiva Nayanmar

In the first seven of the Twelve *Tirumurai's* (*Panniru Tirumurai)* , the corner-stone of the Saivite edifice, Sambandhar, Tirunavukkarasu (Appar) and Sundaramurti Nayanar* — the great Trio, offer the pride of place to *Koyil* — the temple *par excellence* — which is Tillai, or Cirrambalam (Cidambaram). No narration of the history of Tillai can therefore be complete without a reference to the remarkable lives of the Trio, their boundless devotion to Nataraja of Tillai, and their significant contributions to the growth of Saivism in South India in the face of Buddhist and Jain influences in their periods. On the basis of evidence before us, we have already indicated in Chapter Three that Appar (Tirunavukkarasu Nayanar) lived long — for eighty-one years, say between A.D.600 and 681, that Sambandhar (Jnana Sambandhar), his younger contemporary, had a short life-span of only sixteen years between, say, A.D. 644 and 660, and that Sundaramurti Nayanar lived for only eighteen years, somewhere between A.D. 710 and 735. The other theory that Sundarar lived between A.D. 804 and 825 also appears sustainable, as we have said elsewhere.

Appar (Tirunavukkarasu Nayanar)

Appar was an elder contemporary of Sambandhar, in the seventh century A.D. — as established by the *Periya Puranam.* They were both deeply inspired by Siva and manifested their devotion to Siva by means of their *padigams* which are of equal religious value, with this difference that Appar was the elder and, unlike Sambandhar, who attained Siva's grace while yet a child. Appar had grown in age and experience before Siva's grace fell on him (at a rapid pace). Sambandhar hailed Tirunavukkarasu as Appar (father). As T.N. Ramachandran (of Thanjavur) put it, "Appar is to be regarded as the father of Saivism, if Tirujnana Sambandhar represents the living faith of Saivism."

Appar, Marulnikkiyar as he was christened by his parents, a Vellala by birth, lived to be eighty-one. His parents were Pugalanar and Madiniyar of Tiruvamur near Panruti (South Arcot district) in Tirumunaippadi Nadu between the South Pennar and Gadilam rivers. Appar had an elder sister called Tilakavatiyar, who was engaged to one Kalippagaiyar. Suddenly Appar's parents died; Kalippagaiyar fell in battle. Tilakavatiyar wished to commit *sati.* She changed her mind on her brother's appeal. Appar had good schooling, he became an ascetic and entered the Jaina monastery at Pataliputra (modern Cuddalore New Town, Tiruppadirippuliyur). By his skill in debating, he overcame the Buddhists and gained the title of 'Dharmasenar'.

Marulnikkiyar was so overpowered by the Jaina propagation of their faith under the directions of the Pallava ruler Mahendra Varman (A.D. 580-630) that his conversion to Jainism became inescapable in that situation. Appar's sister was greatly concerned by her brother's apostasy and prayed to Lord Tiruvirattanesvarar at Tiruvadigai (near Panruti) to restore him to the ancestral fold. Her prayer was answered.

Lord Tiruvirattanesvarar of Tiruvadigai assured Tilakavatiyar in her dream that "she should not worry about the situation any longer, Marulnikkiyar was already pining for Saiva sainthood and, with an attack of colic, Marulnikkiyar would be brought back to the Hindu fold." Appar suffered from an attack of colic and could not get cured in his Jaina monastery.

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* Nayanmar is the plural of Nayanar.

Marulnikkiyar, unable to endure the colic, realised that Jainism could give him no relief and that it was not the answer, and he left Pataliputra and rejoined his sister at Tiruvadigai. By divine grace, he was cured of his colic and he became a zealous Saivite, a believer in the sacred ash and the efficacy of the Pancakshara *na, ma, si, va, ya,* the five sanctified syllables.

Lord Siva cast on Appar the acute affliction of colic only to retrieve him from the fold of Jainism. Appar himself acknowledges this in verse 3 of *Tani-t-Tiruttandakam*.

சூலை தீர்த்தடியேனை யாட் கொண்டாரே

(Sulai tirttadiyenai yat kondare)

"You cured me of my colic and took me under your protection" — a refrain which occurs almost throughout his *Tani-t-Tiruttandakam*.

The *padigam* in the Fourth *Tirumurai* on Tiruvadigai Virattanam commencing "கூற்றாயினவாறு" - was sung by Appar when he was relieved of his colic at Tiruvadigai.

When Appar stood before the Lord of Tiruvadigai Virattanam full of gratitude to the Lord for the relief from his colic and remorse for his long association of nearly four decades with an alien faith, an unembodied voice announced that he would henceforth be known as "Navukkarasu" (the king of utterance, the master of the tongue). Thus Marulnikkiyar became universally known as Tirunavukkarasar. He was also given the (Sanskrit) appellation Vagisa (the king of the spoken word).

The *padigams* sung at Tiruppadirippuliyur and Tirukkadavur-Virattam (Fourth *Tirumurai*) bring out Appar's remorse on the futility of his life as a Jaina. In the latter, he says பற்றிலா வாழ்க்கை வாழ்ந்து பாழுக்கே நீரிறைத்தேன். ("I got attracted to earthly pursuits which only perpetuate the cycle of birth and death and I lacked devotion to Siva. I wasted my time without the spirit of dedication to the Lord and I was only irrigating barren land.") This turn of events which took Appar away from the Jaina fold back into Saivism annoyed the Jaina monks, and they made a desperate bid to do away with the renegade. They approached the then reigning Pallava ruler, Mahendravarman I of Kanci, and sought his help in order to remove this threat to Jainism. When summoned by the king, Appar declared that he was not answerable to any human being, however exalted. 'I am nobody's subject,' he sang. In the *Marumarra-t-Tiruttandakam* (Sixth *Tirumurai)*, Appar says, in response to the Pallava ruler's entreaties through a messenger, 'நாமார்க்குங்குடியல்லோம் நமனையஞ்சோம்' ("A devotee of Siva, I am not a subject of any one, however big, I shall not bend before anyone. I am not afraid of death.")

The king's wrath knew no bounds. Appar was thrown into a burning lime-kiln; he was given poisoned food and it became nectar; an elephant was let loose to tread on his head and crush it. He was bound to a millstone and cast into the sea. With total faith in Siva and constantly reciting Namasivaya, he emerged unscathed from all these ordeals.

Appar's *padigams* at Tirunanippalli (திருநனிப்பள்ளி) (Fourth *Tirumurai*) on the "poison" episode and at Tirunilakkudi (திருநீலக்குடி) (Fifth *Tirumurai*) on the mill-stone slab incident bear eloquent testimony to Appar's undimmed faith in Siva.

These successive miracles which the Lord wrought to save Appar shook Mahendra Varman's own faith in Jainism. He gave expression to Appar of his own adoration for him. The rest is part of history. The Pallava king himself became a convert to Saivism. He excavated a rock temple on the Rock at Tiruchi (the upper cave) and engraved on it the story of his conversion to Saivism — a veritable confession of faith and a lasting memorial to his conversion. The Jaina temple and monastery at Pataliputra were destroyed and, with the building materials, a Siva temple called Gunadhara-Isvaram (called Gunaparaviccaram in the *Periya Puranam*) * after one of the surnames of Mahendravarman, was constructed at Tiruvadigai. (Some scholars spell it Gunabharisvaram.)

Then began Appar's pilgrimage through the length and breadth of the Tamil land and his special service to God, ** *ulavarappani* — the task of removing thorns from temple premises with the help of a handy spud. The Lord of the temple of Tunganai-madam at Pennadam (South Arcot district) impressed the symbols of *Sula* and *Rshabha* on his body. After worshipping the presiding deities of the temples at Tirunelvayil (near Pennadam) and Vriddhacalam, Appar went to Cidambaram.

Appar has sung eight hymns in praise of the Lord of Cidambaram. He calls Tillai, '*managar*' — a Great City — with mansions and palaces, which, according to inscriptions, is described as a *taniyur*, the equivalent of a municipality — a city of groves and flower-gardens humming with bees, and wet paddy fields, rich with the sound of music, Vedic chants and sacrificial smoke, and the Tillai Three Thousand engaged in pious activities, a land of plenty, with the Lord adored by the *devas*.

Appar's detailed description of Nataraja is inspiring. The *jatas* with the Ganga and the crescent moon, bedecked with *konrai* and *datura* flowers, the black throat indicative of the imbibed poison (*halahala*), the sacred ash smeared all over the body, the *kadvangam* in His hand (bones with a skull at the top), a wandering beggar eating the food collected in a skull, Siva dancing in the cremation ground with fire in His right palm and Parvati standing by and dancing, occasionally, in unison with Him. There are *ganas* too, all around Him in merriment. He wears the tiger's skin and covers Himself with the skin of the elephant He had slain; He has for His ornaments snakes which move to and fro; devotees collect holy water for the *abhishekam* of the Lord and flowers for the worship. He is Ardhanarisvara, with Uma on His left. He is the first among the Trinity, the primeval force which destroyed the Three Cities of the Tripura *asuras*, and Cupid by the fire of the eye in His forehead. He gave Arjuna His Pasupatastra, blessed Candesvara and saved Markandeya from the jaws of death.

Appar also adds that it was the Devas who worshipped, praised and gilded the "hall of the Lord of Cirrambalam".

In the Pukka Tiruttandakam (Sixth *Tirumurai*)(புக்க திருத்தாண்டகம்)sung by Appar at Cidambaram (Tillai) called *Koyil* in the Tirumurai's, the eleven verses begin with the line 'மங்குல் மதிதவழும் மாடவீதி' and end respectively with the line புலியூர்ச்சிற்றம் பலமே - புக்கார் தாமே

Appar refers in this *Tiruttandakam* to a number of temples which have greatly influenced his devotion to Siva:

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* குணபரவீச்சரம்

** உழவாரப்பணி

(1) Mayilappu (Mylapore in Madras City)
(2) Marugal
(3) Kongu-Kodumudi
(4) Kurralam
(5) Kudamukku (Kumbakonam)
(6) Tiruk-kollumbudur
(7) Dharmapuram
(8) Takkalur
(9) Tiru-nani-palli (Punjai)
(10) Nallur
(11) Pasur (Tiruppaccil)
(12) Tiruvilimilalai
(13) Pariti-Niyamam
(14) Tiruvanciyam
(15) Tirunallaru
(16) Tiru-neyttanam (Tillaisthanam)
(17) Tiru-Arur (Tiruvarur)

Such temples are called 'Vaipputtalam' (resting place).

As Tirunavukkarasu Puranam (Verse 174) in the Periya Puranam reads:

நினைப்பவர் தம் மனக்கோயில் கொண்டருளும்
அம்பலத்து நிருத்தனாரைத்
தினைத்தனையாம் பொழுது மறந்துய்வனோ?
எனப்பாடித் தில்லை சார்ந்தார்.

("If I forget even for a second the Dancing Lord of the Hall at Tillai (Ambalam), the Lord who gets enshrined in the mind of anyone who thinks of Him, can I hope for salvation?" Thus singing, he reached Tillai.)

In the ecstasy of his devotion to Nataraja, Appar burst forth into the *Tiruppadigam* (Fourth Tirumurai): 'கருநட்ட கண்டனை யண்டத் தலைவனைக் கற்பகத்தை'

Appar's *Tirunerisai* (in the Fourth Tirumurai) ('Koyil') beginning with
'பத்தனாய்ப் பாட மாட்டேன் பரமனே பரமயோகீ'
(of ten verses) reinforces the fascination the Lord's *Tiruk-kuttu* held for him. Appar's description of Nataraja as 'Paramayogi' conforms to the position that the dance of Siva as Nataraja is also described as 'Yogananda Tandava'. Appar engaged himself in *ulavarappani*, clearing of thorns in the courtyards of the temple and the streets of Tillai.

The well-known *Tiruk-kuruntogai* on Koyil (Fifth Tirumurai) commencing with the words 'அன்னம் பாலிக்கும் தில்லைச் சிற்றம்பலம்' merits special attention. Tillai was known for its hospitality.

Even today, the *pavadai naivedyam* to the Dancing Lord at Cidambaram is a well-established practice. In the ecstasy of the Lord's Cosmic Dance, Appar witnesses in this birth itself the eternal bliss that liberation alone could give.

It is worth quoting the full text of the opening verse:

அன்னம் பாலிக்கும் தில்லைச் சிற்றம்பலம்
பொன்னம் பாலிக்கு மேலுமிப் பூமிசை
என்னம் பாலிக்கு மாறுகண்டின் புற
இன்னம் பாலிக்குமோ இப்பிறவியே'

When it is usual for evolved souls to pray for freedom from the cycle of birth and death, Appar wishes for rebirths which would enable him to obtain glimpses of the Lord's '*Tirukkuttu*' at Tillai.

குனித்த புருவமுங் கொவ்வைச்செவ்வாயிற் குமிண்சிரிப்பும்
பனித்த சடையும் பவளம் பொன்மேனியினிற் பால் வெண்ணீறும்
இனித்தமுடைய வெடுத்தபொற்பாதமுங் காணப்பெற்றால்
மனித்தப் பிறவியும் வேண்டுவதேயிந்த மாநிலத்தே.

(Appar: Fourth Tirumurai — Tiruppadiga Varalaru — on 'Koyil' : Verse 4)

"Appar came to Cidambaram in all eagerness to witness and enjoy the Divine Dance. It was exquisite and unforgettable.

"After witnessing such a dance, man has nothing more to gain. The Namasivaya chant dispels all fear. Ills will not befall His devotee. Even Death will be powerless before him.

"Nataraja's bent brows, red lips, sweet smile, *jata's* with the Ganga's holy water, bright red body smeared with white sacred ash, the golden foot lifted up in dance — these are bewitching. If a man is blessed with such a vision, certainly his worldly existence is worthwhile."

Having visited Tiruvetkalam and Tirukkalippalai (part of the present Sivapuri on the northern bank of the Kollidam near Cidambaram), Appar engaged himself actively in *ulavarappani.*

On his way back to Tillai, Appar sang the *Tiruk-kuruntogai* beginning with the words, 'பனைக்கை மும்மத வேழ முரித்தவன்' each verse ending with a variation of the refrain:

அம்பலக் கூத்தனைத் தினைத்தனைப் பொழுதும் மறந்துய்வனோ!

('I shall not forget the Kuttapiran of Tillai even for a moment') (Fifth *Tirumurai*—Tiruppadiga Varalaru)

On reaching Tillai, Appar rendered the most moving ten verses *('Periya Tiruttandakam')* beginning with "அரியானை அந்தணர் தம் சிந்தை யானை" which end with the sentence 'பெரும்பற்றப் புலியூரானைப் பேசாத நாளெல்லாம் பிறவா நாளே', a very forceful manner of saying:

"The days on which I failed to sing the glory of Nataraja *(Perumparrappuliyuran)* were days bereft of life. In other words, such days were futile." (Sixth *Tirumurai* — 'Koyil')

Appar also refers to Siva (as Dakshinamurti), seated under the sacred banyan tree, and expounding *Siva-jnana* to four *rishi* disciples. Siva rides on the *Rshabha*, chants the Vedas and holds the *veena* to play on.

Appar describes Siva as the Lord with eight arms, as the embodiment of the four Vedas and six Vedangas, as one who is peerless. Appar counted the Lord's 'lifted leg' as an inestimable blessing.

Appar refers (and so does Sambandhar) very frequently to the episode of Siva emerging as the 'flaming pillar' or 'pillar of fire' — very common in the Kancipuram legends as well and the failure of the bid of Vishnu and Brahma to locate Siva's head and feet — commonly linked with the Lingodbhava concept. (It finds a place also in the *Linga Purana, Tiruk-kuruntogai* in the Fifth *Tirumurai* of Appar.)

While at Cidambaram, Appar had heard a good deal of Sambandhar of nearby Sirkali.

From Cidambaram, Appar proceeded to Sirkali to meet the miracle-boy, Sambandhar, who calls Tirunavukkarasar, Saint 'Appar', a name familiar and commonly applied to him ever since. Appar then undertook an extensive pilgrimage to many temples all over the Cola country. At Nallur, Siva placed His feet on Appar's head and blessed him. At Tingalur, Vediyan Appudi Adigal welcomed him. Appar wondered how a watershed and a *matha* there had been named after him and learnt later that Appudi Adigal was one of his ardent admirers. Appar was greatly touched by his host's hospitality. He was invited for a meal by Appudi Adigal; the latter's eldest son called Tirunavukkarasu was unfortunately bitten by a snake while he was trying to get a leaf from a plantain tree for the meal. The boy swooned immediately and died. This tragic event was not divulged to Appar. When the hosts began to serve, Appar noticed the absence of the boy and wished to know the cause for it. Appudi Adigal was forced to reveal what had happened, and, through Appar's miracle, the boy was cured of the snake poison and was restored to life.

Appar proceeded then to Tiruvarur to attend the Adirai festival, and then to Tiruvilimilalai, where he was joined by Sambandhar. They spent some time together at Tiruvilimilalai paying daily adoration to the Lord. The land came to be stricken by famine and, at their fervent appeal, the Lord presented each of them with a gold coin every day. The gold was used to maintain their followers till the land was blessed with rain and prosperity returned to it.

The two saints then visited Tirumaraikkadu (Vedaranyam), where the main gateway of the temple had remained closed ever since it was sealed by the Vedas in olden times and all devotees had to pass through an improvised gateway on the side. The two saints wrought a miracle by which the main gateway flew open, and it has remained so ever since.

Appar's next move was to Palaiyarai, which has a temple known as Palaiyarai *Vadatali.* It had been in the possession of the Jainas and, owing to the efforts of Appar, the temple was restored to the Hindus. He proceeded next to Tiruppainjili, tired after a strenuous journey. A miracle occurred suddenly. A grove, a tank and a man carrying a food-packet suddenly made their appearance. Appar refreshed himself and rested there for a while in slumber. All of them disappeared while he was still asleep and he realised that the whole episode was a manifestation of the Lord's infinite mercy.

Appar resolved to reach Kailasa itself, the abode of Siva. He first went to Kalahasti, the traditional take-off point for such a pilgrimage. When he was in the fringes of the Himalayas, Siva appeared before him as an old man and tried to disssuade him from going further on the Kailasa trip, saying it was an impossible feat for one of his age and physical condition. Appar was adamant. Siva then advised him that if he bathed in a certain local tank, he would emerge from a tank at Tiruvaiyaru, where he would have a *darsan* of Siva and Uma, attended by the Siva *Ganas*. Appar, in his ecstasy, composed the well-known song with the import, 'I witnessed a sight no mortal has seen.' "கண்டேன் அவர் திருப்பாதங் கண்டறியாதன கண்டேன்" (Fourth Tirumurai — Tiruvaiyaru — Verse 21): (Verse 384 of Tirunavukkarasu Puranam in Periya Puranam.) The temple of Dakshina Kailasam at Tiruvaiyaru is a memorial to this great event in Appar's life.

Appar went on to Tiruppunturutti and established a *matha* there. It was during his camp there that he heard of Sambandhar's triumph in Madurai and the conversion of the Pandyan King from Jainism to Saivism. Appar immediately left for Madurai and worshipped the Lord of Tiru-Alavai there. He was accorded due courtesies by the Pandyan King and Queen, Nedumaran and Mangayark-karasi, and he visited important temples in the Pandya country.

Appar then returned to the Cola country and stayed at Tiruppugalur, where he spent the last days of his life. He was mainly devoted to the worship of the Lord, particularly through weeding out thorns and rank plant-growths from temple premises. It is said that once the Lord tried to test his sincerity and faith by throwing poisonous snakes into the field when Appar was thus engaged. They held no terror for Appar; he merely collected them and put them into the temple tank. Even precious stones strewn in his path had no lure for him. Appar soon realised that his end was near and, in his last piece, he sang the glory of the Lord, proclaiming that he was ready to reach His feet and was praying for His grace *(Unnadikke Poduhinren).* ('Marumarruttiruttandakam': verse ten — Tiruppugalur — Sixth Tirumurai)

Appar was nearly eighty-one years old when he died (Cittirai month, Sadayam star). His conversion from Jainism to Hinduism was a turning point not only in his life but in the history of South India. His deep devotion, the sincerity of his personal approach to Siva, his inspired songs and his life of dedication entitle him to an honoured place among Tamil saints and in the spiritual history of Tamil Nadu. The message in his songs is a message to all mankind and it will endure.

The conclusion cannot be resisted that Tirunavukkarasu got convinced of the superiority of Saivism because it cured him of his serious ailment and that such miracles were proofs to convince him and others of his persuasion of the superiority of one religion over another. Several of Appar's *Devaram* songs highlight the clear conception Appar had of the highest Vedantic truths. So, the miracles were helpful, so far as Appar was concerned, only in turning his attention towards Saivism. Over a fairly long life, Appar should have made rapid spiritual progress and should have reached before long the stage of evolution when his Saivite faith did not depend on miracles at all. Appar was pre-eminently a dedicated exponent of the Saiva Siddhanta doctrine and should be rightly regarded as a fore-runner of this school.

Appar's reference to Siva's performance of *karana's* "with this leg and arm" indicates that *karana's* were known in the South as early as A.D. 600. No wonder the Cola kings depicted the various *karana's* on the Gopurams at Cidambaram.

Sambandhar

In the preceding section on Appar, we saw ample evidence of the Jaina predominance in Tamil nadu at the end of the 6th century A.D. and the early part of the 7th century A.D. and the tribulations Appar himself had to undergo in the face of such predominance in the area. Saivism asserted itself after a successful struggle against Jainism and Buddhism, and, in this historic endeavour, Appar and his junior contemporary, Jnana Sambandhar, played a conspicuous part. In the period of Tirumular (possibly the first half of the 5th century A.D. and not later than the 6th century A.D.) and later in the period of Sundaramurti Nayanar (8th century A.D.), the Jaina influence and dominance are not so evident. The substantial change by the time of Sundaramurti Nayanar and in later periods is due, in a large measure, to the fact that the Jaina and Buddhist influences were brought under check in the 7th century A.D. by the crusading zeal of Appar and Sambandhar. Their personal lives and their *padigams* (in the first six Tirumurai's) reflect their memorable contribution to the growth of Saivism in Tamil Nadu in the 7th century A.D.

One of the four greatly honoured Saivite saints, Sambandhar was a boy-saint of great renown, who belonged to the early seventh century A.D. Born in Sirkali (in Tanjavur district), he became an inspired singer of God's glory at the age of three, and on the occasion of his wedding at the age of sixteen, entered into godhood along with his wife, friends and fellow-devotees.

His parents were Sivapadahrdayar (of the Kaundinya Gotra) and Bhagavati. When three years old, the child would cry asking to be taken along by his father when he went for his bath in the sacred tank in the Brahmapurisvarar temple premises at Sirkali. Leaving the child on the southern *bund* of the tank, Sivapadahrdayar had his bath. While he was engaged in meditation below the surface of the water, the child felt hungry and cried. Parvati and Paramesvara heard the child's cry. The divine couple appeared before him and gave him divine milk to satisfy his hunger. The child drank of it and was instantly inspired. The father, who had finished his bath and reached the bank, was surprised at the evidence of the child having drunk milk. In a severe tone, he asked the boy who had given it to him. The reply came in the form of a song. The child pointed to the divine couple *(Toni-Appar)* at Brahmapurisvarar temple, seated on a boat resting on the highest point of a mound after the great deluge (an echo of Noah's Ark). This marks the beginning of Sambandhar's spiritual mission.

Owing to his tender age, the child had to be carried on his father's shoulders. He received gold cymbals from the Lord of the neighbouring village of Tirukkolakka. The inhabitants of Tirunanipalli (Punjai), the home of Sambandhar's mother, invited him there and accorded him a grand reception.

When Sambandhar returned to Sirkali, he was joined by Nilakanta Yalppanar and his wife, Matanga Chulamaniyar, the great instrumentalist, who were to become fellow devotees during the course of his pilgrimage through the length and breadth of the Tamil land.

The party proceeded to Tillai. In his own description, the prosperous city, full of lofty mansions, was washed by the backwaters of the sea. It was inhabited by men of learning and character. The Tillai Three Thousand were engaged in performing *yagas*.

As the party approached the confines of the Nataraja temple, Sambandhar was deeply impressed by "the storeyed houses of the wealthy residents of Tillai" and by "the fire cult of the temple-priests", offered his obeisance at the *Gopuram* and entered the temple precincts by the southern gateway on the *madil* (the outermost wall of enclosure). He offered worship to the Dancing Lord (of *Ananda Tirukkuttu)* and at the Tiru Anukkan Tiruvayil. He paid his respects to the Tillai Muvayiravar (Tillai Val Andanar), who were in a mood of high expectancy on Sambandhar's arrival at the holy shrine. In his state of ecstasy at the vision of the 'Kuttapiran' (the Dancing Lord), Sambandhar sang, in the presence of the `Tillai Val Andanar' his famous *padigam*, "கற்றாங் கெரியோம்பி" in the plenitude of the ஏழிசை (seven notes of music).

கற்றாங் கெரியோம்பிக்கலியை வாராமே
செற்றார் வாழ்தில்லைச் சிற்றம்பலம் மேய
முற்றா வெண்திங்கள் முதல்வன் பாதமே
பற்றா நின்றாரைப் பற்றா பாவமே.

"The Lord of Cidambaram has flowing *jatas* adorned by the Ganga and the Crescent. He is Ardhanarisvara, His throat is black with the poison He retains in it and He is covered with the elephant's hide. He overthrows the Tripura *asuras*. He defies the search by Vishnu and Brahma, and thereby establishes His supremacy. He crushes Ravana when the latter attempts to lift Kailasa. Sambandhar subdues the heretical Jainas and Buddhists. Mortals cannot obtain more valuable wealth than the spiritual merit derived by the worship of the Lord of Dance. They will rid themselves of all the ills of life." (The seventh day celebrations of the *Brahmotsavam* festivals are in memory of the Kailasa episode of Ravana.)

"தீரா நோயெல்லாம் தீர்தல் திண்ணமே"
"மாளா நோயெல்லாம் வாளா மாயுமே"

After singing the moving *padigam*, Sambandhar, imbued with a deep sense of piety, went round the four main streets of Cidambaram. Tillai was sacred ground for Sambandhar; and he was not inclined to seek (night-shelter) rest there. He moved on to near-by Tiruvetkalam, yet another holy centre (now Annamalainagar, the home of the Annamalai University) to the east of Cidambaram, for his stay. He sang a *padigam* at Tiruvetkalam on the presiding deities Pasupatesvara and Nallanayaki. After visiting Tirunelvayil and Tirukkalippalai (modern Sivapuri to the south of Annamalainagar-Tiruvetkalam), Sambandhar returned to worship Nataraja at Tillai again, where he had a strange experience.

The Tillai Dikshitars appeared to him as Sivaganas, and he sang another hymn: "Siva was bathed with milk, curds and ghee. He was adorned with *konrai* flowers. He had the cobra as His waistband. He danced the Pandarangam — His ecstatic dance, soon after His destruction of the Tripura *asuras*, using the chariot as His dancing hall. He assumed the form of Bhikshatanar and begged for food with Brahma's skull as his begging bowl."

Sambandhar sang before the "Marukkakkuttar". This *padigam* starts with the words;

ஆடினாய் நறு நெய்யொடு பால்தயிர்
அந்தணர் பிரியாத சிற்றம்பலம்

Before the *Tillai Val Andanar* could offer their respects to Sambandhar, the latter forestalled them by tendering his respects to them in the precincts of the Lord of the *Ambalam*.

In this well-known *padigam*, Sambandhar makes a pointed reference to the patronage of music in Cidambaram which, of course, goes with the King of Dance: "இசை பாடுவ"

"The *Bhuta-ganas* sing, while you dance in Cirrambalam."

Sambandhar wrought many miracles during his wanderings. At Tirunelvayil-Alanturai, he received a palanquin and an umbrella of pearls. When he was invested with the sacred thread at seven, he discoursed to the elders on the significance of the *Pancakshara*. While at Tiruppaccil Ashram (Tiruchi district), he cured the daughter of the local Chief of the Kollimalavan region of the Muyalakan disease (polio). He rid the land of Kodimada Sengunru of its malaria. To protect Sambandhar from the burning heat, Siva provided him with an umbrella of pearls, near Pattisvaram. While Sambandhar was staying at Tiruvaduturai, his father came and asked for gold to perform a Vedic sacrifice. Sambandhar prayed to the Lord and obtained a bag of 1,000 gold pieces, which were duly handed over to his father. At Dharmapuram, he vanquished Tiru-Nilakantha Yalppanar as the latter was unable to set a hymn to music so that it could be played on the *yal* (the South Indian harp in vogue at the time). There was a merchant who had left his home with his lady-love to get married; at Tirumarugal, the lover, bitten by a snake, died. Sambandhar restored him to life.

We have already referred to the pilgrimage made jointly by Sambandhar and Appar to Tiruvilimilalai and Vedaranyam. While at Vedaranyam, Sambandhar was invited by the Pandya Queen, Mangaiyarkkarasi, and the Pandya minister, Kulaccirai, to arrest the threatening influence of Jainism in the Pandya country and to win the Pandyan king back to Saivism. Sambandhar went to Madurai, where he overcame the Jainas in disputation and through ordeals and miracles. The king Kun Pandyan was cured of his hunchback.

While returning to the Cola country, Sambandhar had to cross a stream to reach the temple at Tirukkollumpudur. The stream was in floods, and there was a boat but no one to row it across. Sambandhar launched it himself and reached the other shore. He then moved on to Tondainadu. At Tiruvorriyur, near Madras, he transformed, by his divine power, barren male palmyra trees into fruit-yielding ones. That helped to triumph over the Jainas. While at Tiruvorriyur, Sambandhar was invited to visit Mylapore by one Sivanesan Chettiar. The latter had a daughter called Pumpavai who, it had been avowed, would only be given away in marriage to Sambandhar. But while gathering flowers in the garden, the girl died of snake-bite. When all efforts to restore her to life failed, she was cremated, and her charred bones were collected in a pot and preserved. When Sambandhar reached the Kapalisvarar temple of Mylapore, the pot containing Pumpavai's bones was placed before the temple gate. Sambandhar sang a hymn to bring her back to life. The prayer was answered. The pot was shattered. Pumpavai rose from her ashes and stood before the astonished assembly in youthful bloom. Sivanesan Chettiar was delighted beyond words and he offered her in marriage, according to her original wish, to Sambandhar; but the saint looked upon her as his own daughter, his creation, and refused to marry her. Then she entered a nunnery where she lived out her life as an ascetic.

Sambandhar was now sixteen years old. When he reached his native town, Sirkali, his father wished to get him married.

The daughter of one Nambandar Nambi was chosen as the bride. The arrangements for the wedding were made and it was to be celebrated at Ṭirunallur-Perumanam — now popularly known as Accalpuram—east of the present Kollidam railway station in Tanjavur district. (Incidentally, Accalpuram, sanctified by Sambandhar's association, figured also in later history, in the course of the Carnatic wars of the eighteenth century. Robert Orme's "History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindustan" refers to the attempts of Major Lawrence to take possession of the 'pagoda at Atchavaram'.) The couple passed through the wedding rituals. The party went to worship the Lord at Tirunallur-Perumanam, where a miracle took place. A big ball of fire was observed. Sambandhar sang his last song. The newly-wedded couple and all their friends and relatives entered the flames and disappeared.

Sambandhar was a prodigy and his life was a miracle of miracles. He had no schooling in the usual sense of the word. He had mastery of the four Vedas, six Vedangas and of Tamil in all its range and glory. His songs conform to the best traditions of Tamil literature and lend themselves to interpretation in attractive musical modes. It is amazing how he acquired the wealth of knowledge and wisdom enshrined in his immortal songs. To have visited about one hundred and ten temples during his brief life-span of sixteen years in those days of difficult communications and to have left behind so great a treasure of religious and philosophical literature is really remarkable. It is an influence which will last, as it is said of the Ramayana, as long as the hills and rivers endure.

An inscription at Nidur, of the time of Kulottunga I, mentions that a shrine for Sambandhar was built at Cidambaram and copper plates inscribed with the Devaram hymns were deposited in it. None of them unfortunately exists today.

The Sambandhar shrine and the Devaram copper-plates have been referred to already in Chapters Four, Nine and Ten in the relevant contexts.

When, under Vijayanagar rule, the Govindaraja shrine was restored, the *mukha-mantapa* for Lord Nataraja, which Kulottunga III had built, and the Devara *mantapa* to the east of it, built by Naralokavira, were obviously disturbed; this shrine for Sambandhar, along with the prayer hall also, was perhaps shifted at the time. It is understood that in the compromise formula worked out by Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad in A.D. 1934, the three idols, of Sambandhar, Appar and Sundaramurti Nayanar, were shifted from the area and accommodated in the eastern side of the cloistered verandah of the first *prakara*, east of the Cit Sabha and Brahma-kupam.

The uninhibited use of Sanskrit words in the hymns of Sambandhar and Appar (in the 7th century A.D.) indicates that the influence of the Sanskrit texts of the *Agamas*, the *Linga Purana*, etc. continued to be an important factor in this period.

Sundaramurti Nayanar

Sundarar, for short, he is among the four distinguished Saivite Saints generally called *Nalvar* (the Great Four) by the Tamils. As already indicated, the generally accepted conclusion is that Sundarar lived for eighteen years some time between 710 and 735 A.D. In the case of Sundarar, too, scholars do not agree on the dates. For instance, T.A. Gopinatha Rao and some other scholars held the view that Sundarar's period was the middle part of the ninth century A.D. We are inclined to agree with the scholars who assign it to the early ninth century A.D.

A Sivacarya by birth and a native of Tirunavalur in South Arcot district, he was brought up by a local Chief, Narasinga Munaiarayar. His marriage was to be celebrated at Tiruvennainallur. While the arrangements were afoot, Lord Siva appeared before him in the form of an aged *brahmana* and claimed Sundarar as his hereditary bond-slave. The result was that the marriage was called off and Sundarar was won over by the Lord of Tiruvennainallur to a life dedicated to spiritual and religious service for the propagation of Saivism. He was immediately inspired to sing the glory of Siva, commencing with the words *'Pitta pirai sudi'*. He became a wandering hymnist, visiting many centres and singing the praise of Lord Siva. Among the centres he visited were Tiruvadigai, Vriddhacalam and Cidambaram. At Tiruvadigai, the Lord placed His holy feet on Sundarar's head and blessed him. At Vriddhacalam, Sundarar obtained from the Lord 12,000 pieces of gold; to avoid any risks in transporting them, he consigned the gold to the waters of the Manimukta river at Vriddhacalam with a prayer that it be restored to him in the holy tank (Kamalalayam) at Tiruvarur.

At Cidambaram, Sundarar sang in ecstasy of the glory of the Dancing Lord, Nataraja, and felt greatly blessed by such a vision, which he considered a privilege to experience before death overtook him. Siva is described as dancing with the drum, the pot of fire, the black snake, *jata* and the white digit of the moon. The various attributes of the Lord are sung: worship by the Tillai Three Thousand thrice a day, the power that crushed Ravana under His feet when he attempted to lift the Kailasa, and the power that saved Markandeya from Yama. The ninth stanza of his hymn on Koyil (Cidambaram) condemns the heretical creeds of Jainism and Buddhism. In the last stanza, he refers to the Lord of Dance at Kanci-Vai-Perur* in Kongu Nadu.

This *padigam* on Tillai (Koyil) has ten verses, the first verse starting with the line:

"மடித்தாடும் அடிமைக்கண் அன்றியே மனனே நீ வாழுநாளுந்...."

("When I have attained the Lord of Tiruccirrambalam, what else do I have to look for?")

After visiting Sirkali and many other centres and temples on the way, Sundarar reached Tiruvarur, where he married Paravai Nacciyar. At the inspiration of the Lord, Sundarar (now known as Tambiran-Tolar) sang the *Tiruttondattogai* at the Devasraya Mantapam (which, incidentally, is only a hundred-pillared hall, not a thousand-pillared one as generally described). This song of Sundarar's is the earliest and the briefest account of the lives of the sixty-three Nayanmar. On his way to Tondaimandalam, Sundarar visited Tirukkuruhavur (near Sirkali), where he felt hungry and tired; the Lord gave him food and shelter. He reached Tiruvorriyur, where he married Sangiliyar with the promise never to desert her. After a short stay there, he longed to attend the festival of the Lord of Tiruvarur (Veethi Vitanka Perumal). When he left Tiruvorriyur, he lost his sight in both eyes, as a punishment for the breach of the promise he had made to Sangiliyar. At Tiruvenbakkam, the Lord gave him a cane to help him feel his way. He touched Palayanur, Tiruvalangadu (connected with the beatitude of Karaikkal Ammaiyar) and Takkolam, and reached Kanci. Lord Ekambanathar (now called Ekambaranathar) restored him his sight in the left eye. Thereafter, when he reached Tiruvarur, he got back his vision in the right eye also. He made an attempt to rejoin Paravai Nacciyar, but she did not respond to his overtures, Lord Siva played the role of a love messenger and brought about their joyous reunion.

Among other episodes in Sundarar's life is the story of Seraman Perumal Nayanar. Having heard of the spiritual eminence and achievements of Sundarar, Seraman Perumal Nayanar went from Kodungalur (modern Cranganore in Kerala) to Tiruvarur to meet Sundarar. He was received and entertained by Sundarar and his wife. Sundarar and Seraman Perumal went on a pilgrimage to the temples in the Pandya country. They met the Pandya king, worshipped the Lord of Tiru-Alavai at Madurai and returned to Tiruvarur. They then proceeded to Kodungalur and, after a short stay there, Sundarar was sent back to Tiruvarur loaded with gifts. On his way, at Tirumurugampundi, the *Ganas* whom the Lord had despatched robbed him of the princely gifts. Sundarar prayed to the Lord and recovered them. He then returned to Tiruvarur and stayed there for some time. Before long, he felt a yearning to meet his friend Seraman Perumal and left for the Kongu country. At Tiruppukkoliyur — Avinasi, Sundarar had a strange experience. From one house came joyous sounds in connection with the sacred thread ceremony of a boy, and, from the house opposite, a cry of lamentation. On enquiry, he found that of the boys that were to be invested with the sacred thread, one had been swallowed by a crocodile and had died. The grief-stricken parents approached Sundarar for help in their distress. Sundarar sang a song in praise of the Lord of the local temple and the boy was restored to life.

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* Perur is regarded as a Vaipputtalam and as West Cidambaram.

Sundarar spent some time at Kodungalur with Seraman Perumal and they offered worship to the Lord of Tiru Anjaikkalam. One day, a white elephant came from Kailasa to fetch Sundarar. He mounted it and journeyed towards Kailasa. Seraman did not wish to be left behind and so he flung himself on a horse, uttered the sacred *Pancakshara mantra* in the ears of the horse and is reputed to have reached Kailasa even earlier than Sundarar. This notable incident in the lives of these two Tamil saints is graphically depicted in the frescoes in the corridor surrounding the *garbhagrha* of the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur.

Aiyadigal Kadavarkon Nayanar

He was a Pallava ruling over Kanci and his life-time could not have been much earlier than Sundarar's. Apparently well-versed in Tamil and Sanskrit, he sang of Siva in different centres. He was in ecstasy over the *Tirukkuttu* of Tiruccirrambalam in Perumparrappuliyur.

Kanampulla Nayanar

A wealthy man from Irukkuvelur, Kanampulla's main preoccupation was lighting of lamps in Siva shrines. He came to Cidambaram and in this service of lighting of lamps, all his property came to be used up; he began to cut grass and sell it to buy oil. Soon he found that there was no sale for it and so he lighted lamps with the grass itself. Even grass became scarce; he decided to burn his hair. Siva, deeply moved by his devotion to Him, showed him His grace and he was granted salvation. (The lighting of lamps is an instance of *carya*, according to the Saiva Siddhanta creed.)

Koc-cenganan Nayanar

The entire episode of Koc-cenganan has already been referred to in the early history of Cidambaram.

After he became king, he is said to have built seventy temples to Siva in fulfilment of a dream about his previous life. The Vaishnava saint Tirumangai Alvar (8th century A.D.), in his Tirunaraiyur hymns, mentions incidentally the fact that Koccenganan built 70 *madakkoyils* to Isvara. These temples were built on a high plinth; and the sanctum was not on the ground floor but on the first. Even now, we can see a few of such temples: at Nallur (near Papanasam) and Kivalur (near Nagapattinam, on the way to the village, Sembian Mahadevi). The *Madakkoyil* is another type of temple peculiar to the early Cola age.

Tirunilakantha Nayanar

Tirunilakantha Nayanar, a potter by birth, belonged to Tillai. He supplied earthen pots for the service of Siva (another instance of *carya*). His wife was reputed to be as chaste as Arundhati. The couple led a happy life.

One day, when the potter was returning home from the temple, he was caught up in a downpour and he took shelter in the house of a dancing girl (*devadasi*), who looked upon him as a Saiva saint and kept him company till he was able to leave. The potter's wife grew suspicious of his conduct and, invoking the name of the Lord Nilakantha, she forbade his touching her. They then lived a life of abstinence from conjugal relations and devoted themselves entirely to the service of Siva and grew into old age. Siva was deeply impressed by the potter's *bhakti* and, in order that others might know how pious the potter was, Siva came to the old potter's house in the guise of a Siva *yogi*, with a begging bowl in His hands and requested the old couple to keep the bowl carefully in their custody until he appeared again and asked for it. The request was accepted by the couple. Some days went by; the Lord re-appeared as a mendicant and demanded his bowl. The potter, however, could not find it in the place where he had kept it. The potter offered to replace it, even with a bowl made of gold. The mendicant would not accept any substitute and insisted on the return of the original bowl. The dispute was referred to the Assembly of the Tillai Three Thousand. The *yogi* said that he would be satisfied if the potter and his wife would clasp each other's hands, swear their innocence and take a dip in the tank of Tiruppulisvaram (sanctified by Vyaghrapada's association). As the potter and his wife did not communicate with each other or touch each other, according to their vow, it was decided that the couple should hold the two ends of a stick and take a dip in the tank. A miracle occurred. When they emerged from the tank, the potter and his wife became rejuvenated. The Lord who so rejuvenated them--Ilamaiyakkinar--conferred His grace on the potter couple. Siva appeared before them in all His splendour and blessed Tirunilakantha Nayanar and his partner. Nilakantha, the potter, was at once acclaimed as a Saivite saint to be ranked among the sixty-three Nayanmar of the Saivite hagiology. The present Ilamaiyakkinar temple, to the west of the West Gopuram of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram, is associated with this saint.

In one of our popular Tamil songs, the composer had assumed that Nilakantha Nayanar and his wife had their dip in the Sivaganga tank in fulfilment of the conditions of this ordeal. The tank in question is the Tiruppulisvaram tank opposite to the Ilamaiyakkinar (the Lord who "made the old couple young") temple and not the Sivaganga tank.

A few lessons are to be drawn from this episode. The reason for the potter's vow of continence was his reverence for the name Nilakantha (Siva). Again, service to *Siva-yogis* is a basic Saiva virtue constituting a *sadhana* called '*carya*' by the Saivas (in the Saiva Siddhanta tradition). '*Cariya*' of the four practices or *sadhanas* is also spoken of as *Dasa Marga* — cleaning the temple premises, making garlands, lighting temple lamps, serving Siva *Yogis* and feeding devotees of Siva, etc. Tirunilakantha Nayanar belongs to the order who adopted '*cariya*' as his *sadhana*. (We refer in Section Two to the four *sadhanas* or practices according to the Saiva Siddhanta tradition — *Carya, Kriya, Yoga* and *Jnana,* which enable the Saivite devotee to attain liberation through Siva's grace.)

Nandanar (Tiru Nalaip-povar Nayanar)

The story of Nandanar (Tiru Nalaip-povar Nayanar) is proof of the egalitarian element in Saivism.

Nanda was born as a *pulaiya* in Adanur village in Merkkanadu area south of the Kollidam. He used to make drums etc. for use in Siva temples.

"கூரிலை யமுக்குடுமிப்படையண்ணல் கோயில்தொறும்
பேரிகையே முதலாய முகக்கருவி பிறவினுக்கும்"

Not being allowed into the premises, he stood outside the precincts of the temple and delivered the products of his trade. He saw in his profession a valuable opportunity to serve God and was happy with it.

The caste restrictions of the time prevented him from going inside temples. Once, in the course of rendering such a service to temples, he went to Tiruppungur village (near Vaidisvaran Koil in Tanjavur district). While singing the praise of the Lord at Tiruppungur in devotional music, he felt a longing to have a glimpse of the Lord, Sivalokanatha, but, to his utter disappointment, the Nandi in front hid the God from his view. The Lord, in answer to Nanda's deep devotion, directed the Nandi to move aside. Thrilled by the view of the Lord to his heart's fill, he went round the temple. Later, Nanda constructed a tank for the use of Siva worshippers (also an instance of '*cariya*').

Having similarly visited quite a few shrines of Siva, Nanda was seized with a keen desire to visit Cidambaram and secure a glimpse of Lord Nataraja. He realized that his *darsan* of Lord Nataraja at Cidambaram was not in the realm of possibility because of the disabilities of his caste. He put off the visit every day with the thought that he would "go to Cidambaram the next day". So he acquired the name '*நாளைப்போவார்*' 'Nalaip-povar': the 'one who would go the next day'. He became the 'dupe of tomorrow'. At last, Nanda did go to Cidambaram though filled with misgivings whether he would succeed in securing a glimpse of the Dancing Lord.

Nataraja appeared before Nanda in a dream and instructed him to go through an ordeal of fire to outgrow the circumstance of his birth and qualify for entering the inner precincts of this temple. At the same time, Nataraja directed the "Tillai Val Andanars" to light a purificatory fire from which Nanda would emerge unscathed and enter the temple of the Lord.

Nanda came out of the ordeal of fire as a holy, resplendent ascetic, with a holy thread across his chest. He then went into the temple of Nataraja only to merge with the Lord.

The story has a far-reaching lesson: Nanda proved by his deep devotion to Siva that he was a holy power to reckon with. Far from being a creed adopted by a small section of the community, Saivism could capture the minds of even the "lowliest of the low" (by accident of birth) and open out for them possibilities of attaining the highest bliss of the vision of the Lord and final beatitude.

This soul-stirring story of Nandanar (*Tiru-nalaip-povar*) is immortalised in Sekkilar's *Periya Puranam*, on which the above version is based. It is therefore authentic.

Gopalakrishna Bharati, who composed a Tamil opera called "Nandanar Caritam" more than a century ago, lived in Mayiladuturai (then called Mayuram) and Sirkali and was a great devotee of Lord Nataraja of Cidambaram. We make a detailed reference to him in Chapter Twenty-six. Bharati's account differs vitally from the *Periya Puranam* account. Bharati introduces a *brahmana* landlord, whose land Nandanar tills and who refuses Nandan permission to go to Cidambaram till the lands have been fully attended to. The Lord takes care of Nandan's agricultural operations and makes it possible for Nandan to secure his master's permission to go to Cidambaram.

Nandanar's story proves that, by his period, structured temples had come into being, with a Nandi in front of the main shrine— rather a significant factor in the evolution of temple structures and the *Linga* concept (Sivalokanatha at Tiruppungur).

The expression 'வித்தின்றி நாறு செய்வானும்' of Appar's may refer to Nandanar.

Homakkulam, a tank on the outskirts of the town of Cidambaram, is considered holy, being taken to be the spot where Nandanar is reputed to have emerged from the ordeal of fire to obtain the *darsan* of the Lord. There is a small, recently - built temple of Nandanar in the south-west corner of the town.

It is possible to hold the view that the *Periya Puranam* account of Nandanar is meagre, but the lessons are forcefully brought out. The emphasis in the *Periya Puranam* version is on *carya* and *mukti*. Gopalakrishna Bharati's "Nandanar Caritram" has of course, a powerful appeal; the lessons are identical. The musical charm of the latter is undoubtedly irresistible.

Kurruva Nayanar

We have referred briefly to Kurruva Nayanar in Chapter Two, where we have spoken of Koc-cenganan's role in the history of the Cidambaram Nataraja temple. In a brief *Puranam*, Sekkilar brings out the interesting story of Kurruva Nayanar. A Chieftain of Kalandai (probably connected with the Chieftains of Kodumbalur in Pudukkottai territory) — associated by some scholars with the Kalabhra Interregnum — he had become quite powerful, and took possession of many places in the Cola and Pandya country.

Kurruva therefore desired that the 'Tillai Muvayiravar' (The Three Thousand of Tillai) should crown him at Tillai, as was done to the Cola kings. But the 'Tillai Muvayiravar' reiterated their loyalty to the Cola line and refused to crown him at Cidambaram.*

As the Tillai Muvayiravar feared persecution by Kurruva, they left Cidambaram at once and sought shelter with the Cera monarch. Only one of them stayed behind at Cidambaram for the performance of the temple rituals.

When Kurruva was in anguish over this turn of events, Siva appeared before him in a dream and "crowned" him by placing His feet upon his head. The *Puranam* does not tell us what happened to the Tillai *brahmanas* who had sought shelter in the Cera country; but it should be presumed that they returned to Cidambaram after Kurruva Nayanar's period.

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* 'செம்பியர்தம்
தொல்லை நீடும் குலமுதலோர்க் கன்றி சூட்டோம் முடி'

In the *Kurruva Nayanar Puranam* (a chapter of the *Periya Puranam*) the *arcakas* are called இருமை மரபும் தூயவர்தாம் (Vedic and Agamic). This is significant.

Tilial Val Andanar

It must be remembered that the *Periya Puranam*, which speaks of the Sixty-three Nayanmar opens with the chapter on 'Tillai Val Andanar'. So they are ranked as the foremost among the Sixty-three Nayanmar.

The special class of *brahmanas* who perform the services of temple worship to the Lord of Cidambaram (Tillai) are called in the *Periya Puranam* as 'Tillai Val Andanar', a term that literally means 'the *brahmanas* who live in Tillai'. The current name given to them is 'Dikshitars'. The term 'Tillai Muvayiravar' refers to the same group. More on this subject in Chapter Twenty-three on "Dikshitars and Temple Administration".

Candesvara Nayanar Puranam

This *Puranam* mentions that Tillai was one of the five centres for the coronation of the Cola kings.

In later times, the Hundred- and Thousand- Pillared *Mantapas* at Cidambaram were also used as coronation halls.

பெரியபுராணம் – சண்டேசுரநாயனார் புராணம்

"சென்னியவன் குலோத்துங்க சோழன்றில்லைத் திருவெல்லை
பொன்னின் மயமாக்கிய வளவர்பேரே றென்றும் புவிகாக்கும்
மன்னர்பெருமா னநபாயன் வருந்தொன் மரபின் முடிசூட்டுந்
தன்மைநிலவு பதியைந்தி னொன்றாய் நீடுந் தகைத்தவ்வூர்."

This is a touching story of how a young *brahmana* boy moulded a *linga* out of sand, using the milk drawn from the cows of the village for the *abhishekam* of the *linga* and how this act angered his father; and when the latter obstructed the son's worship, the angry son cut off the legs of his father with a stick which had turned into an axe. Siva and Parvati appeared on the scene and granted liberation to the entire family, and Siva told Candesvara that, as he had lost his **father**, the Lord Himself would be his father. Candesvara is assigned a special position among the *Panca-murti's* (the five deities) in any festival procession. Gifts to temples have been made by many rulers in the name of Candesvara.

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CHAPTER 14

Discovery of the Devaram Hymns

Among many other things, '*Devaram*' has been interpreted as '*Deva-aram*' (garland to the Gods). Deeply inspired by devotion to Siva, the ritual singing of the Devaram, also known as the *Tiruppadiyam*, in temples, is a practice of great antiquity; the singers of these hymns of Appar, Sambandhar and Sundarar were known as "*Tiruppadiyam Vinnappam Seyvar*" or "*Pidarar*". We have no way of knowing when exactly this practice began, but, from about the middle of the eighth century A.D., we have inscriptional evidence of endowments being made for this purpose.

The earliest epigraphical reference to such an endowment is found at Tiruvallam and relates to the seventeenth year of the reign of the Pallava Vijaya Nandivikraman *alias* Nandivarman (II), of the middle of the eighth century A.D. There are only very few Early Cola gifts for the recitation of the Devaram hymns. Without any pretensions to a full survey, we can trace at least three of them to the reign of Parantaka I. They are at Tiruvadutural (third year- A.R.E. 139 of 1925), Lalgudi (thirty-seventh year- A.R.E. 373 of 1903) and Andanallur (fourteenth year - A.R.E. 358 of 1903, see p.16 of "Early Chola Temples"). Then we come to the reign of Rajaraja I.

Rajaraja I had a strong religious bent of mind. His patron deities were Adavallan (Nataraja) of Cidambaram and Tyagesa (or Vitankar) of Tiruvarur. His religious fervour took two forms: one was the building of temples, the other was his desire to unearth the vast and rich treasures of the Devaram hymns, believed hidden and not very much in vogue during his time. He decided to recover this great legacy.

The Devaram hymns came to be better known and sung more intensively after the discovery of the Devaram hymns in the reign of Rajaraja I.

Sivapadasekhara ('one with his forehead at the feet of Siva') as his surname was, Rajaraja was filled with despair, when his search for the Devaram hymns proved futile for long. Then he heard of the miracles wrought by the great saint of Tirunaraiyur, Nambi Andar Nambi.

Umapati Sivacarya has recorded in verse this story of the recovery and redaction of the chief Tamil Saivite canons in his work "Tirumurai kanda Puranam".

Tirunaraiyur, which means 'the village of the holy crane', is intimately connected with Cidambaram. It is now an obscure village, approximately a mile south of the main road from Cidambaram to Kattu-mannargudi, about twelve miles west of Cidambaram and not far from the town of Komaratchi. According to the *sthala purana* (local legend), a *gandharva* was picking fruit from a tree under which a sage was engaged in penance. He dropped one in front of the sage, thus interrupting his meditation. The sage was annoyed and transformed him into a crane, which form he rid himself of, at last, by worshipping at the temple in this village. Hence the name, Tirunaraiyur.

This village was the home of Nambi Andar Nambi. It is said that Nambi's father was a priest at the temple of Pollappillaiyar of Tirunaraiyur (in Sonadu). One day, the father, who had to visit a neighbouring village, commissioned his son to deputise for him. The boy carried out his father's instructions, had the Lord bathed, and then placed the rice offerings before Him; when he found that the Pillaiyar did not respond, he was about to knock his head against a stone in vexation. Suddenly the Lord stopped him and ate all the offerings as desired. Then the boy said that he was late for school and he feared that the teacher would scold him; he requested the Lord Himself to teach him his lessons. The Lord did so. This was repeated on the following days, too, to the wonder of the world.

The news of this great miracle reached the ears of the king then in distress over the mystery of the missing Devaram hymns.

Rajaraja I rushed to Tirunaraiyur, arranged a festival in honour of the Pillaiyar and requested the miracle boy to help him recover the Devaram hymns. Inspired by his Pillaiyar, Nambi revealed that the full set of the Devaram hymns lay in a heap of *cadjan* leaves in a room in the western *prakara* of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram under the seals of the hymnists themselves. The king and Nambi went to Cidambaram and requested the Tillai Three Thousand to open the sealed room. The Dikshitars replied that the room could be opened only when the hymnist - saints themselves were physically present. The Cola king then hit upon a strategem. He arranged a festival in honour of the Tamil Nayanmar. Their images were placed in front of the room. The seals broke and the closed room was thrown open. As prophesied, the *cadjan* heap was there, covered however with a mound, full of white ants flourishing upon the leaves. The king was in great distress. He was consoled by a divine voice that said that the heap still contained whatever was necessary for that age. Oil was poured over the heap and the extant leaves were salvaged. Nambi Andar Nambi's redaction of the Devaram hymns led to a new life for these hymns, with Cidambaram (Tiruccirrambalam) as its centre. Cidambaram became the *Koyil — the* temple of all Saivite temples in the Tamil land and Rajaraja the saviour of the Tamil hymns.

It was a glorious day in the history of Cidambaram, a day next in importance only to that on which the Nataraja cult was instituted and the Lord performed His dance divine to bestow grace on His devotees. With one bound, the Cidambaram temple became 'the temple of temples' for the Saivites, the very hub of their religious life. Nambi's redaction of the Saivite canons made this place the pivot of the whole religious system. Sivapadasekhara was thrilled.

Even in Nambi Andar Nambi's time, there was apparently some difficulty in making the collection of hymns complete, as may be seen from one of Sambandhar's hymns found inscribed on the wall of the temple at Tiruvidaivayil in the Nannilam taluk of Tanjavur district, and not present among the recovered hymns of Nambi Andar's days.

Some scholars hold that this great event of the recovery of the *Devaram* hymns took place during the reign of Aditya I, not that of Rajaraja I. The appended note examines the source material on which this theory is built and how this view is not sustainable. There is, as far as we know, no reference to endowments for the recitation of *Devaram* hymns during the reign of Aditya I.

Thrilled with the recovery of the lost hymns, the greatest contribution made by any king for the growth of Tamil literature, Rajaraja I arranged for the recitation of the hymns in the temple of his creation at the capital. He appointed 48 *Pidarars* or *Tiruppadiyam-vinnappam-seyvars*, for singing the hymns before Rajarajesvarar, and two drummers to play on the kettle drum and the big drum to keep beat as others sang (S.I.I., II, 65) and made liberal provision for their and their successors' maintenance. Rajaraja I also cast an image of Siva (as Candrasekhara) before whom he practised daily the singing of Devaram, and this deity is named in his inscription as Devaradevar.

The singing of Devaram hymns by *oduvars* (professional singers of the Devaram hymns in Saivite temples) was also followed in other temples of the Tamil land, a practice which is being given its due importance in modern times as well.

The Devaram hymns are mentioned only as '*Tiruppadigam*' in all early Cola inscriptions. As pointed out earlier, the earliest mention of the Devaram hymns is found in an inscription of the 17th year of Vijaya Nandi Vikrama *alias* Nandi Varman of the eighth century, found at Tiruvallam. It provides for an endowment of paddy for the singing of '*Tiruppadigam*' in a local temple. There are also a number of other endowments for the singing of '*Tiruppadigam*' before the days of Rajaraja I. It is therefore not correct to say that there were no Devaram hymns in currency before the reign of Rajaraja I. We can only guess that just a few hymns of this sacred collection were available to the public or there might have been a temporary break in the oral tradition; and it was therefore the keen desire and earnest endeavour of Rajaraja I to recover, if possible, all of them.

Notes on the views of Pandarathar and Vellai Varanar

The fact that the recovery of the Devaram hymns is to be attributed to Rajaraja I is evident from the two works of Umapati Sivacarya, the great *Samayacarya* of the Saiva Siddhanta school (late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries). In his *Nambi Andar Nambi Puranam* alias *Tirumurai Kanda Puranam*, he states that the king concerned was *"...alahil-puhal-peru Rasarasamannan Abhayakula-sekharan"* (stanza 1), and again refers to that king as *"Irasarasa mannavan"* in stanza 6, and as "Kulasekhara" in stanza 13. In his other work, *Tiruttondar purana Varalaru* alias *Sekkilar Svamigal Puranam*, this king is referred to as *"Siya-Tirumurai-Kanda Rasarasadeva"* (stanza 24).

Despite these clear indications of the name of the king concerned, two Tamil Scholars — T.V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, in his "History of the Later Cholas" (in Tamil, Annamalai University), and, perhaps following his lead, Vellai Varanar, in his *"Panniru Tirumuraigal"* (in Tamil, Annamalai University) — hold the view that this achievement is to be ascribed to Aditya I. To support this view, they cite four stanzas (nos.50,65, 81 and 82) from *Tiruttondar Tiruvandadi* written by Nambi Andar Nambi himself; this, incidentally, is an enlarged version of Saint Sundaramurti Nayanar's *Tiruttondat-togai*, and these two works together form the source for Sekkilar's *Periya Puranam* alias *Tiruttondar Puranam.*

Of these, stanza 50 is on Pugal Cola Nayanar, described there as *"Kogana-nathan Kulamudalon". Kogana-nathan* means the sun, and since Aditya is a synonym, the above scholars have apparently interpreted the description above as "an ancestor of Aditya". This appears far-fetched; the obvious translation would be "a scion of the solar dynasty" and, since the Colas claimed to belong to it, would simply mean "a Cola".

Stanza 65 is on Idangali Nayanar, described there as *"Cirrambala Mugadu Kongirk-kanakam aninda Adittan Kulamudalon"* (an ancestor of Aditya who gilded Cirrambalam with the gold obtained as booty from the conquest of Kongu). This description is echoed in Sekkilar's *Periya Puranam:* stanza 3 of the *Idangali Nayanar Puranam:"manniya ponnambalattu mani muhattil* *pak-Kongin-pannu-tulaip-pasumponnal payil-pilambam misaiyaninda ponneduntol Adittan pugalmarabir-kudimudalor".* The reference here may be taken to be to Aditya I.

Stanzas 81 and 82 are on Koccengat-Colan *alias* Koccenganan. Stanza 81 calls him a Sembiyan (Cola) and stanza 82 describes him as *"sempon anindu Cirrambalattai Sivalokam eidi namban kalal kil irundon Kulamudal"* (an ancestor of [the king] who gilded Cirrambalam and made it a Sivaloka [on earth] and sat at the feet of the Lord [there]). There is no explicit mention of Aditya I as the king referred to here; it could be any one of the many Cola kings who gilded the Cidambaram temple, even Rajaraja I himself.

The two scholars take the last description to refer to Aditya I apparently since his name is explicitly mentioned in a similar context in stanza 65. Thus they conclude that all the three stanzas (50,65 and 82) refer to the same king, namely Aditya I, and hence that Nambi Andar Nambi must have been his contemporary and that the recovery of the Devaram hymns must therefore have taken place during his time.

Our view is that only stanza 65 makes any explicit reference to Aditya I. As for stanza 82, Aditya I is not the only king credited with gilding the sacred hall at Cidambaram: for instance, the description there finds an echo in Umapati Sivacarya's *Tiruttondar Purana Varalaru,* making a reference to Kulottunga II *alias* Anapaya, who also gilded the above hall and by his acts of merit converted Cidambaram into a Kailasa on earth: *"Perumparrappuliyur Bhuloka-Sivalokam-enappolindu tonra".* (The Periyapuranam, incidentally, confirms that Koccenganan was an ancestor of Anapaya and thus of the Imperial Colas: "Anapayan *mundai varum kulamudalor aya mudar Senganar").* The three stanzas quoted merely imply that the three king-saints they refer to were Colas and ancestors of the Imperial Cola dynasty but do not in any way prove that Nambi Andar Nambi was a contemporary of Aditya I. Thus the theory that Nambi Andar Nambi recovered the Devaram in the days of Aditya I has to be discarded in favour of the theory that such a recovery was made in the days of Rajaraja I.

The view of the Government Epigraphist that the Devaram hymns were retrieved and compiled during the reign of Kulottunga I cannot be sustained either (see para 34, p.149, ARE 1918).

Tiruttondar Puranam

Sundarar, of the latter half of the eighth century and the early quarter of the ninth century according to some scholars and early eighth century according to some others, is the author of *Tiruttondattogai*, which is the first and basic work on the lives of the Sixty-three Nayanmar of the Tamil land. This is followed by Nambi Andar Nambi's *Tiruttondar Tiru-Andadi,* which is an elaboration of Sundarar's *Tiruttondattogai*.

After Nambi Andar Nambi came Sekkilar, in the reign of Kulottunga II (Anapaya, twelfth century), who wrote the elaborate *Tiruttondar Puranam,* popularly known as the *Periya Puranam*. This is a great Tamil classic, dealing elaborately with the lives and achievements of the Sixty-three Nayanmar and nine Togai-Adiyars or groups of saints. Then came Umapati Sivacarya of the early fourteenth century, who, amongst his many literary and philosophical treatises, has to his credit the *Tirumurai Kanda Puranam* and *Tiruttondar Purana Varalaru* or *Sekkilar Svamigal Puranam.*

In the first, he refers to the king who was responsible for the recovery of the Devaram hymns as Rajaraja *alias* Abhaya Kulasekhara (vide stanzas 1 to 6).

In the light of the evidence in the note above, it is clear that Nambi Andar Nambi lived in the days of Rajaraja I and not of Aditya I.

Umapati has again stated in his *Sekkilar Puranam* that the patron of Nambi Andar Nambi who recovered the *Tirumurai* was the Cola king, Rajaraja (stanza 24).

Tirunaraiyur Temple

The Siva temple in Tirunaraiyur has great historical value. The Mulasthana shrine is that of Sri Soundaresvarar (known in records as Svayamprakasa Svami) with Tripura-Sundari Amman. The *garbhagrha*, the *antarala* and the *snapana mantapa* are guarded by two *dvarapalas* at the entrance to the *snapana mantapa.* In the *devakoshtas* of the main shrine are to be found Nartana Ganapati, Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhava, Brahma and Durga. There are excellent bronzes of the *Narai* (the crane of the legend which gives this village its name), of Nambi Andar Nambi and his patron king, Rajaraja Cola I, Meykanda Devar, Adippura Amman and the four well-known saints — Appar, Sambandhar, Sundarar and Manikkavacakar. On the southern side of the main shrine is one of Pollappillaiyar associated with the famous recovery of the Devaram hymns.

Devaram Tradition

It is necessary to realise that when we go along to a Siva shrine singing the hymns composed by the great Nayanmar over more than a thousand years ago, we associate ourselves with a great tradition — which links us directly with these saints as well as with these hallowed shrines. The Oduvars, who sing many of these hymns at the *puja* time and the schools now being conducted for the purpose of teaching Devaram to the younger generation, are thereby conserving a truly great tradition. Our culture has been preserved over thousands of years by the strength and continuity of the oral tradition and our memory power — whether it be the Vedas or the Devaram hymns or the Alvar Pasurams. We cannot afford to dilute this hallowed tradition.

The *sthalas* (those holy spots where the Nayanmar have sung the praise of the local manifestation of Siva) are described as the 'padal perra sthalas' (places sung of by those Saints). It has been rightly held that the Nayanmar are part of the iconography and the ritual of the temple. The *oduvars* have been employed to sing these hymns as part of the temple ritual right from the days of the Cola rulers, particularly from the days of Raja Raja I. Other devotees, too, who share the zeal for the recital of the Devaram, including some of the Dikshitar fraternity of Cidambaram, join in the recital of the hymns.

A.R.E. 341 of 1913 refers to a Tamil inscription on the East Gopuram at Cidambaram which mentions Solakulavalli (Queen of Kulottunga I) with the statement that provision was made for singing the *pamalai* (hymns) of the Nayanmar (Saiva saints) in the temple of Tirumulattana-mudaiyan. (This inscription which also refers to the village of Kalumalam — one of the twelve names of Sirkali — reflects the new fervour which the Devaram hymns evoked.)

Cidambaram is referred to in the Devaram hymns as Koyil i.e., the 'temple of temples' and, in inscriptions it is generally called Tirukkoyil, 'the most venerable temple'.

Note

In her book 'Poems to Siva' (First Indian Edition, Delhi, 1991, pp. 15-18), Dr. Indira Viswanathan Peterson (Associate Professor and Chair-person, Asian Studies Program, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts, U.S.A.) makes the following observations:

"The story of the canonization of the Tevaram is told in a fourteenth century work, the Tirumurai--kanta puranam (The story of the Discovery of the Tirumurai). According to the Puranam, the eleventh century Cola king 'Apayakulacekaran' asked the poet Nampi Antar Nampi of Naraiyur to reveal the hymns and the lives of the Saiva Saints to the world"

In a foot-note, Dr.Indira Peterson refers to Zvelebil's 'Tamil literature' (1975, p.134) wherein, identifying 'Apayakulacekaran' as Kulottunga III (A.D.1070-1122), Zvelebil places Nampi Antar Nampi in the period A.D.1080-1100.

Obviously we cannot accept Zvelebil's interpretation for reasons explained in our text. There are two errors. The king Kulottunga who ruled from A.D. 1070 to 1122 was Kulottunga I and not Kulottunga III. Kulottunga III ruled from A.D. 1178 to 1218 — a ruler totally unrelated to this subject.

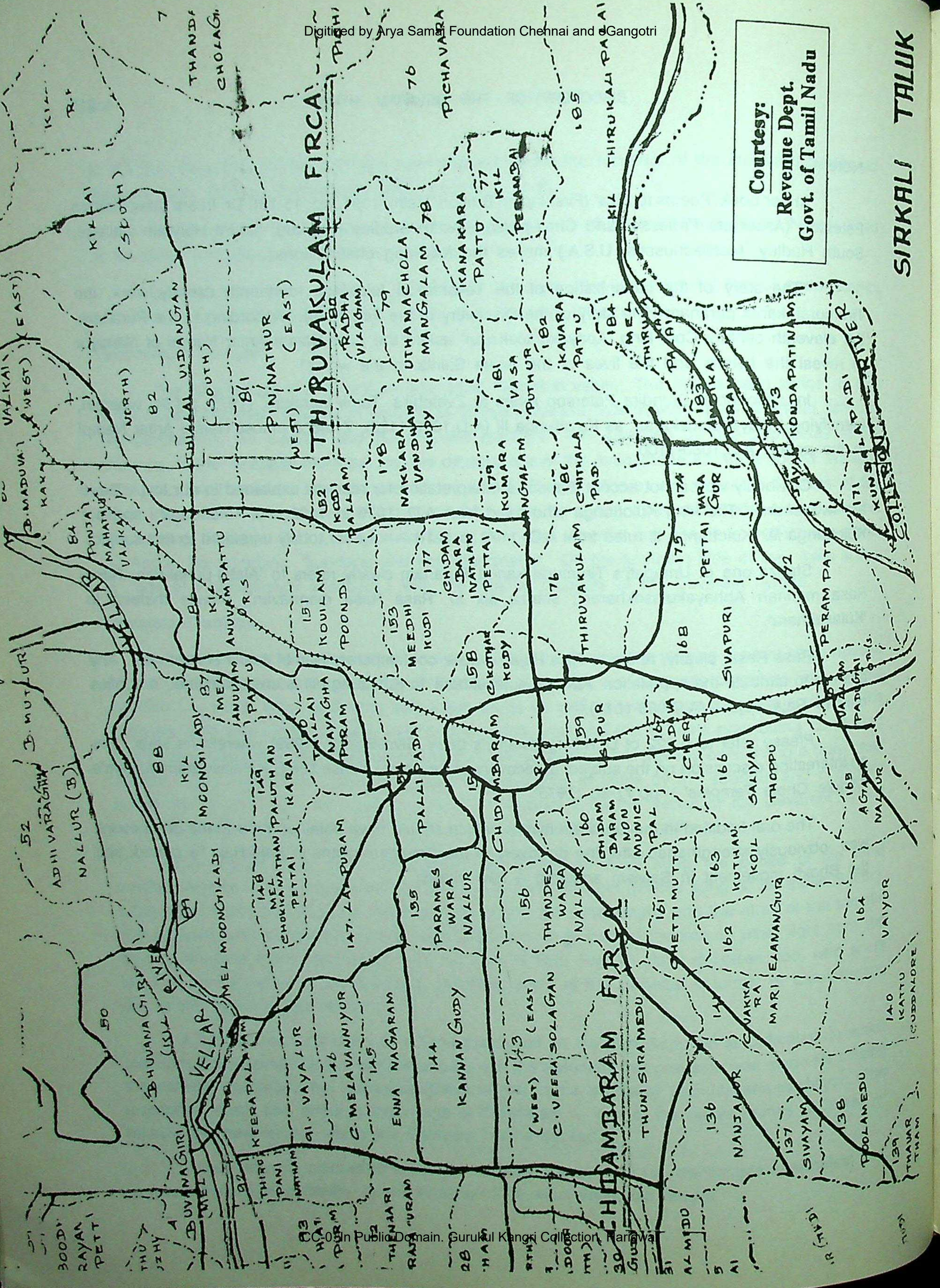
Stanza one of Umapati's Tirumurai kanda Puranam clearly refers to 'Alahil-puhal-peru Rasa Rasa mannan Abhayakulasekharan'; stanza six to 'Rasa Rasa mannavan'; Stanza thirteen to 'Kulasekhara'.

Rasa Rasa, clearly, refers to Raja Raja I whose contemporary Nambi Andar Nambi was. Any attempt to attribute the appellation 'Abhaya Kulasekhara' to Kulottunga III is unsustainable. It applies only to Raja Raja I (A.D.985-1014).

Please refer to p.222 of Dr.R.Nagaswamy's book 'Siva Bhakti' (1989) wherein he says: "For an interesting discussion on the subject of recovery of Devaram, please see S.R.Balasubrahmanyam's 'Middle Chola Temples' - pp.77-80 :1975".

The oral tradition in the Devaram hymns, which should have obtained prior to the great event, was obviously strengthened after the discovery of the Devaram hymns in Raja Raja I's period, and the Bhakti movement in Saivism acquired a new vitality.

* * *


SIRKALI TALUK
THIRUVAKULAM FIRCA
CHIDAMBARAM FIRCA
VELLAR RIVER
COLLEROON RIVER
THIRUKALIPALAI
PICHAVARAM
KILLAI
THILLAI VIDANGAN (NORTH)
THILLAI VIDANGAN (SOUTH)
PININATHUR (EAST)
PININATHUR (WEST)
RADHA VILAGAM
UTHAMACHOLA MANGALAM
KANAKARA PATTU
KIL PERAMBAI
VASA PUTHUR
KAVARA PATTU
MEL THIRUKALI PALAI
AMBIKAPURAM
JAYAKONDAPATINAM
KUNDALAPADI
NAKKARA VANDHAN KUDY
KODI PALLAM
KUMARAMANGALAM
CHITHALAPADI
PETTAI VARAGUR
CHIDAMBARA NATHAN PETTAI
THIRUVAKULAM
SIVAPURI
PERAMPATTU
KOVILAMPOONDI
MEEDHIKUDI
C.KOTHANGUDI
KIL ANUVAMPATTU
MEL ANUVAMPATTU
THILLAI NAYAGHAPURAM
PALLIPADAI
CHIDAMBARAM
USUPUR
MADAVACHERY
VALLAMPADUGAI
KIL MOONGILADI
MEL MOONGILADI
MEL CHOKKANATHAN PETTAI
PALUTHAN KARAI
LALPURAM
PARAMESWARA NALLUR
THANDESWARA NALLUR
CHIDAMBARAM NON MUNICIPAL
SALIYAN THOPPU
KUTHAN KOIL
AGARA NALLUR
CHETTI MUTTU
ELANANGUR
VAIYUR
ADHIVARAGHA NALLUR (B)
BHUVANAGIRI (KIL)
BHUVANAGIRI (MEL)
KEERAPALAYAM
VAYALUR
C. MELAVANNIYUR
ENNA NAGARAM
KANNANGUDY
C. VEERA SOLAGAN (EAST)
C. VEERA SOLAGAN (WEST)
THUNISIRAMEDU
NANJALUR
MARI KUDAKKARA
KATTU CUDDALORE
POOLAMEDU
SIVAYAM
THAVARTHAM
B. MUTLUR
B. MADUVANKARAI
PUNJAMAHATHU VALKAI
VALKAI (WEST)
VALKAI (EAST)
KILLAI (SOUTH)
THANDA CHOLAGA
R.S.

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SECTION II

The Philosophy of the Nataraja Concept

CHAPTER 15

Cidambara Rahasyam

(The 'Great Secret' of Cidambaram)

In our endeavour to comprehend Nataraja, we must go to the Chandogya Upanishad — Chapter VIII, Section One — on what is commonly known as *Dahara Vidya* — learning about the secret of the subtle cavity of the heart.

1. ओं अथ यदिदमस्मिन्ब्रह्मपुरे दहरं पुण्डरीकं वेश्म दहरोऽस्मिन्नन्तराकाशस्तस्मिन्यदन्तस्तदन्वेष्टव्यं तद्वाव विजिज्ञासितव्यमिति।।

Om. Now, what is here in this City of Brahma (the body) is an abode, a small lotus flower (the heart). Within that is a small space. What is within that is to be realized. That, assuredly, is what one should desire to understand. ('*Dahara*' means 'small'.) In that dwelling, since the dwelling is small, that which is included in it is smaller than it—*antah* (in that dwelling) is *akasah*, space called *Brahman*. *Brahman* is like space because of 'unembodiedness' and because of the similarity in qualities of subtleness and all-pervasivenees.

2. तं चेद्ब्रूयुर्यदिदमस्मिन्ब्रह्मपुरे दहरं पुण्डरीकं वेश्म दहरोऽस्मिन्नन्तराकाश: किं तदत्र विद्यते यदन्वेष्टव्यं यद्वाव विजिज्ञासितव्यमिति।।

If they should say to him, 'Now, that within the City of Brahman there is this small lotus-like dwlling and within it is a small space, what is it that exists there which is to be sought for and understood?'

3. स ब्रूयात् यावान्वा अयमाकाशस्तावानेषोऽन्तर्हृदय आकाश उभे अस्मिन्द्यावापृथिवी अन्तरेव समाहिते उभावग्निश्च वायुश्च सूर्यचन्द्र समावुभौ विद्युन्नक्षत्राणि यच्चास्येहास्ति यच्च नास्ति सर्वं तदस्मिन्समाहितमिति।।

He should reply: 'This space within the heart is as vast and extensive as cosmic space. Within it are contained both heaven and earth, as also both fire and air, both Sun and Moon, both lightning and stars; whatever there is of Him in this world and whatever is not — all that is contained within it'.

The '*sakala*' form is visible, with parts. The '*nishkala*' form is invisible, transcendent, without parts. Siva is *nishkala* — without parts or adjuncts, perfect in Himself, the Absolute Lord. But He is capable of manifestation to energise souls and assume a *sakala* form.

In Chapter Fifteen of *Cidambara Mahatmyam*, the Lord says: 'I have two forms: *sakala* and *nishkala*. Those who control their senses can perceive my *sakala* form through their eyes and in deep meditation. The mortals, however, cannot perceive my *nishkala* form because it is 'beyond form', 'beyond sight' and calls for "unstained meditation".

The Kanaka Sabha/Cit Sabha, where Nataraja and Sivakamasundari are manifested, represents the *sakala* state of Siva.

The *Cit-Akasa Rahasyam,* where the Supreme Siva is enshrined as limitless space, is the *nishkala* state of Siva. (The *sphatika linga,* Candramaulisvara, is the *sakala-nishkala* 'formless form' of Nataraja.) Inside the heart is the *daharakasa*. Inside the *daharakasa* is the *Cit Akasa.*

The Upanishad brings this out clearly:

दह्रं विपापं परवेश्मभूतम् हृत्पुंडरीकं पुरमध्यसंस्थम्।
तत्रापिदह्रं गगनंविशोकम् तस्मिन्यदंतस्तदुपासितव्यम्।।

"*Dahara-akasa* is in the *hrdaya kamala,* which is in the centre of the body where there is no contamination with sin and where the '*Para Siva*' dwells. It knows no sorrow. It is subtle and small. Inside it resides *Cit-akasa*. The *Paramatma's* body is this *Cit-akasa*. He alone is worthy of being worshipped by the (*mumukshus*) seekers after liberation."

The Upanishads identify *akasa* — space — with *Brahman*. *Akasa* is also identified by the Upanishads with *Ananda* — Supreme Bliss. We might well recall that according to the Indian tradition, the Supreme Existence, Knowledge and Bliss (Sat-Cit-Ananda) is called *Brahman,* which is visualised in *akasa*, the cosmic space. Therefore, *akasa* is called the body of the *Brahman*. So goes the Upanishad phrase "Akasa Sariram Brahma" (See Chapter Thirty). Expressed differently, *akasa* is the body, and *Brahman*, the Supreme Soul (*Paramatma*). These concepts are brought within the comprehension of the lay devotee by the concrete form of a temple — a shrine in which the Supreme Being is 'cribbed and confined' within the frame-work of the *sanctum sanctorum* of the temple. The structure of the temple is the *sarira* (the body) and "space" is symbolised too. The Lord in the innermost sanctum is both within the confines of the temple, and outside it, in limitless space.

It would be appropriate to refer here to the Second *Valli* (Brahmananda Valli), First *Anuvaka* of the Taittiriyopanishad, which speaks of the 'five elements' — *pancabhutas.*

तस्माद्वा एतस्मादात्मन आकाश: सम्भूत:।	தஸ்மாத்வா ஏதஸ்மாதாத்மன ஆகாச: ஸம்பூத:|
आकाशाद्वायु: वायोरग्नि:। अग्नेराप:।	ஆகாசாத்வாயு:| வாயோரக்னி:| அக்னேராப:|
अद्भय: पृथिवी। पृथिव्या ओषधय:	அத்ப்ய: ப்ருதிவீ | ப்ருதிவ்யா ஓஷதய:|
ओषधीभ्योऽन्नम्। अन्नात्पुरुष:।	ஓஷதீப்யோऽன்னம்| அன்னாத்புருஷ:|

This verse explains the course of evolution from the primal *Atman* through the five elements to the human person.

"From this Soul (Atman), verily space (*akasa*) arose; from space, Wind (Vayu); from Wind, Fire (Agni); from Fire, Water; from Water, the Earth; from Earth, herbs; from herbs, food; and from food, the person (man) came into existence.

In *Porrit-tiruvahaval* in his *Tiruvackam,* Manikkavacakar has given expression to the place of the five elements in the scheme of things:

137. பாரிடை யைந்தாய்ப் பரந்தாய் போற்றி
138. நீரிடை நான்காய் நிகழ்ந்தாய் போற்றி

பார் - நிலம்
நிலமாகிய ஐந்தாவது பூதமாயும் நீராகிய நான்காவது பூதமாயும் பரிணமித்துள்ள உன்னை வணங்குகின்றேன்.

139. தீயிடை மூன்றாய்த் திகழ்ந்தாய் போற்றி

140. வளியிடை யிரண்டாய் மகிழ்ந்தாய் போற்றி

141. வெளியிடை யொன்றாய் விளைந்தாய் போற்றி

142. யளிபவ ருள்ளத் தமுதே போற்றி **போற்றித் திருவகவல்**

வளி–வாயு. வெளி–ஆகாசம். அளிதல்–முற்றும் கனிதல்.

மூன்றாவது பூதமாகிய அக்னியாகவும் இரண்டாவது பூதமாகிய வாயுவாகவும் முதல் பூதமாகிய ஆகாசமாகவும் இருப்பவனே போற்றி, மனம் முற்றிலும் பரிபக்குவமாயிருப்பவர் உள்ளத்தில் அமிர்தமாக ஒளிர்பவனே போற்றி.

To drive home the point that the Supreme Being has Himself 'embodied' the 'five elements' (*Panca-bhuta's*), the Lord has manifested Himself as *Akasa linga* in Cidambaram, *Vayu linga* in Kalahasti, *Agni linga* in Tiruvannamalai, *Apa linga* in Tiruvanaikka (Jambukesvaram) and *Prthivi linga* in Kancipuram. It is only the 'totally dedicated and evolved souls' that can perceive the effulgence of the *Brahman*.

How is the *Akasa linga* at Cidambaram concretised? Cidambaram is also called Pundarikapuram: the temple is conceived of as the lotus-shaped heart, the *hrdaya kamalam*, of the *Virat Purusha* (the Cosmic Being). At Cidambaram, Siva assumes the form of *Akasa* and, in the subtle small space (*dahara*), He manifests the principle of the secret (*rahasya*) *Cit Svarupa*. So the temple at Cidambaram is looked upon as the Lord's body, the Cit Sabha as the *hrdaya kamalam* (lotus-heart) and the subtle (*sukshma*) *Rahasya sthala* within which Paramesvara is regarded as *Cit Svarupa* is looked upon as the *Sukshma akasa* (the subtle ether). Paramesvara is regarded as displaying His manifestation as *Cit-ananda* in the shape of *Ananda Natana* (blissful dance) and therefore as Ananda Nataraja.

The Cit Sabha, in which Nataraja and Sivakamasundari are enshrined, is sacred because the *Brahma-tattva* (principle or truth of Brahman) is effulgent as *Cit* in Cidambaram. And the *Brahma-tattva* shines in the *Om-kara*. *Cit* is the *dahara akasa*, the small, subtle cavity which enshrines the *rahasyam* (secret) and is the source of all the effulgence of *jnana* (knowledge).

"By this Immutable Brahman is space pervaded," says the Brhadaranyaka Upanishad (Chap. III, 8-11). एतस्मिन् उखलु अक्षरे आकाशः ओतः च प्रोतः च।

What is this 'great secret' called 'Cidambara Rahasyam'? Nataraja represents the *Sakala* or embodied form of the Lord; the crystal *linga*, Candramaulisvara, the *Sakala-nishkala*, or 'formed-formless form' of the Lord; and the *Rahasya* or the Cidambara-*yantra*, the Lord's transcendental (*nishkala*) form.

To the proper right of Nataraja in the *sanctum sanctorum* is a *maya-yavanika* (a black curtain), behind which are quite a few strings of golden *vilva* leaves hanging in a row. To those who look upon them with earthly eyes and on whom only something in concrete shape can make an impression, it is Cidambara Rahasyam ! It is only a symbol of something infinite — space, *akasa*. It embodies, according to those who have access to the *sanctum sanctorum, Sri cakra, Cidambara cakra, Sammelana cakra, Mahatandava cakra, Tiraskarani cakra,* and *Ananda cakra,* and these constitute the Cidambara Rahasya. This space is looked upon as the most sacred *mulasthana* (centre) of the *akasa sthana*. A great saint has been heard to say that the super-imposition of *Sri cakra* over *Pancakshara cakra* produces the configuration of Nataraja. This *yantra* is regarded as the symbol of 'space' and is the *Akasa linga* which is the Cidambara Rahasyam ('the great secret of Cidambaram'). The question has often been asked by some scholars: if it is space such as found everywhere, how could Cidambaram be venerated as representing the *cit-akasa*? The answer is: it derives its meaning, sanctity and importance from its location and association. To the believer, any controversy on this aspect is sheer heresy and blasphemy.

The layout inside the Cit Sabha is of considerable interest. The five steps leading to the Cit Sabha represent Brahma, Vishnu, Rudra, Mahesvara and Sadasiva. The door leading into it symbolises Illusion (*avarana* or cover thereof). The ninety-six *tattvas* —*Prakrti, Vikrti,* etc. are in the shape of ninety-six windows. The four 'golden' pillars in the middle of the Cit Sabha represent the four Vedas. The twenty-eight wooden pillars around represent the twenty-eight *Sivagamas (Kamika, Makuta,* etc.). The space encompassed by these is known as *Suddha Vidya* or *Brahma Vidya*. The area between the Cidambara Rahasyam and the icon of Nataraja is called the *Pranava Pitham*. It is regarded as the *saguna* manifestation receiving the message through the *Pranava Pitham*; and the Cidambara Rahasyam is but the symbolism of the Supreme Being, the embodiment of eternal bliss, infinite space and divine knowledge (*Jnanananda paramakasa*).

Sivakamasundari, to the proper left of the Lord in the Cit Sabha, the Parasakti Who is the embodiment of Iccha Sakti, is looked upon as the Mahamaya Sakti.

Although the Supreme Being is in subtle (the *sukshma*) form in the Cidambara Rahasyam, all the principles are forcefully brought out in the gross (*sthula*) form also; Natarajamurti, the subtle Nataraja in the shape of Ratnasabhapati, and the subtle form again in the *sphatika linga.*

Tradition describes the universe as the body of the *Virat purusha*. Six sacred centres are linked with this tradition:

श्रीपर्वतं शिरस्थाने केदारं तु ललाटके वाराणसी महाप्राज्ञ भ्रुवोर्घ्रणिस्य मध्यमे कुरुक्षेत्रं कुचस्थाने
प्रयागं हृत्सरोरुहे चिदम्बरं तु हृन्मध्ये आधारे कमलालयम्

Sri Parvatam is the head; Kedaram is the forehead; Varanasi is the mid-point between the eyebrows; Kurukshetra is the chest; Prayaga is the heart; Cidambaram is the centre of the heart; Tiruvarur is the *adhara sthana* (the base).

The Fourth Chapter of the Jabala Darsanopanishad (Verses 48 and 49) furnishes this description.

The *'Cit ananda'* form is enshrined as the Ananda Nataraja —— the Dancing Lord of Infinite Bliss. The Cit Sabha has great sanctity because *Cit* or *Brahma Tattva* is enshrined there, and Nataraja, accompanied by Sivakamasundari, reflects it.

We have already indicated that the 'Cidambara Rahasyam' to the proper right of Nataraja is *'arupa'* (formless)——to symbolise the *akasa linga,* infinite space, sky, ether. A curtain (of black silk) covers it and behind it is a sheet of red silk. A number of —— said to be six —— strings with golden petals of *'vilva'* studded with precious stones are suspended in a row and symbolise the Cidambara Rahasyam. At the end of each of the six *pujas* in a day, the officiating Dikshitar alone is authorised to lift the black veil three times and give the devotees the privilege of *Rahasya darsanam,* looking on the golden *'vilva'* petals in a row of strings. This concretisation of the 'Cidambara Rahasyam' has been provided for the lay worshipper — although it is a 'formless' state of *akasa* (space, ether) which is the essence of Cidambaram. What we worship there is only *akasa*.

The *puja* for the *Rahasyam* is conducted in absolute secrecy with all the doors and windows of the Cit Sabha closed — once a day at about 7 P.M. on non-festival-days before the second *kala puja* to Nataraja in the evening series; and on festival days, when the *Panca-murtis* go out in procession along the four car streets of Cidambaram, the *Rahasya puja* is conducted in the morning as part of the second *kala puja*.

On the Ani Tirumanjanam day and the Ardra Darsanam day (the last days of the two eleven-day festivals in a year), Nataraja and Sivakamasundari leave the Thousand-Pillared *Mantapa* and after *'Darsanam'* in the eastern corridor, enter the Cit Sabha (this ceremonial entrance is the particularly auspicious *Cit Sabha Pravesam*), and on these two auspicious days, *Rahasya puja* has to be performed in the Cit Sabha in the morning at about 10 A.M.

On the Ani and Margali *darsanam* day, musky (civet) perfume is applied to the *Rahasyam*; new silk pieces replace the old ones. After the *Pancavarana puja, Sri Cakra puja* is performed. *Devi puja* and *Siva Cakra puja* follow. *Matrukanyasa puja* is also performed. A certain periodicity has been prescribed for this purpose.

The *Cidambara Rahasyam* is the immaculate, formless eternal *jyoti* (effulgence, flame), which is the form of Siva as *Daharakasa* (the infinite space in the small cavity of the heart). It is a remarkable concept and the *Rahasya* represents *cit ananda* and *cit akasa* (*jnana akasa*).

Since Cidambaram is a *daharakasa kshetra*, it is believed that when *Ardhajama puja* is performed at the Cit Sabha and the Lord 'calls it a day', the gods and goddesses of all the shrines too complete their day's schedule and merge in the *Cidambara Rahasyam* for the night; and, when in the early morning *puja*, the *pal naivedyam* is offered and Sri Siva's *padukas* are brought back to the Cit Sabha, the various gods and goddesses are deemed to return to their respective abodes. It is analogous to the situation in the human body when the five senses get merged with the heart during sleep and regain their normal activity in the awakened state; and Cidambaram is the heart.

Apart from the *Akasa* aspect, there is yet another fascinating approach to the sanctity of Cidambaram. There are six holy centres associated with this tradition (the six *adhara sthala's*) corresponding to the six mystic circles of the body:

1. *Muladhara* (a mystical circle situated above the generative organ): Tiruvarur (*prthivi sthanam*)
2. *Svadhishthanam* (between the base and the navel): Jambukesvaram or Tiruvanaikka (*appu sthanam*)
3. *Manipurakam* (navel): Tiruvannamalai (*tejas sthanam*)
4. *Anahata* (heart, fourth of the mystical circles of the body): Cidambaram (*akasa sthanam*)
5. *Kantham* (or *visuddhi*) (a mystical circle in the region of the throat): Kalahasti (*vayu sthanam*)
6. *Ajna* (*bhruva-madhye*) (mystical circle between the two brows): Varanasi *(Sadasiva* and *Manonmani sthanam)*

This system of mystic circles draws its authority from the *Halasyanatha Mahatmyam*. Nataraja is the embodiment of Sadasiva Manonmani. Cit Sabha, the *sanctum sanctorum* of Nataraja at Cidambaram, has therefore a sanctified background of spiritual symbolism.

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CHAPTER 16

Ananda Tandavam and the Nataraja concept

Ananda Tandavam, The Mystic Dance

The worship of the *linga* form of Siva in association with the five elements, earth, water, fire, wind and ether, is peculiar to Indian culture, and sacred places sanctified by such association exist in South India. Cidambaram, the seat of Nataraja, is noted for the worship of Siva in the form of *akasa* or ether — infinite space. We have already explained the concept of *Cidakasam* or the 'open space within the heart' in Chapter 15.

The *Ananda* (Supreme Bliss) which the Cosmic dance of Nataraja evokes has been variously described as *Paramananda, Paraparananda.* The Supreme Lord dances not only in the cosmos, *akasa*, but in the mind of the devotee himself. It is the combination of *Cit* and *ambara* from which 'Cidambaram' is derived.

Nataraja, the image of Siva, the Cosmic dancer, is the unique contribution of Indian thought to the world's culture; it is a vivid visualization of the cosmic creation in the unending rhythm of evolution, devolution, creation and destruction —— perpetual movement which symbolises the rhythm of the spirit, primal rhythmic energy underlying all phenomenal appearances and activity.

What is even more striking is the basic difference in the concept itself. While, for example, in the case of Krishna's *rasa-lila,* we cannot visualise the different poses and movements, Nataraja's cosmic dance has a well-determined pattern of movement, poses and disposition of the limbs. His four hands and two legs have each been assigned a specific configuration and significance as part of the total concept of the cosmic dance.

To understand the symbolism involved in the form of Nataraja, the backgound of His mystic dance, the Ananda Tandavam (the joyous dance of Nataraja) would need to be outlined, however briefly.

Ananda Tandavam is the dance that Nataraja is said to have performed in the Golden Hall of Cidambaram (*Kanaka Sabha*) and this dance forms the *motif* of South Indian bronze images of Nataraja that are invariably found in the hallowed Siva temples of the South, particularly in the Cola country. The legend behind the dance centres round the forest of Daruka, where Siva, a handsome, naked, wandering beggar proceeded, in the form of Bhikshatanar,* accompanied by Vishnu (as Mohini) and Adisesha, to confute certain heretical *Rishis.* The idea was to test the fidelity of the wives of certain sages who were proud of their chastity. Vishnu is said to have taken the form of Mohini, a beautiful woman, in order to tempt the sages. The *rishis* attempted to destroy Siva by their incantations. A fierce tiger was first created in their sacrificial fire and rushed upon Siva. Siva smiled gently, seized it and with the nail of His little finger, He peeled off its skin and wrapped it around Himself. Undeterred by their failure, the *Rishis* created a poisonous serpent which Siva seized and wore around his neck like a garland. Siva then danced as Nataraja, much to the consternation of the *rishis*. They now set upon him Muyalakan or *Apasmara Purusha*, a dwarf monster. Nataraja placed His foot on the crouching monster and, breaking the dwarf's back, made him writhe in pain on the ground. With all his foes thus vanquished, Siva danced the famous Ananda Tandavam which was witnessed by the gods and *rishis*. The story goes that Adisesha worshipped Siva and prayed to Him for another opportunity to behold the dance. Siva promised Adisesha that He would dance again at Tillai (the 'centre of the Universe').

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* The eighth day celebration of the two eleven-day festivals commemorates the legend.

Yet another significance of this story is that the Vishnu cult at Cidambaram is as old as the Nataraja cult.

Nataraja, the King of Dance, known as *Sabhapati* (Adavallan, Anandak-kuttan, Tillaik-kuttan or Kuttapiran, in Tamil) is the well-known dancing form of Siva, the Ananda Tandava form. The Dancing Lord has three eyes. Nataraja's body is besmeared with ash — proof of the immutability of the Lord (*nityah*). He has four arms. The rear right arm holds the *damarukam (udukkai)*. This represents the Lord's function of creation (*Srshti*). From the drum emerge the seven notes (*Eluttosai*, as Sambandhar described it) *sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni* (according to *Kuncitanghristavam*).* '*Cidambara Rahasyam*' mentions that Sage Narada offered worship to Nataraja and learnt the '*svaras*' *sa* and *pa* and the duplication *svaras*, *ri, ga, ma, dha, ni* and out of these twelve *svaras*, Narada is said to have built up the science and grammar of our music. The two *pragati svaras sa* and *pa* and from these two, the *vikrti svaras, ri, ga, ma, dha, ni* were so born from the *damarukam* (drum) of Nataraja (*Kuncitanghristavam*, *Sloka* 121). So the *damarukam* is symbolic of *Nada* (sound).

The palm of the front right hand is raised in a gesture of protection *(abhaya)* or preservation (*sthiti*) to those in the whirl of the cycle of life. The message is: 'do not fear'.

The upper left hand holds a pot of fire, indicative of *samhara* or destruction.

The lower left arm extends across the chest, in a majestic sweep, its fingers pointing graciously and gracefully towards the tip of the left leg, which is raised in a dancing posture (*Kuncitapada*, தூக்கிய திருவடி: the lifted and bent leg). The posture of this hand is known as *Gaja-hasta* (or கரி கரம்) that is, like an elephant's trunk. In Nataraja's *Ananda Natana*, this is regarded as the '*Varada-hasta*': 'hand bestowing boons' (the source of bliss or grace). It points to the uplifted left foot which represents *Anugraha* (salvation, blessing or bestowal of grace). The right foot that presses down on Muyalakan (or *Apasmara purusha*) — ஊன்றிய திருவடி represents *Tirobhava* (concealment or illusion); it proves that only the Lord can conquer concealed evil, efface ego and attachment.

The *abhaya-hasta* has the *pataka mudra,* while the *gaja-hasta* has the *tripataka mudra.*

The ecstatic and vibrant nature of the dance, described as Ananda Tandava, with Siva whirling rapidly round on the leg placed on the back of the demon Muyalakan or Apasmara, is indicated by the matted hair (*jata*) flying on both sides of the head in waves one above the other, and by a piece of cloth, partly tied round the waist and partly thrown over the left shoulder, also flying in the air. The right hand, which shows the *abhaya mudra* has a serpent on its wrist, which is the usual ornament of Siva. The head of Siva is adorned with peacock feathers or an ornament fashioned like them, which is a special characteristic of the image. The aureola (*prabha*) is, in the case of Nataraja, somewhat peculiar and significant. The *Silpa Sastra* remarks that the aureola of Nataraja represents '*Ravi mandala*' or the sun's disc. This perhaps accounts for the flaming rays emanating out from it. They are said to be twenty-one in number and are symbolic of light.

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* In another volume, we hope to publish the entire text of Umapati Sivacarya's *Kuncitanghristavam*, transliteration and translation into English of the verses.

The divine form of Nataraja is the embodiment of the *Pancakshara*, the five sacred syllables *Na, Ma, Si, Va, Ya*. As the sacred syllable *Om* (*Pranava*) should always be prefixed to these five syllables and as the *Tiruvasi* (aureola or *Prabha*) is looked upon as the *Omkara*, there is a traditional belief that the *darsan* of Nataraja should never be undertaken without the aureola fixed to the Lord's form. The *Nada* or the divine sound that emerges out of the Lord across the radiant rays on the aureola only reminds us of the divine presence symbolised by the Pancakshara :(அஞ்செழுத்து): (Verse 35 of *Unmai Vilakkam*.*)

There are varieties of *Jata-makuta* on the different Nataraja icons.

The clustered *jata* symbolises concentrated *jnana* (knowledge), and the spread-out, matted hair indicates the spacious state which fosters *jnana*. From the *jata makuta* should issue, on either side, five, seven or nine *jatas*. Appar makes mention of a form with nine *jatas*. In some of the images of Nataraja, the *jatas* are not spread out but tied and made into a *jata makuta*. In His hair may be seen the mermaid figure of Ganga and the crescent moon.

There is a traditional belief that Siva dances in the evening in the presence of His Consort, Parvati, in order to relieve the sufferings of the *devas*. The dance of Nataraja is believed to symbolise the action of cosmic energy in creating, preserving and destroying the visible universe. The Puranas say that, during these dances, the whole congregation of gods, demi-gods and saints present themselves in order to render their obeisance to Siva. Hence the name Sabhapati, 'The Lord of the Assembly of Gods' or 'The Lord of the Divine Congregation.' In almost every important South Indian Siva temple, there is invariably a separate shrine — generally called the *Sabha-Mantapa* — for Nataraja and His Consort, Sivakama Sundari, facing south, in the northern part of the *prakara*.

The concept of *ananda* (we translate it as 'Eternal Bliss', for want of a more expressive phrase) is basic to Hindu thought —– attainment of the Imperishable State. Adi Sankara, for example, speaks of "*Sthiratarananda*" (imperishable, immutable bliss, joy, the joy of liberation) in his "*Dasasloki stuti*" Invoking the grace of Annapurna, Adi Sankara addresses Her as "Sarvanandakari" (one who confers *Ananda* on all devotees) and "Sadasivakari" (one who confers auspiciousness always on devotees). The *Ananda* and *Sadasiva* concepts are very intimately connected with the theme of Nataraja of Cidambaram.

It is interesting, too, how Adi Sankara refers to the *Apasmara Sammardanam* (one foot on Apasmara,** the symbol of ignorance), *mukti* (liberation), *srjasa* (creation), *rakshana* (preservation), the destruction of the Tripura's (the three cities) and the refuge the devotee seeks in *Sadasiva dhyanam*. All the five 'functions' or 'acts' of Nataraja — creation, preservation, destruction, concealment and conferment of grace and liberation — find forceful description in Adi Sankara's matchless verses in *Sivananda Lahari* (*slokas* 64 to 67) and they faithfully reflect the Nataraja concept.

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* 'ஓங்காரமே நல் திருவாசி உற்று அதனில் நீங்கா எழுத்தே நிறை சுடராம்.'

** Muyalakan is a prostrate monster (a crouching demon) writhing under the Lord's foot --- a black dwarf, hideous and malignant, brandishing a club, with fiery eyes. Muyalakan represents *anava* (ego, attachment).

Devotees of the Cidambaram temple who have witnessed the *Mahabhishekam* of Nataraja and Sivakamasundari — performed six times a year — cannot fail to be deeply impressed by the remarkable acumen of the craftsmen who so created the Lord—or did He create His own icon! Particularly whenever *abhishekam* with milk, honey and sandal paste is on, the holy liquids flow from the Lord's crown over the Lord's nose and down the *gaja hasta* (left hand swung to the right) gently to the tip of this (left) hand and down vertically in perpendicular to the tip of the uplifted left leg: தூக்கிய திருவடி. It is an unrivalled marvel in iconography, a perfect sculptural creation. While I have seen hundreds of icons of Ananda Nataraja all over the Tamil country, there is none to match the Ananda Nataraja icon of Cidambaram in form, contour or radiance. Not surprising at all !

The *Padma pitham* (the double-lotus pedestal), on which the Lord is based, represents the *hrdaya kamalam* with sixteen petals. This is the base of the Cit Sabha or Cit Akasa.

Appropriately, Nataraja faces south — the direction of Dakshinamurti and Yama (the God of Death) — both of whom are but the substantiations of the Rudra Siva Mahadeva *tattva*.

In the Dancing Lord's hair-lock may be seen a writhing cobra, a skull, and a mermaid figure of Ganga; upon it rests a crescent moon, and it is crowned with a wreath of leaves and flowers like *dhurdhura* and *arka* (*konrai*). In His right ear, He wears a man's ear ring (a *makara kundala*), in the left a woman's (*patra kundala*) (symbolic of Siva's Ardhanari aspect). He wears a sacred thread and anklets. Round the waist, He wears a garment, the *udarabandhana*, with a portion of it fluttering gently to the left. There is a pedestal in the form of a double lotus flower, from which springs the encircling arch of glory (*Tiruvasi*), on whose outer fringe we see tongues of flame, and the inner fringe touched by the Lord's hands holding the drum and fire. The Lord's garment is made of tiger-skin.

There is a serpent in the hand of the Apasmara *purusha* below, explained by some scholars to be the left wristlet of the Lord which had dropped down in the whirl of the divine dance. A serpent with a raised hood is shown playing on Apasmara on his left side, the right hand of the demon pointing towards it. The Apasmara, on whom Siva treads, lies on his chest and is usually shown with his head on the right side and his legs on the left side of Siva. The essence of Nataraja's dance is that the Dancing Lord has a smiling, benign face — with a quality of stillness and contemplative silence — while the dynamic energy that moves the cosmos is manifested in the continuous whirl of the divine dancer.

What is most remarkable about the Nataraja icon is that the entire load is borne on the right foot pressed on Muyalakan and delicately balanced on this support and the *Padma Pitham*. Thereby also hangs a great principle: The Lord takes the load of the universe on Himself.

There are three types of dances of Siva associated with serpents: *bhujangancitakam*, *bhujangatrasam* and *bhujangalalitam*; *bhujangatrasam* represents the dance portraying how one suddenly reacts and lifts up the legs and the body the moment a serpent is suddenly dropped near one's feet and causes a stir. Even the Ananda Tandava of Nataraja at Cidambaram is often regarded by some scholars as "*bhujangatrasam*", (C.Sivaramamurti calls it 'strictly *bhujangatrasita*', as also hinted by the Kamikagamam.) The benign look of Ananda Tandava Nataraja cannot, however, be compared to the near-panic situation which *bhujangatrasa* indicates. The aspects of Nataraja's Ananda-Tandava are different — the calm, serene, smiling face, particularly. Sambandhar, too, in one of his hymns refers to this 'bhujanga' group of dance.

In his "South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses" (1916, p.82), H.Krishna Sastri wrote:

"The *Karanagama* has the following about Sabhapati:

> 'On the top of the *Kailasa* mountain, in front of the goddess Gauri (Parvati), Who is seated on a jewelled throne, Siva with the crescent on His head dances in the evenings. All the *devas* attend the dance; Brahma plays on the cymbals; Hari (Vishnu), on a *pataka*; Bharati (Sarasvati), on the lute; the Sun and Moon, on flutes; Tumburu and Narada supply vocal music; and Nandi and Kumara (Skanda) beat the drums.' The *Mayamata* also mentions other gods and goddesses in the congregation, such as Vighnesa (Vinayaka), Kali and the Seven Mothers. It adds that Siva then performs the dance called *Bhujangatrasita* with the serpent Karkotaka on him: see Burgess's *Elura Cave Temples,* Plate XLIII, fig.5."

Murtyashtaka (The eight-fold and the five-fold aspects of the Lord)

A digression at this point.

The eight forms of Siva, which go by the names of Bhava, Sarva, Isana, Pasupati, Ugra, Rudra, Bhima and Mahadeva, are grouped under the collective name of *Murtyashtaka*. The eight aspects represented by the names given above become the lords of the various *tattva's* such as earth, fire, and air.

The *Linga Purana* tells us that Siva is to the Universe what clay and the potter are to the pot — viz., the *upadana karana* (material cause) and the *nimitta karana* (instrumental or generational cause). Such a Being manifests Himself in five different forms.

He who is the soul of the Universe is called *Isana*. The illusory (*Maya*) material world is *Tat-purusha*; *Buddhi* with its eight components starting with *dharma* is *Aghora*; *Vamadeva* pervades the whole of the Universe in the form of *ahamkara*; and the *manas-tattva* (mind) is *Sadyojata*.

The *Suta samhita* also conveys the same notion about the nature of the five aspects of Siva known as the *Pancabrahma's*; it states that the Universe is pervaded by the *Pancabrahma's* and the man who is able to realise this attains liberation from bondage (*samsara*). Isana is the *akasa*, Tatpurusha air, Aghora fire, Vamadeva water and Sadyojata earth. But Srikantha Sivacarya views them somewhat differently in his *Brahma Mimamsa Bhashya*; he tells us that Sadasiva is sound (*sabda*), Isvara touch (*sparsa*), Rudra form (*rupa*), Vishnu taste (*rasa*) and Brahma smell (*gandha*).

According to the *Linga Purana*, *Jnana*, *Iccha* and *Kriya* are the three eyes of Paramesvara. The desire to create, which first arose in the mind of Paramesvara, is called the *Siva tattva*, which is also known as the *Iccha-Sakti tattva*. When both Jnana Sakti and Kriya Sakti blend in Paramesvara, He goes by the name of Sadasiva (when the former *Sakti* is predominant), Mahesvara (when the latter *Sakti* is predominant), or Suddha Vidya (when they are both balanced equally). When Isvara absorbs in Himself the universe, He is known as the *Purusha*, and *Samsari* when He has manifested Himself in the form of the gross material universe.

Isana should be on the top, Tatpurusha on the East, Aghora on the South, Sadyojata on the West and Vamadeva on the North. Although Siva has only one face, traditionally He is regarded as five-faced.

The Supreme Lord is always invoked in the *linga* during daily rites as Sadasiva. He should be endowed with five faces *(panca-mukha)*, each face with three eyes. Sadasiva is of five forms — Tatpurusha, Aghora, Vamadeva, Sadyojata and Isana.

These five names play a vital part at every stage of the temple ritual. The five faces have five colours. Sadasiva, the five-faced god, represents the various *tattvas* of five — the five elements, the five organs of perception, five senses of perception, five organs of action etc.

According to the Vedas and Upanishads, the Supreme Reality, *Brahman*, manifests Himself as *Para-Brahman* and *Sabda Brahman*.. While the former is identified with *Parasiva*, the latter is identified with Sadasiva.

Sadasiva, the *Sabda Brahman*, is of the form of *pranava* — the sacred syllable 'AUM'.

The texts also indicate that the *linga*, in its vertical axis, represents five aspects of God's presence - Brahma, Vishnu, Rudra, Mahesvara and Sadasiva. In its horizontal axis, the five forms — Tatpurusha, Aghora, Vamadeva, Sadyojata and Isana constitute the form of Sadasiva.

Brahma, Vishnu, Rudra, Mahesvara and Sadasiva are associated respectively with the five-fold activities of Nataraja: Srshti, Sthiti, Samhara, Tirodhana and Anugraha.

Panca-krtya and Nataraja

The splendour of Siva in whom the *'Parapancakaryam'* (the set of five great duties or functions) has merged is brought out by the following *sloka* from the *Makutagamam*:

अकार: सद्यवक्त्र स्यादुकारं वामवक्त्रकम्।
मकारोऽघोरवक्त्रं स्याद्बिन्दुस्तत्पुरुषाननम्।।
नादस्त्वीशानवक्त्रं स्यान्नादातीतं नटेश्वरम्।
सूक्ष्मपञ्चाक्षरं प्रोक्तं स्थूलपञ्चाक्षरं शृणु।।

"A-karam is Sadyojata-mukham; U-karam is Vamadeva-mukham; Makaram is Aghora-mukham; Bindu is Tatpurusha-mukham; Nadam is Isana-mukham. The divine form of Nataraja who is the essence of *Nada* has attained the state of Sadasiva with these five faces." Why the Ananda Tandava of Nataraja is also called *Nadanta* dance finds an explanation here. We shall refer again to this concept of *Nadanta* in a later chapter on Tirumular's *Tirumandiram*.

Nataraja shines as 'Laya Siva' at Cidakasa (Cidambaram), where He is looked upon as '*mantramurti*'. He is regarded as the Bhoga murti, Sadasiva, and in all the holy centres, he shines as *Sabhapati*.

Panca krtya Paramananda Tandavam

The Ananda Tandava (the joyous dance) of Nataraja at Tillai (Cidambaram) is defined as the Panca Krtya Paramananda Tandava. The Dancing Lord dispels the darkness of ignorance of His devotees, to the extent of their evolution, eliminates evil and creates eternal bliss and celebrates it all by His Ananda Tandava — a dance of complete abandon. What is most significant in it is that it embodies the five-fold activities of the Lord: creation, preservation (or protection), destruction, concealment and conferment of grace (or liberation). In other words, Nataraja at Tillai combines in His Ananda Tandava alone all the five-fold activities.

The following *sloka* from the *Halasya Mahatmyam* puts it very clearly:

ब्रह्मा विष्णुश्च रुद्रश्च ईश्वरश्च सदाशिव:।
परो बिन्दु: परो नाद: परा शक्ति: पर: शिव:॥
एतानि नव तत्त्वानि लीयन्ते यत्र वस्तुनि।
तद्वस्तु द्वादशान्तस्थं परमानन्दताण्डवम्।
तस्मात् ताण्डवमूर्तेस्तु परं किंचित् न हि ध्रुवम्॥

('*Dvadasantastha*' is synonymous with *Ajna*-cakra.)

There is thus a clear reference to the concept of *Paramananda Tandavam.*

Likewise verses 18-19 in Chapter Fifteen of '*Cidambara Mahatmyam*' (part of *Skanda Puranam,* 4th century A.D.):

अतिगुह्यमिदं प्रोक्तं शेषान्यत्र वदामि ते।
पञ्चकृत्यानि मे नित्यं तादृशस्य विधायिन:॥
इदमेव परं दिव्यं ताण्डवम् परिकीर्तितम्।
प्रकृतानन्द नृत्तं मे सर्वे वेदा वदन्ति हि॥

Sankara (Siva) addresses Sesha in these words:

"The *Panca-krtya* functions associated with me refer always to my *Divya Tandava* (wondrous divine dance). All the Vedas refer only to my *Ananda nartana.*"

Thus the close link between the "five-fold" functions of Nataraja and the Ananda Tandavam of Nataraja is clearly established.

The following *sloka* from the *Makutagamam* spells out the details of *Na ma si va ya:*

नकारं सृष्टिरूपं स्यान्मकारं स्थितिरूपकम्।
शिकारं संहतिं कृत्वा वाकारं तु तिरोभवम्।
यकारं मुक्तिदं चैव पञ्चकृत्यं परात्परम्।
डमरु: सृष्टिशक्ति: स्यादभयं स्थितिकारणम्॥
संहारमग्निरूपं तु स्थितिपादं तिरोभवम्।
पाशादुध्दृतं तत्तु वामपादं नटेशितु:।
आनन्दान्तर्गतं कृत्वा मुक्तिदं वरदं नृणाम्॥

Na kāram Srṣṭirūpam syān Makāram Sthitirūpakam
Śi kāram samhatim krtvā Vakāram tu tirōbhavam
Ya kāram muktidam caiva pancakrtyam parātparam
Ḍamaruh Srṣṭiśaktih syādabhayam Sthitikāraṇam
Samhāramagnirūpam tu Sthitipādam Tirōbhavam
Pāśādudhdrtam tattu Vāmapādam Naṭēśituh
Ānandāntargatam krtvā Muktidam Varadam nrṇām

The Lord adds in the same chapter in *Cidambara Mahatmyam*: "There is a large-size *linga* with the name Sri Mulanatha. On its southern side, there is a big, auspicious, hallowed *ambaram* or *Sabha,* where I perform the Ananda Tandavam with unceasing vigour." This assertion alone should still many controversies which some scholars have raised from time to time on the relative locations of Edirambalam (Mulasthana) and Cit/Kanaka Sabha.

The one hundred and eight *karanas*, the nine dance-forms and the seven dance-forms

Paramesvara's first disciple in the field of dance was Nandikesvara, known for this purpose as Tandu, as distinguished from his role in *Sivajnana Sastra.* It is the traditional belief that Tandu taught Bharata the art of *Natya* and so this *kala* (art) became known as Tandavam.

We have in Chapter Nine referred already to the one hundred and eight *karanas* (dance poses) embodied in Bharata's Natya Sastra. They are sculpted with descriptive labels on the two inner sides of the gateways of the East and West Gopurams of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram (Later Cola : Vikrama Cola and Kulottunga II). These sculptures are located in niches arranged vertically so as to form pilasters or pillars projecting from the walls of the Gopurams. Each *karana* is covered by the appropriate description from the Natya Sastra.

The 108 *karana* poses are also sculpted with descriptive labels on the East Gopuram of the Sarngapani temple at Kumbakonam. These forms are also represented in stone sculptures in the round second tier of the *garbha-grha* of the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur. The Vriddhagirisvara temple at Vriddhacalam and the Tiruvannamalai temple also have panels of these *karanas*.

Since Vikrama Cola and Kulottunga II completed the construction of the West Gopuram at Cidambaram in their reigns with the *karana* panels on it, with their own distinctive pattern, it is reasonable to conclude that, since Kulottunga II constructed the gateway portion of the East Gopuram in his reign and this gateway portion has all the *karanas,* the latter, too, were the handiwork of Kulottunga II.

The technical term '*karana*' used in *Natya Sastra* is derived from the Sanskrit root '*krna*' (to shape, to perform). Each *karana* is a *natana* form. A *karana* is constituted by a combination of: prescribed position (*sthanaka*), the gait (*cari*) and the hand-pose (*nrtta hasta*), according to Bharata. A *karana* in dance is therefore a combination of the prescribed position and of movements of hand and foot. The *karanas* are instructions for movement and are not to be regarded as 'static poses'. As a scholar put it, "The *karanas* of Bharata are cadences of movement and the sculpture can only depict a (fleeting) movement in a cadence and not the entire (gamut of the) cadence. Some scholars have misinterpreted the term *karana* by considering it a 'static pose'."

While *Tandava* represents the general pattern, including the more ferocious forms, the term *lasya* has been used for some of the gentler forms of dance, particularly portrayed by women dancers. But, as some of the dance panels sculpted on our temple towers depict women in these *karanas*, scholars have drawn the inference that our old tradition did not prevent women from dancing. (Parenthetically, the dancing tradition in Tamil Nadu has been handed down over generations and centuries mostly by women, while the *nattuvangam* has been handled mostly by men from a section of our society, to whom this tradition has been a family speciality.)

The works '*Suparatnam*' and '*Kasyapa sirpam*' refer to '*Nava Tandava*' (nine dances out of the 108).

What have become more relevant, with the passage of time, are the so-called 'seven dances'. The Agamas mention the 'seven dances'. Of course, scholars have made it clear that these 'seven dances' are within the range of the 108 *karanas* laid down in the Natya Sastra. The *Tirupputtur Puranam* speaks of the 'seven dances' that Lord Nataraja performed.

Each of these seven dances is believed to have been performed in different *Sabhas* at different centres, portraying exclusively one particular item of the "five-fold" duties or functions (*panca-krtya*) of Nataraja.

In the *Panca-krtya Paramananda Tandavam* alias Ananda Tandavam of Nataraja at Cidambaram, all the five-fold functions separately portrayed in these seven dances, are integrated into a composite form, which is Ananda Tandavam.

The following table outlines the correspondence among the seven *svaras*, the various functions of the Lord, holy places and *sabhas* therein and dance-forms.

Svara	Function	Location	Dance-form
sa	Srshti (Creation)	Tirunelveli Tamra Sabha	Kalika - or Muni-tandavam
ri,ga	Sthiti (Preservation)	Tirupputtur, Cit Sabha Madurai, Rajata Sabha	Gauri tandavam Sandhya tandavam
ma	Samhara (Destruction)	Graveyards, cremation grounds (Dark midnights)	Samhara tandavam

Svara	Function	Location	Dance-form
pa	Tirobhava (Concealment, Illusion)	Tiruk-kurralam, Ratna Sabha	Tripura tandavam
dha	Anugraha (Grace, Liberation)	Tiruvalangadu, Ratna Sabha	Urdhva tandavam
ni	All five functions (Panca-krtya)	Cidambaram Cit/Kanaka Sabha.	Ananda tandavam

That the world of sound (*Nada*) was created by the drum (*damarukam* or *udukkai*) in Ananda Tandavam is beyond question. Ananda Tandavam cannot obviously be restricted only to the '*Nishada*'. *Sloka* 121* of '*Kuncitanghristavam*', in the context of the emergence of the seven musical notes from the *damarukam (udukkai)*, has been referred to already. The claim made on behalf of the Cit Sabha at Tirupputtur is not altogether free from doubt, as some scholars hold that the claims of Tiruvengadu and Perur (in Kongu nadu) have apparently not been taken into account.

Sandhya Tandavam

It is traditionally believed that, at the request of Kulasekhara Pandya, the Dancing Lord had His right leg held aloft while He danced at Madurai and his left foot firmly on Muyalakan — just the reverse of the Ananda Tandavam pattern of Cidambaram *(mari adiya Ananda Tandavam).* The *Sivapuranas* describe this Dance at Madurai as *Sandhya Tandavam.*

(H. Krishna Sastri, in his "South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses", (1916), p.84, describes *Sandhya Tandava* as the evening dance (*Pradosha natanam*), where the demon Apasmara is absent, with peacock feathers adorning the two left arms and in the pose of wonder called *vismaya*). The *gajahasta* posture of the lower left hand and *abhaya hasta, parasu* and *damarukam* on the right hands are notable, besides.

Kalika Tandavam

In this form, which represents 'creation', the Dancing Lord has only two eyes, but eight arms. Three of the right arms hold a trident (*sulam* — the three branches represent the *gunas*, according to the *Kamikagamam*), a noose (*pasam*) and a drum; and the fourth right arm is in the *abhaya hasta* pose. The corresponding three left arms hold a skull (*kapalam*), a fire-pot (*agni*) and a bell; and the fourth left arm is in the *gajahasta* pose (Example: Nallur, near Papanasam in Tanjavur district).

Gauri Tandavam

This dance form is related to 'preservation'. It is similar to the Ananda Tandava. The Dancing Lord has a single face, four hands; of the two right hands, one holds the drum and the other is in the *abhaya mudra* pose; a serpent is held in one of the two left hands and the other is in the *gajahasta* pose. The right foot is pressed on Muyalakan and the left leg is up-lifted in the dance. Nandi is to the proper right and Gauri (Parvati) is to the proper left. (There is another version, with Vishnu (in place of Gauri) to the proper left.)

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* Narada offered his worship to Nataraja, picked up the two mono-*svaras sa* and *pa* and the pairs of double *svaras*: *ri, ga, ma, dha* and *ni*, and built up *Sangita Sastra* with these twelve *svaras*. (The first two are called *Pragati svaras* and the other five *vikrti svaras*.)

Tripura Tandavam and Samhara Tandavam

These dance forms emphasise the 'destruction' element; having destroyed the 'three cities' (Tripura), the Lord in His triumph danced the Tripura Tandavam. It is also called by the name *'Kodu Kotti'* in the Sangam literature. *Silappadikaram* calls it *'Vira Natanam'*, which the triumphant Siva presented before the Devas at their request. This dance of Siva, with sixteen arms and as many symbols, has Gauri (Parvati) and Skanda on the proper left and right sides respectively.

In *Samhara Tandavam* (*ஊழிக் கூத்து*), another form, the Dancing Lord has three eyes and eight arms; of the right arms, the Lord has one in the *abhaya* pose and, in the others, a trident (*sulam*), a *pasa* (noose) and a drum; in two of the left arms, He has the skull (*kapala*) and *Agni* (fire); another left arm is in the *gajahasta* pose and the fourth left hand helps hold the trident together. The left foot is placed on Apasmara and the right leg is raised. To the proper left and right respectively are Nandi and Gauri (Parvati).

The *Samhara tandava* is often described as *Pralaya tandava* (the dance of deluge, the dance of the cosmic flood). The world is reborn out of the violent destruction of an earlier creation. The deluge holds within it the vital seed of new life. Thus from death, chaos and darkness emerges new life. Nataraja, the Lord of Dance, is Siva as the creator and the destroyer; but He doesn't destroy Himself.

Pandarangam

This dance is said to be identical with the Tripura Tandavam in respect of its attributes. This is also a dance of victory. On His triumph in destroying the three cities, the Lord is said to have performed the dance on the chariot itself. Sambandhar refers to the 'Pandaranga dance' at Cidambaram in one of his hymns on 'Koyil' (Tillai). Tirumular too mentions it in his Tirumandiram.

Urdhva Tandavam

The Urdhva Tandava dance, believed to have been performed first by Siva at Tiruvalangadu near Arakkonam (in the former North Arcot district), has its origin in a dispute that occurred once between Siva and Kali as to who was superior in the art of dance. Siva performed many dances and Kali followed suit successfully every time, till at last Siva lifted up one of his legs to the level of His crown and danced on. Kali's sense of modesty prevented her from imitating Siva in this performance; and she conceded defeat to Siva. This event is immortalised in Tiruvalangadu; and, as we have already mentioned in our earlier chapters, the Nrtta Sabha of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram has a remarkable sculpture of the Urdhva Tandava murti. In the face of this discomfiture, Kali moved out of the limits of Tillai and took up her abode at the boundary and came to be called "Tillaiyin-ellaiyaik-kakkum Deivam" (The Goddess protecting the borders of Tillai). The Urdhva-tandavam at Tiruvalangadu is regarded as Lalata-tilakam or as Samhara Tandavam.(See Chapter Twelve.)

The *panca-bhutas* In Nataraja

Strange as it may appear, it is remarkable and true that Nataraja embodies the *panca bhutas* (the five elements) too in His dance form. An arm holds fire, there is earth at His foot; He has water on His head (the mermaid Ganga), air in the drum held in His hand; and He dances in Space. Having created the Cosmos, He makes it dance. The Cosmos is at his feet. Ananda Tandava is Nataraja's *'jnana lila'*. The entire universe is His theatre. He is the Lord of Space.

Tai Pusam Dance

As the *Koyil Puranam* says, Nataraja danced before a congregation including *devas*, Patanjali, Vyaghrapada, Nandi, Narada (in a 'பொது நடனம்') on the day of *Tai Pusam* in answer to their prayer to be blessed with the sight of such a dance. In his *Tanit-tirut-Tandagam* (Sixth *Tirumurai*), Appar has the immortal verse,

அப்பன் நீ அம்மை நீ ஐயனும் நீ
ஆட்டுவித்தால் ஆரொருவர் ஆடாதாரே

Nataraja of Cidambaram is therefore referred to simply as *Sabhapati* or *Sabhanayaka(r)* — the Lord of the Hall of Assembly, the congregation.

Tradition has it that Darukavana is not the centre of the universe; when the Lord danced there, it trembled beneath His feet. Tillai, where He performed His Cosmic Dance, is believed to be the centre.

Muttusvami Dikshitar (A.D. 1775-1835), in the Kamalamba Navavarana *krti,* 'Sri Kamalambikaya' (cast in the Instrumental case) has the following phrases in his Anupallavi:

पाकशासनादि सकल देवता सेवितया
पङ्कजासनादि पंचकृत्य कृद्भावितया

- a clear reference to Panca Krtya. (Raga Sankarabharanam).

Likewise, the *nama* (the sacred name) (Number 274), *'Panca - krtya parayana'* in *sloka* 64 of *Sri Lalita Sahasra Nama Stotram* points to the Devi's enthusiastic involvement in the 'five-fold' duties to which Lord Nataraja is committed in His Ananda Tandava form.

The divine accompaniments at the Lord's Tai Pusam dance make an impressive list: Brahma on the *tala*, Nandikesvara and Hayagriva on the Tumburu and the Mridangam, Indra on the flute, Vishnu on percussion, and Sarasvati and Narada on the Vina.

The conception of the Divine Dancer and the significance of the Cosmic Dance, and the excellence of the Cola sculptor's presentation of it have often won warm praise from discerning critics, including great modern sculptors like Rodin.

Witness what Grousset writes:

"Whether he be surrounded or not by the flaming aureole of the *tiruvacci (prabhamandala)* — the circle of the world which he both fills and oversteps — the King of the Dance is all rhythm and exaltation. The tambourine which he sounds with one of his right hands draws all creatures into this rhythmic motion and they dance in his company. The conventionalized locks of flying hair and the blown scarf tell of the speed of this universal movement, which crystallizes matter and reduces it to powder in turn. One of the left hands holds the fire which animates and devours the worlds in this cosmic whirl. One of the God's feet is crushing a Titan, for "this dance is danced upon the bodies of the dead", yet one of the right hands is making the gesture of reassurance (*abhaya-mudra)*, so true it is that, seen from the cosmic point of view and *sub specie aeternitatis*, the very cruelty of this universal determinism is kindly, as the generative principle of the future. And, indeed, on more than one of our bronzes, the King of the Dance wears a broad smile. He smiles at death, at life, at pain and at joy alike, or rather, if we may be allowed so to express it, His smile is both death and life, both joy and pain......... From this lofty point of view, in fact, all things fall into their place, finding their explanation and logical compulsion. Here art is the faithful interpreter of the philosophical concept. The plastic beauty of rhythm is no more than the expression of an ideal rhythm. The very multiplicity of arms, puzzling as it may seem at first sight, is subject in turn to an inward law, each pair remaining a model of elegance in itself so that the whole being of Nataraja thrills with a magnificent harmony in his terrible joy, and, as though to stress the point that the dance of the divine actor is indeed a sport (*lila*) — the sport of life and death, the sport of creation and destruction, at once infinite and purposeless — the first of the left hands hangs limply from the arm in the careless gesture of *gajahasta* (hand as the elephant's trunk). And lastly as we look at the back view of the statue, are not the steadiness of these shoulders which uphold the world, and the majesty of this Jove-like torso, as it were, a symbol of the stability and immutability of substance, while the gyration of the legs, in its dizzy speed, would seem to symbolize the 'vortex of phenomena'." (*India*, English Translation, pp. 252-3.)

Sri Lalita Sahasra Namam

'Panca krtya parayana', *Nama* number 274 in Sri Lalita Sahasra Nama Stotram, proclaims that Sakti is as much involved in *'Panca krtya'* (the 'five-fold duties') as Siva (Nataraja) Himself. It only conforms to the well-known tradition that Parvati (Sivakamasundari) was as much a part of Ananda Tandava as Nataraja Himself, the Ardhanari element in the Cosmic Dance. Sri Lalita Sahasra Nama Stotram refers to the *Tirodhana* aspect in *Nama* 270 and to the *Anugraha* aspect in *Nama* 273.

Tirodhana is interpreted also as 'concealment from others' view ', i.e., the demon of ignorance and conceit lies prostrate, trampled upon by the Dancing Lord. It is also explained as the 'Veiling of the True Being', 'removal of the garbs of apparition'.

While *Tirodhana* suggests bonds of existence, *Anugraha* signifies release from these bonds.

The drum on Nataraja's right hand symbolises sound and creation. The flame (*samhara*) consumes life, takes back life and reabsorbs it, i.e., the *Nirguna* Supreme Being absorbs creation into itself. What emerges from Brahman merges into Brahman. So Nataraja dances the cosmos into and out of existence.

Chapter Three of the 'Linga Purana' says:

"The great Lord is the sole agent for creation, sustenance and dissolution.

"In creation He is endowed with *rajas*, in sustenance with *sattva* and in dissolution, with *tamas*. He alone possesses this subtle nature in due order. He is the first creator of all beings, their protector and annihilator."

Conclusion

With the holy associations of Cidambaram, the Nataraja temple of Tillai is clothed with extraordinary sanctity and mysticism and a good deal of philosophical significance is attributed to the dancing image of Nataraja, Who adorns the Cit Sabha / Kanaka Sabha in the temple.

The significance of the mystic dance — Ananda Tandava of Nataraja — is explained in several ways. The interpretation of this dance is a fascinating study. Fortunately, we have valuable literary references and copious religious literature which help us to understand the precise significance of His Cosmic Dance and the subtleties of its precise symbolism. The Cosmic Dance of Nataraja at Cidambaram is the manifestation of the primal rhythmic energy. We shall go into some important aspects of this study in the chapters to follow.

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CHAPTER 17

The Symbolism of Nataraja and Nadanta Dance

சிவமாடச் சத்தியும் ஆடச் சகத்தில்
அவமாட ஆடாத அம்பரம் ஆட
நயமான தத்துவ நாதாந்த மாடச்
சிவமாடும் வேதாந்த சித்தாந்தத் துள்ளே

நாதத்தின் அந்தமும் நற்போத அந்தமும்
வேதத்தின் அந்தமும் மெய்ச் சிவானந்தமும்
தாதற்ற நல்ல சதாசிவானந்தத்து
நாதபிரமம் சிவநடம் ஆமே

—— Verses 2791 and 2792 of the Tiruvavaduturai Adhinam Edition (1990) of Tirumular's Tirumandiram (Tirukkuttu Darsanam, Ninth Tantram.)

These two verses refer specifically to the concept of the Nadanta Dance of Nataraja (Tillaik-kuttan), which is explained in Tirumular's section "*Tirukkuttu Darsanam*". A broad translation of these two verses would help the reader understand the appellation '*Nadanta*', which is used mostly by Tirumular to describe the Ananda Tandava of Nataraja at Tillai.

"He danced in Vedanta-Siddhanta truth"

No.2791: Siva danced, Sakti danced,
The worldly desires danced;
The normally unmoving Space danced;
The wondrous *Tattva Nadanta* danced;
When Siva danced inside of Truth,
That indeed is Vedanta-Siddhanta.

"Siva Natana"

No.2792: *Nadanta* that is the end of *Nada* (the principle of sound),
Bodhanta that is the end of *Bodha* (*Jnana*),
Vedanta that is the end of the Vedas,
Sivananda that is the true Bliss of Siva,
Sadasivananda that is without end,
In all these, He dances the *Siva Natana*,
He that is *Nada Brahmam* (Lord within the Sound-Principle).

In the Indian tradition, each of the five elements (*panca - bhutas*) has its own characteristics. Space (ether) - *akasa* is associated with Sound (*Nada*); air - *Vayu*, with touch (*sparsa*); fire - *Agni*, with colour; water - *Appu*, with taste: and Earth - *Prthivi* - with smell (*gandham*). Ether (or space) can be experienced only through Nada (sound). As Chapter Two, Brahmanandavalli - Lesson One - of the Taittiriyopanishad makes it clear, the quality of sound (Nada) is associated with spatial ether as transmission of sound demands ether. These aspects explain how 'Nada' is so closely linked up with the Ananda Tandava of Nataraja, the Lord of Space (ether). This brings us back to the concept of 'Nada Brahmam' or 'Sabda Brahmam', as applied to Sadasiva.

The mystic dance of Siva was ably interpreted and presented to the international world of scholars in 1912 by Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswami with an unsurpassed comprehension of its full import. (Under the caption 'The Dance of Siva', T.A. Gopinatha Rao, in his masterly survey, "Elements of Hindu Iconography", published in 1916, included in his sumptuous volumes Dr. Coomaraswami's interpretation of the Dance of Siva.) We cannot do better than make a synopsis of Dr. Coomaraswami's analysis, mostly in his own words (as brought out by T.A.Gopinatha Rao, nearly eighty years ago).

Dr. Coomaraswami begins his article with a quotation from Manikkavacakar's Tiruvacakam, XII,14.

தேன்புக்க தண்பனை சூழ் தில்லைச் சிற்றம்பலவன்
தான்புக்கு நட்டம் பயிலும் அதுஎன் ஏடி?
தான்புக்கு நட்டம் பயின்றிலனேற்றரணி எல்லாம்
ஊன்புக்க வேற்காளிக் கூட்டாங் காண் சாழலோ

Here is a translation:

"The Lord of Tillai's Court a mystic dance performs. What is that, my dear?

"Siva's supreme spirit pervading the entire universe is itself Siva *tandavam*. But for it, the wide universe would be reduced to nought.

"A great master of dancing is Siva (Nataraja). The Cosmos is His theatre."

Dr. Coomaraswami comments: "The root of all the various dances of Siva is the same: the manifestation of the primal rhythmic energy.* Whatever be the origin of Siva's dance, it became in time the noblest image of activity of God, of which any art or religion can be proud."

Dr. Coomaraswami proceeds to interpret the *Nadanta* dance of Nataraja before the Assembly (*Sabha*) in the Golden Hall of Tillai (Cidambaram), the centre of the universe, first revealed to gods and *rishis* as related in the *Koyil Puranam*. (The image of Nataraja, the Dancing Lord, has already been described in detail in the previous chapter). The dual nature of Mahadeva, whose half is Uma, is betokened in the image.

The dance is called *Nadanta* (a term used essentially, as far as the present author can see, only by Tirumular). What then is the meaning of the *Nadanta* dance, as understood by Saivas? Its essential significance is given in texts such as the following:

"Our Lord is the Dancer, who, like the heat latent in firewood, diffuses His power in mind and matter and makes them dance in their turn."

"The dance, in fact represents His five activities (ஐந்தொழில்கள்) : *Pancakrtyas* viz., *Srshti* (creation, evolution), *Sthiti* (preservation, support), *Samhara* (destruction), *Tirobhava* (veiling, embodiment, illusion, and also giving rest), *Anugraha* (release, salvation, grace). Considered separately, these are the activities of the deities Brahma, Vishnu, Rudra, Mahesvara and Sadasiva."

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* It symbolises the perfectly poised, perpetual movement, on which all activity depends, and by which alone the life of the cosmos is maintained.

"....... This cosmic activity is the central *motif* of Nataraja's dance. *Unmai Vilakkam*, verse 36, tells us:

'Creation arises from the drum; protection proceeds from the hand of hope; from fire proceeds destruction; the foot held aloft gives *mukti*.'

"Here *mukti* is the same as *anugraha*, release. It will be observed that the fourth hand points to this lifted foot, the refuge of the soul."

The text of this verse is given towards the end of this chapter. Dr. Coomaraswami refers to the following from *Cidambara Mummanik-kovai*.

"Oh my Lord, Thy hand holding the sacred drum has made and ordered the heavens and earth and other worlds and innumerable souls. Thy lifted hand protects the *cetana* and *acetana prapanca* (animate and inanimate universe) which Thou hast created. All these worlds are changed by Thy hand bearing fire.

"Thy sacred foot planted on the ground gives an abode to the tired soul, struggling in the toils of *Karma*. It is thy lifted foot that grants eternal bliss to those that approach Thee. These 'five actions' are indeed Thy handiwork."

The following verses from the *Tirukkuttu Darsanam* (Vision of the Sacred Dance) from the Ninth *Tantram* of Tirumular's *Tirumandiram* further articulate the central *motif:*

"His form is everywhere; all-pervading in His Siva-Sakti:
Cidambaram is everywhere, everywhere His dance:
As Siva is all and omnipresent,
Everywhere is Siva's gracious dance made manifest.
His five-fold dances are in *sakala* and *nishkala* forms,
His five-fold dances are His *pancakrtya:*
With His grace He performs the five acts,
This is the sacred dance of Uma-sahaya
He dances with Water, Fire, Wind and Ether,
Thus our Lord dances ever in the Court.
Visible to those who pass over *Maya* and *Mahamaya*,

Our Lord dances His eternal dance
The form of the Sakti is all bliss *(ananda)*
This united bliss is Uma's body:
This form of Sakti arising in *sakala*
And uniting the twain is the dance;
His body is *Akasa*, the dark cloud therein is Muyalaka,
The eight quarters are His eight arms,
The three lights are His three eyes.
Thus becoming, He dances in our body as the assembly *(sabha)*."

The first four lines appearing in the translation above correspond to verse 2722 of the Tirumandiram, whose Tamil text is quoted immediately below. This and the other verses quoted below (with translation) provide authentic illustrations of the flavour of Tirumular's great work.

எங்கும் திருமேனி எங்குஞ் சிவசத்தி
எங்கும் சிதம்பரம் எங்கும் திருநட்டம்
எங்குஞ் சிவமாயிருத்தலால் எங்கெங்குந்
தங்குஞ் சிவனருட்டன் விளையாட்டதே. (Verse 2722) – Ninth Tantram

It is worth noting in this context that, in the Twelve Tirumurai's, Tirumular alone uses the word 'Cidambaram' — here and again in verse no. 886, in the Fourth Tantram.

தேவர் உறைகின்ற சிற்றம்பலம் என்றுந்
தேவருறைகின்ற சிதம்பரம் என்றுந்
தேவர் உறைகின்ற திருஅம் பலமென்றுந்
தேவர் உறைகின்ற தென்பொது வாமே.

The Glory of Cidambaram

Devas reside in Cirrambalam
Cidambaram is where Devas reside
Tiru Ambalam is where Devas reside
Devas reside in the Sabha of the South. Verse 886 — Fourth Tantram

ஆன நடமைந் தகள சகளத்தர்
ஆன நடமாடி ஐங்கரு மத்தாக
ஆன தொழிலருளாலைந் தொழில் செய்தே
தேன் மொழி பாகன் திருநடமாடுமே. (Verse 2727)

Siva performs 'Five Acts' through Five Dances

Five are the dances
That He the formed-formless performs;
The five dances He dances
The five Acts to perform;
The five Acts He performs
With Sakti's Grace in Him
And so the Lord dances with Sakti
That is of honeyed speech.*

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* It finds an echo in Appar's hymns where Siva is said to dance along with His Consort — the Ardhanari aspect of Nataraja.

It has a much deeper meaning. Nataraja is free from all passion, yet one half of His body is shared by His beloved Consort. Sivakama Sundari is as much a participant in the *panca-krtya* ('five-fold' duties) as Nataraja Himself. (See Sri Lalita Sahasra Namam.)

காளியோ டாடிக் கனகா சலத்தாடிக்
கூளியோ டாடிக் குவலயத் தேயாடி
நீடிய நீர்தீகால் நீள்வானிடையாடி
நாளுற அம்பலத் தேயாடும் நாதனே. (Verse 2746)

He dances In the Golden Hall

He dances with Kali;
He dances on the Golden Mountain,
He dances with demons;
He dances in the world,
He dances in water, fire, wind and sky
He, the Lord Supreme, dances in the holy Hall day after day.

Verse No.2766 has the following import:

In the five elements and eight directions
And above and below
Beyond the intelligent senses is Bliss Divine.
For them to witness That which transcends Maya and Mamaya
The Lord stands and dances ever.

சக்தி வடிவு சகல ஆனந்தமும்
ஒத்த ஆனந்தம் உமையவன் மேனியாஞ்
சக்தி வடிவு சகளத்தெழுத்திரண்டு
ஒத்த ஆனந்தம் ஒரு நடமாமே. (Verse 2769)

The Bliss of Siva-Sakti Dance

The form of Sakti is All Bliss;
Uma's form is of equal bliss.
Sakti's form rising in Siva's form
As one merged and in twain dance performed.
That peerless dance is perfect Bliss.

ஆகாச மாமுட லங்கார் முயலகன்
ஏகாச மாந்திசை யெட்டுந் திருக்கை கண்
மோகாய முக்கண்கள் மூன்றொளி தானாக
மாகாய மன்றுள் நடஞ் செய்கின்றானே. (Verse 2774)

Dance In Space

The Space (akasa) is His body,
Muyalaka (the demon) is the Darkness in that Space,
The eight Directions are His out-stretched hands.

The lovely three eyes are the three lights (the Sun, the Moon and fire).
Thus He dances in Space which is the cosmic body.

Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami proceeds to observe:

"This is His dance. Its deepest significance is felt when it is realised that it takes place within the heart and Self; the Kingdom of God is within. Everywhere is God: that everywhere is the heart."

Thus also we find another verse:

ஆடிய காலும் அதிற்சிலம்போசையும்
பாடியபாட்டும் பலவான நட்டமுங்
கூடிய கோலங் குருபரன் கொண்டாடத்
தேடியுளேகண்டு தீர்ந்தற்றவாரே. (Verse 2760) – Ninth Tantram

The dancing foot, the sound of the tinkling bells,
The songs that are sung and the varying step,
The forms assumed by our Dancing *Guru-para*
Find out these within yourself,
Then shall your fetters (the birth-cycle) fall away.

"To this end, all else but the thought of God must be cast out of the heart, that He alone may abide and dance therein."

Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami quotes *Unmai Vilakkam* (of Tiruvadigai Manavasagangadandar):

The silent *jnanis* destroying the 'three-fold bond' are established where their selves are destroyed. There they behold the sacred and are filled with bliss. This is the dance of the Lord of the Assembly, "whose very form is Grace."

மோனந்த மாமுனிவர் மும்மலத்தை மோசித்துத்
தானந்த மானிடத்தே தங்கியிடும் ஆனந்தம்
மொண்டருந்த நின்றாடல் காணும் அருள் மூர்த்தியாய்க்
கொண்ட திரு வம்பலத்தான் கூத்து.

Siva is a destroyer and He loves the burning-ground.* But what does He destroy? Not merely the heavens and the earth at the end of a *Kalpa* but the fetters that bind each separate soul. Where and what is the burning-ground? It is not the place where our earthly bodies are cremated, but the heart of the *bhakta*, the devotee, laid waste and desolate. He brings not peace but a sword. The place where their selves are destroyed signifies the place or state where their egoity or illusion and deeds are burnt off; that is the crematorium, the burning-ground where Nataraja dances and hence He is named Sudalaiyandi, the vagrant of the burning-ground. In this simile, we recognise the historical connection between Siva's gracious dance as Nataraja and His wild dance as the demon of the cemetery."

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* Varanasi (Kasi), the sacred city on the banks of the Ganga, is described as the "great burning-ground" महाश्मशान (*Mahasmasana*).

Quoting *Unmai Vilakkam* (Verses 32,37 and 39), Dr. Coomaraswami sums up its interpretation:

"The Supreme Intelligence dances in the soul — for the purpose of removing our sins. By these means our Father dispels the darkness of *maya*, cuts the thread of *karma*, stamps down *mala* (*anava*, *avidya*), showers grace and lovingly plunges the soul in the ocean of Bliss (*Ananda*). They who behold this mystic dance never see rebirths."

The concept of *Lila*, the world-process as the Lord's sport or amusement, is also prominent in the *Saiva* scriptures. Tirumular writes: "The Perpetual Dance becomes His play."

"This aspect of His activity," says Dr. Coomaraswami, "appears to have given rise to the objection that He dances as do those who seek to please the eye of mortals; to which the answer is given that He dances to maintain the life of the Cosmos and to offer release to those who seek him.

"In another way, more arbitrary, the dance of Siva is identified with the *Pancakshara*, the syllables Si-va-ya-na-ma, which have a peculiar and special significance in *Saiva* symbolism. In *Unmai Vilakkam*, vv. 33-35, they are identified in the dance as follows:

In His feet is *na*; in His navel is *ma*;
In His shoulders is *si*; in His face is *va*; In His head is *ya*.

A second way of contemplating the *Pancakshara* is given as follows:

"The hand holding the drum is *Si*; the hand held out is *va*; the hand holding out protection (*abhaya*) is *ya*; the hand holding fire is *na*; the foot holding down Muyalaka is *ma*." (So Nataraja's right side represents *Sivaya* and the left side *nama*: the Lord manifests Himself as the 'five letters' — (திருவைந்தெழுத்து)

Another verse of *Unmai Vilakkam* explains the fiery arch (*tiruvasi*). The Pancakshara and the Dance are identified with the mystic syllable Om (AUM), the arch being the hook. "The arch over Nataraja is the *Omkara*, and the *akshara*, which is never separate from the *Omkara*, is the contained splendour. This is the Dance of the Lord of Cidambaram.

"The arch represents matter, nature, *Prakrti*; the contained splendour; Siva dancing within and touching the arch with the head, the hands and the feet, is the universal, omnipresent *Purusha*. Between these stands the soul, as *ya* is placed between *Si-va* and *na-ma*.

Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami now proceeds to summarise the whole interpretation of the Cosmic Dance of Nataraja at Cidambaram.

'The essential significance of Siva's dance is threefold: First it is the image of His rhythmic play as the source of all movement within the cosmos, which is represented by the arch; secondly the purpose of this dance is to release the countless souls of men from the snare of illusion; thirdly, the place of the dance, Cidambaram, the centre of the universe, is within the heart.'

The grandeur of the conception of Nataraja lies in its being a synthesis of science, religion and art. It is amazing —— "the range of thought and sympathy of those *rishi*-artists who first conceived such a type as this, affording an image of reality, a key to the complex tissues of life, a theory of nature, not merely satisfactory to a single clique or race, not acceptable to thinkers of one century only, but universal in its appeal to the philosopher, the *bhakta* and the artist of all ages and countries." The synthesis of thought and the creative power that the concept manifests is remarkable.

Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami rounds off this masterly survey with a marvellous sentiment:

'It is not strange that the figure of Nataraja has commanded the adoration of so many generations past; we, familiar with all scepticisms, expert in tracing all beliefs to primitive superstitions, explorers of the infinitely great and infinitely small, are worshippers of Nataraja still.'

Nadanta Dance

Many of the great Saivite saints who have been enraptured by Nataraja's Cosmic Dance at Tillai have given eloquent expression to their boundless devotion (*bhakti*) to Nataraja and their ecstatic joy, in hymns of rare beauty and eternal appeal.

When Appar was in the precincts of the Lord at 'Koyil' (Cidambaram), he opened his *Tiruppadigam* (in the Fourth Tirumurai) with the charming verse (to which we have already referred in Chapter Thirteen) opening with the line

பத்தனாய் பாடமாட்டேன் பரமனே பரம யோகீ

(an eloquent acknowledgement again that Nataraja is a *Paramayogi* since, with Sivakamavalli as part of His body, He has conquered His senses.)

Appar speaks of the *jyoti* of *Tillai-Ambalam* as something incomprehensible. He says that he came to Tillai only to look on His Cosmic Dance. Siva's form —— as He dances at Tillai —— is '*Paranjyoti*' (the Transcendental Light), and the Light of wisdom (*Jnana oli*) breaks the shackles of ignorance. Appar describes Tillai Cirrambalam as a holy centre where the "learned Brahmanas are perpetually engaged in the performance of sacrifices."

செந்தியார் வேள்வி யோவாத் தில்லைச் சிற்றம்பலத்தே
தினைத்தனை வேதங்குன்றாத் தில்லைச் சிற்றம்பலத்தே (in the same *Tiruppadigam*.)

That Tillai was an important centre of Vedic rituals and sacrificial rites is borne out repeatedly by the great Nayanmar, Appar, Sambandhar, Sundarar in their Devaram hymns on 'Koyil' (Tillai).

The *Agamas* describe the concept of Nataraja as '*Yogananda Tandavam*'. The *Ananda Tandavam* which is perceived on the bounds of '*yoga*' is the form of the Cosmic Dancer.

Yet another remarkable statement :ஓசை ஒலியெல்லாம் நீயே ஆனாய்:'You are identical with sound' refers to Nataraja.

As we have already explained, sound emanates from the *damaruka* in the Dancing Lord's lifted right hand, when the Lord dances in a whirl. This '*sabda*' creates the world and so '*damarukam*' stands for 'creation'. We see the Universe as the manifestation of sound. We experience profound truths and call it 'Sabda-Brahmam'. That Brahmam, the Supreme Being, is the form of Nataraja.

Therein lies the concept of Nadanta Tandava-murti. Let us examine the concept a little further, as Tirumular expounded it. It is so much wrapped up in mysticism that I shall be content with high-lighting only some aspects of Tirumular. The scope of the subject is very wide.

While speaking of the *Ananda Tandava* concept of Nataraja, no other savant has used the term 'Nadanta' dance in greater profusion than Tirumular in his *Tirumandiram.* It would therefore be well to reproduce here verses 2747 to 2756 from the Ninth *Tantram* in order to bring out the trend of Tirumular's thought on Nadanta.

மேரு நடு நாடி மிக் கிடை பிங்கலை
கூரு மிவ் வானின் இலங்கைக் குறியுறுஞ்
சாருந்தில்லை வனத் தண்மா மலயத்தூ
டேறுஞ் சுழுனை இவை சிவ பூமியே. (Verse 2747)

The central spinal column that is Meru
The Nadi's *Ida* (left) and *Pingala* (right)
The delta-shaped *Muladhara* of the *Jiva*
The *Sushumna* cavity that is like the Tillai forest
Where the cool southerly breeze from the Malaya mountain blows
All these alike are Siva's spheres of dance.

பூதல மேருப் புறத்தான தெக்கணம்
ஓதும் இடை பிங்கலையொண் சுழுனையாம்
பாதி மதியோன் பயில் திரு அம்பலம்
ஏதமில் பூ தாண்டத் தெல்லையினீறே. (Verse 2748)

The land of Mount Meru and the Land of the South that lies beyond it are the *Ida, Pingala;*

The holy Hall where the Lord of the crescent moon dances is the *Sushumna.* Thus lie the frontiers of this vast Universe.

பொற்றில்லைக் கூத்து

அண்டங்கள் ஓரேழும் அம்பொற் பதியாகப்
பண்டையா காசங்கள் ஐந்தும் பதியாகத்
தெண்டினிற் சத்தி திரு அம்பலமாகக்
கொண்டு பரஞ்சோதி கூத்து கந்தானே. (Verse 2749)

The inner meaning of the Dance of Golden Tillai

He that is Cosmic Light danced in rapture — with the seven Universes as His Golden abode, the five elements, the sky and the rest as pedestal, the central Kundalini Sakti as the Divine Hall

குரானந்த ரேகையாய்க் கூர்ந்த குணமாஞ்
சிரானந்தம் பூரித்துத் தென் திசை சேர்ந்து
புரானந்த போகனாய்ப் பூவையுந் தானும்
நிரானந்த மாகி நிருத்தம் செய்தானே. (Verse 2750)

Dance In the South

In the centre which the *Guru* indicated (*Ananda Margam*), He danced Blissfully; moving South, espousing Sakti in renewed ecstasy, He danced with Her in Eternal Bliss.

ஆதிபரனாட அங்கைக் கனலாட
ஓதுஞ் சடை யாட உன்மத்த முற்றாடப்
பாதி மதியாடப் பாரண்ட மீதாட
நாதமோ டாடினான் நாதாந்த நட்டமே. (Verse 2751)

Nadanta Dance

The primal Supreme Lord danced:
The fire in His hand danced:
The holy matted locks danced;
He danced in the intoxication of joy;*
The crescent moon danced;
The heavenly orbs danced;
Merging in *Nada*, He danced the Heavenly dance of *Nadanta*.

கும்பிட அம்பலத்தாடிய கோனடம்
அம்பரன் ஆடும் அகிலாண்ட நட்டமாஞ்
செம் பொருளாகுஞ் சிவலோகஞ் சேர்ந்துற்றால்
உம்பர மோன ஞானாந்தத்தில் உண்மையே. (Verse 2752)

Cosmic Dance

The *Jivas* adore the dance the Lord performed in the Holy Hall — the Cosmic Dance that transports one to the Truth of Siva's realm. There verily is the Bliss of Mauna Jnana.

மேதினி மூவேழ் மிகுமண்டபம் ஓரேழு
சாதக மாகுஞ் சமயங்கள் நூற்றெட்டு
நாத மோடந்த நடானந்த நாற்பதப்
பாதியோடாடிப் பரனிரு பாதமே. (Verse 2753)

The Universes are seven; the worlds thrice seven;
The religions a hundred and eight which show the path to God;
The heavenly states of Bliss are four:
Nada, Nadanta, Natana, Natananta;

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* உன்மத்த ('unmatta') may be a reference to the *u(n)matta* flower on His head also dancing. உன்மத்த ('unmatta') also means a state of excessive joy or ecstasy bordering on madness. *Nada* is also regarded as one of the 36 *tattva's* of the Saiva Siddhanta tradition (listed last: verses 2181 and 2182 in the Eighth *Tantram*.)

The Sakti is His half;
With them all, the Supreme Lord's holy feet danced.

இடை பிங்கலை யிம வானோ டிலங்கை
நடுநின்ற மேரு நடுவாஞ் சுழுனை
கடவுந்தில்லை வனங் கைகண்ட மூலம்
படர் வொன்றி யென்னும் பரமாம் பரமே. (Verse 2754)

Dance in the Mystic Centres pervades

Idakalai, *Pingalai*, the delta-shaped Muladhara;
the central spinal column Meru; the Sushumna cavity
within that is like the Tillai forest. In all these the
primal one that is Paraparam* pervades.

ஈறான கன்னி குமரியே காவிரி
வேறா நவதீர்த்த மிக்குள்ள வெற் பேழுள்
பேறான வேதாகமமே பிறத்தலான்
மாறாத தென் திசை வையகஞ்சுத்தமே. (Verse 2755)

The Holy land: the South of India

At the Land's end is Kanyakumari
The South is the Holy land indeed which the Kaveri and the
other holy waters and nine *tirtha's* and the seven sacred
hills too make sanctified. The Veda-Agamas were born in
that land.** The South land is thus blessed.

நாதத் தினிலாடி நாற்பதத் தேயாடி
வேதத் திலாடித் தழலந்த மீதாடி
போதத் திலாடிப் புவன முழுதாடுந்
தீதற்ற தேவாதி தேவர் பிரானே. (Verse 2756)

The Lord's Solo Dance

He dances in Nada; He dances in the Four states.*** He dances in Veda; He dances on the top of fire;**** He dances in Bodha;***** He dances in all the worlds. He is free from blemish, the Lord of countless Devas.

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* The expression *'Paraparam'* is normally used by Tirumular and others to denote the Siva-Sakti form, half- male, half-female (the Ardhanari concept).

** A tacit statement that the Veda Agamas were born in South India.

*** Nada, Nadanta, Natana and Natananta

**** Kundalini

***** Pure consciousness

Under the caption 'Tiruk-k-kuttu Darsanam' (*Darsan* of the Blessed Dance) in the Ninth *Tantram* of Tirumular, the Saint describes variously the dance of the Tillai Lord in five ways:-

Sivananda-k-kuttu (Siva-Bliss Dance)
Sundara-k-kuttu (Dance of Beauty)
Porpati-k-kuttu (Dance of the Golden Hall)
Porrillai-k-kuttu (Dance of Golden Tillai)
Adbhuta-k-kuttu (Dance of Wonder).

சிற்பரஞ்சோதி சிவானந்தக்கூத்தனைச்
சொற் பதமாம் அந்தச் சுந்தரக்கூத்தனை
பொற்பதிக் கூத்தனைப் பொற்றில்லைக்கூத்தனை
அற்புதக் கூத்தனை யாரறிவாரே. (Verse 2723)

He is the Supreme Light of *Cit*
He dances the Dance of Bliss (*Ananda* dance)
He is Nada that is 'AUM'
He dances the Dance of Beauty (Sundara dance)
He dances in the Golden Hall (Golden dance)
He dances in Golden Tillai (Golden Tillai dance)
He dances the wondrous dance (Adbhuta dance)
Who can ever know him?

In verse 2743 in the Ninth Tantram, Tirumular refers to "மாணிக்கக் கூத்தனை" ("He dances as a Red Ruby" presumably a reference to Ratnasabhapati).

Tirumular proceeds to describe the various types of dances in relation to the six *Adhara's.*

கொடுகொட்டி பாண்டரங் கோடு சங் கார
நடமொட்டோ டைந்தாறு நாடியுள் நாடுந்
திடமுற்றெழுந் தேவ தாரு வாந் தில்லை
வடமுற்ற மாவன மன்னவன் தானே. (Verse 2733)

The Dances of Siva, Eight and Five, in six Adharas: *Kodukotti, Pandarangam, Kodu, Samharam* and others.

These Eight dances* He danced;
The Five Dances too He danced.
You witness all these in the six *Nadi's* (*Adharas*) in the *yogic* way.

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* *Sundara Kuttu*, the Dance of beauty and compassion, has eight variations: *Kodukotti*, the dance performed after the destruction of everything; *Pandarangam*, *Kapala-k - kuttu* (with Brahma's skull in one hand), *Uli-natanam* (the pralaya-deluge dance), *Muni-tandavam, Ananda-tandavam, Anavarata-tandavam* and *Samhara-tandavam* (at the time of destruction).

The Supreme King danced too in the forests of Devadaru
And in Tillai and in Alavanam*

அம்பல மாவதகில சரா சரம்
அம்பல மாவது ஆதிப் பிரானடி
அம்பல மாவது அப்புத்தீ மண்டலம்
அம்பலமாவது அஞ்செழுத்தாமே. (Verse 2775)

The Holy dance arena is the entire creation;
The Holy dance arena is the Holy Feet of the Lord.
The Holy dance arena is the sphere of water and fire;
Truly, the Holy Dance arena is the set of 'five letters' (*Namasivaya*).

கூடிய திண்முழ வங்குழ லோ மென்று
ஆடிய மானுடர் ஆதிப் பிரானென்ன
நாடிய நற்கண மாரம்பல் பூதங்கள்
பாடிய வாறொரு பாண்ட ரங்காமே. (Verse 2776)

Pandaranga Dance at the Dissolution

The drums beat, the pipes played,
'AUM' they hummed. The men danced, calling 'My primal Lord'.
The *Gana's* in serried ranks praised the Lord. The numerous *Bhuta's* sang.

Thus the Lord danced the Pandarangam (the dance of dissolution at the end of the conflagration of the *Tripurams*.)**

தத்துவம் ஆடச் சதாசிவந் தானாடச்
சித்தமும் ஆடச் சிவசத்தி தானாட
வைத்த சரா சரம் ஆட மறை யாட
அத்தனும் ஆடினான் ஆனந்தக்கூத்தே. (Verse 2789)

The *Tattvas* danced, Sadasiva danced; the *'Cit'* danced; Siva-Sakti danced; the vast creation danced; the Vedas danced; the Lord too danced the *Ananda* dance (the dance of Divine Bliss).

(The real meaning of all these dances can be appreciated only if it is borne in mind that real *Ananda* consists in the attainment of the Imperishable, Immutable Bliss).

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* Tiru Alangadu or Tiruvalangadu (near Arakkonam) in Tamil Nadu.

** As we have pointed out earlier, Saint Sambandhar went into ecstasy at Tillai over the Pandaranga dance, as his hymns say.

The Lord danced at the request of Patanjali and Vyaghrapada:

இருவருங்காண எழில் அம்பலத்தே
உருவோடருவோடுரு பர ரூபமாய்த்
திரு வருட்சத்திக்குள் சித்தானானந்தன்
அருளுருவாக நின்றாடலுற்றானே. (Verse 2790)

In the splendrous Hall of the temple (of Cidambaram), He danced both with form and formless and as cosmic form for the two *Rishis* (Patanjali and Vyaghrapada) to witness. He danced within the Divine grace of Sakti, He the Siddha, the Ananda. As embodiment of Grace, He stood and danced.

Tirumular relates the "five-letter" *Mantra* to the significance of the *Ananda* dance form.

மருவந்துடியுடன் மன்னிய வீச்சும்
அருவிய அப்பும் அனலுடன் கையும்
கருவின் மிதித்த கமலப் பதமும்
உருவில் சிவாய நம வென ஓதே. (Verse 2798)

The hand that holds the drum (*Si*)
The hand that sways (*Va*)
The hand that assures Refuge (*Ya*)
The hand that holds the blazing fire (*Na*)
The lotus foot planted firmly on Anava Mala (*Ma*)
The Divine Dance form is thus denoted by the five letters: *Si Va Ya Na Ma*.

We round off this survey with a reference to Tirumular's description, with the customary interpretation, of the symbolism of Nataraja's Ananda Tandavam — as the embodiment of the five-fold functions of the Lord.

அரன்துடி தோற்றம் அமைத்தல் திதியாம்
அரன் அங்கி தன்னில் அறையிற் சங்காரம்
அரனுற்ற ணைப்பில் அமருந் திரோதாயி
அரனடி யென்றும் அனுக்கிரகம் என்னே. (Verse 2799)

Hara's drum is Creation;
Hara's hand, indicative of protection, is Preservation;
Hara's fire is Dissolution;
Hara's foot planted down (the pressing foot) is Obfuscation *(Tirodhayi);*
Hara's foot raised in dance (the uplifted foot) is Grace (Redemption).

The same thought is embodied in Verse 36 of *'Unmai Vilakkam':*

தோற்றந் துடியதனில்; தோயும் திதி அமைப்பில்
சாற்றியிடும் அங்கியிலே சங்காரம் – ஊற்றமா
ஊன்று மலர் பதத்தே உற்ற திரோதம் முத்தி
நான்ற மலர்ப்பதத்தே நாடு.

Tirumular's Ninth *Tantram* in his *Tirumandiram* is an extensive exposition of Siva's dance; and adequate justice cannot be done to its range and depth within the confines of a chapter. An attempt has been made in this section to bring out the basic concept of *Nadanta* dance as envisaged in the *Tirumandiram*.

In one of the final sections of the Ninth *Tantram* of the *Tirumandiram*, Tirumular dwells on the concept of *Jnanodayam* (Dawn of *Jnana*) and later of *Satyajnananandam (Sat-Cit-Ananda)*.

ஞானத்தின் நன்னெறி நாதாந்த நன்னெறி
ஞானத்தின் நன்னெறி நானென்றறிவோர்தல்
ஞானத்தின் நல்யோக நன்னிலையே நிற்றல்
ஞானத்தின் நன்மோன நாதாந்த வேதமே. (Verse 2821)

The *jnana* way is the *Nadanta* way
The *jnana* way is the knowledge of self
The *jnana* way of *Yoga* is to concentrate on Siva
The *jnana* way of silence is the Veda truth of *Nadanta.*

மத்திமம் ஆறாறு மாற்றி மலநீக்கிச்
சுத்தம தாகுந் துரியத்துரி சற்றுப்
பெத்த மறச்சிவ மாகிப் பிறழ் வுற்றுச்
சத்திய ஞானானந்தஞ் சார்ந்தனன் ஞானியே. (Verse 2833)

(The reference is to the thirty-six *tattvas* of Saiva Siddhanta).

The true *jnani's* rid themselves of *mala's* (impurities) by getting cleansed in pure *Turiya;* freed of the state of bondage *(baddha)*, they become identical with Siva; beyond that they ascend into the state of *Satya-jnana-ananda* (Truth-Knowledge-Bliss, that is *Sat-Cit-Ananda*).

To sum up:

Siva is *Nada* (Sound). Sound *(Nada)* is the attribute of *Akasa* (ether). Of the five elements, the fifth element, ether (Akasa) is the medium through which sound is transmitted. So the determined goal of Nada — Nadanta — is the Cosmic Dance of Nataraja, who represents ether, among the five elements. He dances in the universe and in the *Cit akasa* (soul). Hence the name *Nadanta* dance.

Of the five gross elements or the *panca mahabhutas*, *Akasa* is produced from the *sabda-tanmatra* (*tan-matra* means the primary element of perception), Vayu from *sparsa*, Agni from *rupa*, Apas from *rasa*, Prthivi from *gandha*. *Bindu* is the compact mass of Sakti gathered into an undifferentiated point, ready to create.

Siva is the first cause, Sakti is the instrumental cause and Maya is the material cause. The potter analogy is simple. The potter is the first cause; clay is the material cause and the potter's wheel is the instrumental cause.

Of the two descriptive terms used to explain the Cosmic Dance of Nataraja, Ananda Tandava is the Dance of Bliss and Nadanta Natana is the dancing posture that marks the culmination of

Nada. In these two terms drawn from *yoga* thought, Ananda refers to the condition of ecstatic bliss that emerges in the heart of the *yogi* when he has reached the state of what is described by some scholars as *Shambhavi Mudra*. The term Nadanta reiterates the inner processes that occur prior to reaching the high, transcendental state of *Yoga*. To the *Yogi* in meditation different sounds merge into Brahmananda. This Nada lifts the Yogi to the highest point in his inner being and reveals to him the Supreme Lord of the Universe, in the form of *Param Jyoti* (Transcendental Light). Scholars point out that the term Nadanta sums up the highest essence of *Yoga* and Nataraja is the embodiment of that Supreme Light.

The event called Jnanakasa-Cit-sabha pravesam (ज्ञानाकाश—चित्सभा—प्रवेश:) entry into the Hall of Cit in the space of Divine Knowledge, that takes place on the Ani Tirumanjanam day and Ardra Darsanam day, is no ordinary ritual. Cit Sabha, the *sanctum sanctorum* of Nataraja is looked upon as an architectural projection of the *Dvadasanta* or the *Ajnacakra* in the body of the Yogi, to which we have made a reference in an earlier Chapter. This explains why Nataraja is described as Dvadasantastha Sabhesa (द्वादशान्तस्थ—सभेश:) or the Lord who resides in the space that is in the Dvadasanta.

In the literature of Cidambaram Nataraja is identified with the *Pranava*. Some of the Lord's names like Pranavatmaka (प्रणवात्मक:) Nadanta (नादान्त:) are a couple of examples. The term *Nadanta natána* which is used to describe His dance at Cidambaram signifies the dance that comes at the end of *Nada*, which is the same as *Pranavanada*. The term *Ananda Tandava* is derived from the innermost experience of *Pranava*. Nataraja does not dance alone, but along with His Sakti, Sivakamavalli. The role of Sakti in Nataraja's Ananda Tandava is vital.

Adi Sankara opens his 'Saundarya Lahari' with this well-known verse (addressed to Sakti):

शिव: शक्त्या युक्तो यदि भवति शक्त: प्रभवितुम्।
न चेदेवं देवो न खलु कुशल: स्पन्दितुमपि॥

"Siva can perform his role effectively only in conjunction with you (Sakti). If He does not act in concert with you, He cannot move at all."

Sankara Bhagavatpada, in effect, says that 'Sakti is the highest source of divine strength, without which even Siva cannot act.'

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CHAPTER 18

Tirumular And Some Aspects Of *'Tirumandiram'*

Tirumular

There appears to be general agreement among Pallava historians that, even as late as the second half of the fourth century A.D., the Pallava kings, ruling from Kancipuram, were issuing charters in *Prakrit* in the first instance and later in Sanskrit, and that these records were on copper-plates. Pallava stone inscriptions came into the picture a little later; and such inscriptions in Tamil came into vogue, to a limited extent, in the Pallava period only late in the sixth century A.D. It was only from the period of Nandivarman II (742-796 A.D.) that stone inscriptions came to be invariably in Tamil. Sanskrit was actively fostered by the Pallava rulers, and a number of distinguished Sanskrit poets and scholars were accorded a warm reception in the Pallava court. Some of the Pallava kings were themselves competent writers in Sanskrit. The *ghatika* (University) at Kanci during the Pallava period was a great centre of Sanskrit learning, which attracted Sanskrit scholars from far and near. *'Matta Vilasa Prahasana'*, authored by the Pallava king Mahendravarman I (A.D. 580-630), is a satire in Sanskrit which reflects the religious and social life of the people of his time and region at the end of the 6th and in the early 7th century A.D. with particular reference to the *Kapalikas* and *Pasupatas* of his period in the Kancipuram area. If one recalls that Mahendravarman himself, who was an ardent Jaina earlier, was converted to Saivism by Appar, one will appreciate how strong Mahendravarman's reaction should have been to the propensities of some of the Saivite sects in his days, to compel him to write his satire.

The fourth century A.D. was the period in which, it is commonly believed, many of the Puranas (including the *Linga Purana**) acquired their present Sanskrit form. It was the age of Kalidasa. The Gupta rulers were great promoters of Sanskrit in North India. The Deccan also witnessed an upsurge in Sanskrit learning then. Thus, alike in North India, the Deccan and South India, the fourth century A.D. was notable for its promotion of Sanskrit learning and culture. Indeed, scholars look upon that century as the golden age of Sanskrit in India. It would appear therefore that during the bulk of the Pallava period, right upto the reign of Mahendravarman I (late 6th century and early 7th century A.D.), Sanskrit had acquired a remarkable degree of royal patronage in South India. The 6th/7th century transition also witnessed a corresponding efflorescence of Tamil — a retrieval of the ground that was lost after the Sangam age.

It is against this background that the phenomenon of Tirumular, and his immortal work *'Tirumandiram'*, should be evaluated. *'Tirumandiram'* is acknowledged as one of the most authoritative and substantial works on the Tamil Saiva doctrine — 'a manual of Saiva mysticism'.

There are many indications that Tirumular belongs to the fifth/sixth century A.D. Tirumular is also one of the Sixty-three Nayanmar of the Saivite tradition, who figures prominently in Sekkilar's *'Periyapuranam'*. But he was a Nayanar with a difference. Originally a *brahmana yogi* from

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* The '*Linga Purana*' (in Sanskrit) was written in the reign of Candragupta Vikramaditya II, who ruled from A.D.380 to 412.

Kailasa, in the high mountain ranges close to Kashmir, he had obtained the grace of 'Nandi deva' (Lord Siva)*. We continue his story a few paragraphs later.

Tirumular's profuse application in this work of Sanskrit terms with their Tamil equivalents in the *Agama* phraseology reflects the spirit of the age — 5th/6th century A.D., when Sanskrit continued to be a powerful medium and Tamil had just started establishing itself again. Considering that Tirumular had a Kashmiri background, *'Tirumandiram'* is at once proof of Tirmular's broad vision and his grasp of the principles of his faith; he is also full of praise for the legacy and literature of the Tamils. To Tirumular should go the credit of clothing in such delightful mystic poetry in Tamil the wisdom and the glory of the twenty-eight *'Saiva Agamas'* (in Sanskrit). It is a rich contribution to the growth of Saivism in the Tamil country over the centuries; and *Saiva Siddhanta*, which was developed under the inspiration of *'Tirumandiram'*, is an important doctrine in the Saivite tradition over the last ten centuries and more in the Tamil country.

In verses 57 and 58 (reproduced below), under the caption, "The greatness of the *Agamas*", Tirumular himself has acknowledged that in working on his '*Tirumandiram*', he had drawn inspiration from the twenty-eight Saiva *Agamas* (in Sanskrit) and offers his homage to the Supreme Lord, Siva.

அஞ்சன மேனி அரிவையோர் பாகத்தன்
அஞ்சொடிருபத்து மூன்றுள ஆகமம்
அஞ்சலி கூப்பி அறுபத்தறுவரும்
அஞ்சா முகத்தில் அரும் பொருள் கேட்டதே. (Verse 57)

அண்ணல் அருளால் அருளும் சிவாகமம்
எண்ணில் இருபத்தெண் கோடி நூறாயிரம்
விண்ணவர் ஈசன் விழுப்பம் உரைத்தனர்
எண்ணி நின்றப் பொருள் ஏத்துவன் யானே. (Verse 58)

Now to resume the story of Tirumular.

The *yogi* from Kailasa developed a longing to meet Agastya, the sage on Podiyil hills (Podiyamalai) in South India. On his way, he visited Kedaram, Pasupati in Nepal, Varanasi, Srisailam, Kalahasti, Tiruvalangadu, Kancipuram and Tiruvadigai before reaching Perumparrappuliyur (Cidambaram).

அற்புதக் கூத்தாடுகின்ற அம்பலம் சூழ் திருவீதிப்
பொற்பதியாம் பெரும்பற்றப் புலியூரில் வந்தணைந்தார்.

At Tillai he witnessed *Adavallan's adbhutak-kuttu* and *anandak-kuttu*. Soon thereafter he reached the banks of the Kaveri near Tiruvavaduturai.

A cowherd of Sattanur, a village close to Tiruvavaduturai, who had brought his herd of cattle to the banks of the Kaveri for grazing, died suddenly. The *brahmana yogi* from Kailasa, who happened to come by, noticed that the cattle were distraught at the sudden death of the cowherd, Mulan. With compassion towards the cattle in distress, the *yogi* activated his superhuman powers (*siddhi*) and his soul transmigrated into the body of the dead Mulan. The cowherd's body came to life.

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* Tirumular describes Lord Siva as Nandikesvara (Nandi is the vehicle of Siva).

"அவனுடலில் தம்முயிரைப் பாய்த் தினார்."

The *yogi* in his new role as Mulan drove the jubilant cattle home. At Sattanur, Mulan's wife came near to greet him, but the *Siva yogi* would not allow her to touch him. Instead, the *yogi* (in Mulan's body) went into deep meditation at a spot nearby. The villagers came to the conclusion that the cowherd had renounced the world. When he went back to the spot where he had left behind his own body, he did not find it there. He was convinced that the Lord had assigned him a mission to fulfil. He offered worship at the Tiruvavaduturai Siva temple.

Known from then on as Tirumular, the *yogi* wrote out the doctrines of Saiva phiosophy in three thousand stanzas — it is stated — at the rate of one stanza per year — which presumes that Mular lived for more than 3000 years, the possibility of which is difficult to accept by our—normal standards. This is how 'Tirumandiram' was born, with the opening words:

"ஒன்றவன் நானே"

When he had completed his work 'Tirumandiram', Tirumular returned to Kailasa and attained Siva's feet. Such is the miraculous story of Tirumular — bringing out the concepts of *jnana, yoga, kriya* and *carya*.

What stands out in most stories of the Sixty-three Nayanmar is that the victories won for the cause of Saivism by the Nayanmar were through miracles they wrought rather than by mere philosophical disputations. Practical proof of the superiority of Saivism over other faiths like Jainism and Buddhism could be afforded only through miracles. Appar, Sambandhar, Kannappa Nayanar and Nandanar proved worthy of the greatest respect since argument by miracles was their powerful weapon. And the most outstanding attribute of the saints of the *'Periya Puranam'* was their intense *bhakti* for Siva and service to Siva's devotees. Subtlety of reasoning, in Saivite philosophy, as has found initial expression in Tirumular's *'Tirumandiram'*, was a later phenomenon. Therein lies the difference between the appeal of Tirumular and that of the other saints like Appar, Sambandhar and Sundarar. However, it is as much a vital part of the story of the growth of Saivism in Tamil Nadu as are the contributions of the latter saints.

The date of Tirumular:

1) Sundarar, who wrote the *'Tiruttondattogai'* (an account of the noted Sixty-three Tamil Saivite saints before his days), lived in the early part of the 9th century A.D. (8th century A.D. according to some scholars). So, Tirumular, who finds a place in it, should have lived earlier than in the 9th century A.D.

2) Both *'Bhaktavilasam'*, a Sanskrit work by Upamanyu, on which Sekkilar's 'Periya Puranam' is based, and 'Periya Puranam' itself, agree in their accounts that Tirumular's soul (*jiva*) entered into the body of a dead shepherd and that he later did penance. His return to Kailasa after writing the *'Tirumandiram'* is indicated in Upamanyu's *'Bhaktavilasam'*.

3) It was in Kashmir – very near Kailasa from where Tirumular hailed — that the *Agamanta* philosophy called *'Pratyabhijna'* flourished. The *Agamanta* — the inner meaning of the Vedas — is the essence of the twenty-eight *Saiva Agamas* in Sanskrit. These twenty-eight *Agamas* are said to have been written in Sanskrit in the Kashmir Valley. In North India, the *Agamanta* came up long before Jainism became prominent and was termed *'Pratyabhijna Darsanam'*. (It is not clear whether it was known by this name in such an early period). According to some scholars, the *Pratyabhijna* school of Saivism was called by the general term 'Kashmir Saivism' in the early periods, and the system seems to have acquired a definite label as *Pratyabhijna* only from the 10th century A.D., when Abhinavagupta and his pupil Kshemaraja gave it its distinct identity. (More about it later.) Kashmir Saivism is said to have spread westwards, where it was known as *Vira Mahesvara Darsanam*, as well as southwards, where it was called *Suddha Saiva Darsanam*. Yet scholars hold that it did not contain any of the indispensable teachings of *Agamanta*. This expansion of *Agamanta* into the South should have occurred long before the great Saivite saints — Appar, Sambandhar, Manikkavacakar and Sundarar — appeared on the scene.

As for the Southern scene, since temple worship is one of the external observances advocated in the *Agamanta*, it is fair to infer that the time when temple worship began in South India should have predated, or coincided with, the time *Agamanta* came to the South.

Tirumular explains faithfully the teachings and truths of *Agamanta*; the Tamil tradition consistently holds that Tirumular came from Kailasa; and there is great similarity between Tirumular's teachings and Kashmir Saivism. These three facts justify the inference that at the time when Tirumular came to the South from Kailasa, the *Pratyabhijna* (Kashmir Saivism) doctrines were in a flourishing state in Kashmir (irrespective of the particular label the school of Kashmir Saivism bore at that time in Kashmir itself).

4) Somananda, the author of *Sivadrshti*, the versatile Abhinavagupta, and his brilliant disciple, Kshemaraja, who wrote the *'Pratyabhijna-Hrdayam'* in the tenth century A.D. on Kashmir Saivism, appeared on the scene nearly four centuries later than Tirumular. Likewise, Tirumular was several centuries ahead in time of Meykanda Devar, who was the author of the famous work *'Sivajnana Bodham'*, in Tamil — regarded as a tranlation of a section of the *Raurava Agama*. Thus Tirumular was the earliest to set down in Tamil the tenets of the Saiva *Agamas* and popularise them. He has high praise for the Vedas and the Agamas, and tries to make clear their true value.

5) In his auto-biographical prelude to the *'Tirumandiram'*, Tirumular speaks eloquently of Nandikesvara's (Siva's) grace on him; describes how he was enthralled by the dance (திருக்கூத்து) of Siva in the Holy Sabha, how he ventured to compose the *Agamas*, how he came by the great path of Kailasa and had a vision of the *Anandak-kuttan*; how he was privileged to sing the Agamic truth in sweet Tamil (verses 73 to 94)*; how he came to realise

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* என்னை நன்றாக இறைவன் படைத்தனன்
தன்னை நன்றாகத் தமிழ்ச் செய்யுமாறே. (Verse 81)

the inner meaning of the *Agamas*, which are on par with the Vedas. The Third Chapter of the Second Tantram, captioned *'Linga Puranam'*, has a special appeal to Vira Mahesvaras, the six *Adharas* (*Shad-Sthala Vivecana*) mentioned in the first chapter of the Seventh *Tantram* are among whose cardinal tenets. Thus Tirumular must have come to the South after the *Linga Purana* (4th century A.D.) and the *Vira Mahesvara* cult had been well established. For these reasons, scholars have held that Tirumular came to South India roughly towards the close of the fifth or early in the sixth century A.D.

6) The reference to the *Pattini* cult in the Second *Tantram* (Section 22), and the references in the Section *'Anda Lingam'* in the Seventh *Tantram* to carved wood and hard brick in the construction of a temple, make it clear that the temple housing the *Linga* alluded to in the verses was built of brick and mortar — a situation which obtained before 600 A.D., and the period of the Pallava ruler, Mahendravarman I. So Tirumular could not have lived later than the Sixth Century A.D.

7) The 19th Section of the Second *Tantram* ('The Holy Temple') is proof positive that, in Tirumular's time, the monarchs showed interest in the construction of Siva temples. Tirumular's condemnation of transplanting "established" *Lingas* proves that, in his time, the *Linga* concept had come to stay and that Tirumular must have lived in the interval of time between Koc-cenganan and 600 A.D. when temple building with non-perishable materials had come into vogue.

The Seventh *Tantram* gives us more than a broad hint that the *Agamas* were already known in the Tamil country by that time, and were also preserved by the *pujakas*.

8) The facts that, in their hymns, Appar and Sambandhar, who belonged to the Seventh Century A.D., were highly critical of the activities of the Jainas and ultimately succeeded by their miracles in establishing the supremacy of Saivism prove that, at the time Tirumular lived and wrote his *'Tirumandiram'*, the Jaina factor was not as much of a force to fight against as it came to be in the days of Appar and Sambandhar. This fact should go to establish that Tirumular lived in the Tamil country long before, say at least a century or a century and a half earlier than, Appar. Some scholars variously infer that Tirumular lived in the fifth century A.D., or sometime between the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.

The Tiruvavaduturai Adhinam edition of *'Tirumandiram'* (of the year 1990) has quoted the views of some scholars that Tirumular's period could be sometime after the 3rd century A.D. and prior to the 7th century A.D.

Some other scholars hold the view that neither the age of Tirumular nor the age of the *Saiva Agamas* themselves can be determined !

S.R.Balasubrahmanyam was of the view that Tirumular could be assigned to the early half of the sixth century A.D. It appears sound as well as safe (from the internal and all other evidence) to accept his view. If we do, every development in the history of Saivism in Tamil Nadu falls into place.

Some aspects of Tirumular's *'Tirumandiram'*:

Tirumular's *'Tirumandiram'* has inspired many savants; it has been the subject of special studies, and volumes have been, and will continue to be, written by specialists, on its text, its content, and the great truths it embodies. It is far from our intention to attempt an extensive survey of this mighty and sacred work. Our only intention is to briefly relate Tirumular and the *'Tirumandiram'* to the subject of this monograph — Tillai and Nataraja. We are fully conscious that our treatment cannot do adequate justice to this great theme. Our main concern in the following paragraphs is to emphasize how frequently and intensively Tirumular has used the concepts of *Nada* and *Nadanta* in the '*Tirumandiram*' and how he has identified Nataraja's dance at Cidambaram as Nadanta dance — to which most writers on Cidambaram merely make a bland reference without elaborating on this vital point. This subtle concept is best understood only against the full background of the '*Tirumandiram*'. If these brief notes help to reflect the concept clearly, this chapter will have served its limited purpose.

In verse 74 of his prologue to the '*Tirumandiram*', Tirumular refers to his eyes having witnessed and being enthralled by the ecstatic dance in the Holy *Sabha*, where "he lived and enjoyed it for seven crore *yugas*". In verse 77, he speaks of the deep impact of Siva's dance on him.

In verse 102, Tirumular ranks *Nadanta* among the seven heads of seven orders, who propounded the words of the *Agamas*. 'Holy *Sabha*' refers to the universe in its totality or more specifically '*akasa*' or Space which is void and the operating ground of the Divine. In Tamil Saivite culture, the counterpart on earth of the Holy *Sabha* is Tillai.

First Tantram:

Verse 115: The *Pati-Pasu-Pasam* concept is introduced. *Pati*, *Pasu* and *Pasam* are without beginning. *Pasam* (bondage) does not come near the Supreme *Pati* (Lord). Let *Pati* but touch the *Pasu* (soul), instantly *Pasam* will disappear.

Verse 116: The three *malas* (impurities) are: *anava*, *maya*, *karma* (effect of one's Action). Nandikesvara, the Lord, dispels the three impurities like the Sun does darkness.

Verse 125: Deals with *Nada* and *Nadanta* — சத்தமுஞ்சத்த முடிவுந்தம்

Verse 130: 'In *Akasa* the Lord dances, for his *Sakti*, Uma, to behold and enjoy.'

Verse 131: 'ஆணிப் பொன் மன்றினில் ஆடுந்திருக்கூத்தை'

'He dances the Holy Dance in the *Sabha* of the purest gold.'

Verse 138: Avers that the Holy feet of Siva are the final refuge for the illumined souls.

Verse 154: 'When the body crumbles, the ninety-six *tattvas* flee.' The 96 *tattvas* are classified into:-

five *Siva tattvas*
seven *Vidya tattvas*
twenty-four *Prakrti-* or *atma- tattvas*
making up a set of 36 *tattvas*

25 Manifestations of the five elements in the body
10 *Nadis* in the body
10 *Vayus* in the body
3 desires
5 of speech
3 *gunas*, and
4 of sound

In their hymns, Appar and Sambandhar also touch on the 96 *tattvas* of the Saiva Siddhanta philosophy.

Verse 226: The Lord is *Nadanta* (transcending sound), *Vedanta* (beyond the Vedas), *Bodhanta* (transcending the *Pasu-Pati-Pasa* complex).

Verse 270: "அன்பே சிவம்" "Love alone is Siva." (When realization dawns, the devotee remains in love of Siva.)

Verse 322: 'Only those who are in the middle path attain Siva; only they attain *jnana* and become saintly.'

Second Tantram:

Verses 339 to **346:** Relate to Siva's eight deeds of heroism, as outlined below.

Verse 339: Siva destroyed the demon Antaka with His sharp trident.

Verse 340: Relates to the subjugation of Daksha, Brahma's son, who challenged Lord Siva's primacy.

Verse 341: The Lord punished Aya (Brahma) and Acyuta (Vishnu).

Verse 342: The Lord destroyed Jalandhara.

Verse 343: Siva burnt the three cities, the flying fortresses. What Siva destroyed was in fact the triple impurities -- ego (*anava*), fruits of one's action (*karma*) and illusion (*maya*).

Verse 344: Gajasura was an elephant-monster that arose out of the sacrificial fire which the sages of the Daruka forest performed to challenge Siva's supremacy. Siva tore off and donned the elephant's skin as a vestment. Uma, Siva's Consort, was shocked at the sight of the ferocious Siva clad in the skin of the elephant.

Sambandhar and Appar allude to these episodes in many of their hymns.

Verse 345: Siva directed the *kundalini* fire coiled up in Muladhara to the hollow on the top and scorched Yama, the God of Death, at Tirukkadaiyur, making him beat a repentant retreat. This refers to the Markandeya episode (yet another episode which the great Nayanmar, Appar and Sambandhar, often allude to in their hymns).

Verse 346: Siva's *tapas* was disturbed by the shafts of amour which Manmatha darted at Siva. In His wrath, Siva reduced the God of Love to ashes. The scene of action was Korukkai.

Verse 349: This verse deals with the well-known *Lingodbhava* episode in which Brahma and Vishnu were locked in a dispute over their relative superiority. (Ajitagama deals with it. This Chapter of Tirumandiram is itself captioned *Linga Puranam.* Chapters Seventeen to Nineteen of *Linga Purana* which deal with the same episode have perhaps inspired Tirumular in composing this section "Linga Puranam".)

The issue was who, of the two, Brahma and Vishnu, was the architect of the universe. The quarrel arose out of ignorance or delusion.

Siva appeared before them as a *Skambha*, a powerful *Jyoti* —— a cosmic fire in the form of a vertical pillar with tongues of flames —— an effulgent *linga* of immeasurable size, with neither a beginning nor an end nor a middle. An unembodied voice spoke: "Siva Himself has appeared before you as a Jyoti to test your strength. If you can, you may try to ascertain the locations of the head and the bottom of this phenomenon." Consumed by self-conceit, Brahma and Vishnu are said to have observed, "We shall discover the head and the bottom. Whoever finds one of them first will be acknowledged as superior." Vishnu assumed the form of a Varaha (a black boar) and burrowed down into the earth. The search at the bottom was futile. Brahma assumed the form of a bright swan (*hamsa*) and flew into higher spaces in order to locate the head of the flaming pillar of Siva. His effort, too, did not produce any result. Brahma and Vishnu bowed to Siva in the flaming pillar and admitted failure in their search for the head and the bottom of the flaming pillar and sang the praise of Siva.

Siva told Brahma and Vishnu, "Both of you are born from me, Brahma having originated from my right loin and Vishnu from the left. All the three of us are really one, but are now separated into three aspects: Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesvara. Brahma will, in future, be born of Vishnu at the beginning of a *Kalpa*. I shall be born from the angry brow of Vishnu." Mahesvara then disappeared.

Legend has it that while searching for the top of the pillar of fire, Brahma came across a falling petal of the *Ketaki* flower and was wondering aloud where it came from. The petal answered that it was falling from the head of Mahesvara. It was not clear how long it had been happening. Taking hold of this petal, Brahma came down to meet Vishnu to tell Him that he had 'discovered' the head of Mahesvara —— as the *Ketaki* petal he had brought with him would establish. Vishnu punished Brahma's falsehood with the curse that the latter would not thereafter be worshipped by men on earth. So, it is claimed, Brahma is never enshrined in a separate temple of worship.

In order to quell their self-conceit, Siva transformed both Vishnu and Brahma into different forms and retained them respectively on His left foot (as Varaha) and on the right top (as Hamsa) and conferred His grace on them. In the *Lingodbhava* images, we see Siva enshrined in the 'flaming *linga*' and with the Hamsa and the Varaha above and below Him respectively.

The Lingodbhava image is usually located in a Siva temple in a *deva-koshta* on the east or the west, depending on the orientation of the shrine (T.A.Gopinatha Rao, "Elements of Hindu Iconography", Vol.II, Part I, p.105).

In the particular case of the Cit Sabha at Cidambaram, a shrine for Lingodbhava is located in the western cloistered verandah, facing east.

Siva bestows knowledge through his *Jyoti* and removes the 'ignorance' of Brahma and Vishnu. The *linga* represents this aspect of Sadasiva.

The great Nayanmar have sung hymns on this important episode as well. It is also elaborated on in Verses 372 and 380 of the Second *Tantram*.

It is noteworthy that Tirumular describes the notable deeds of Siva in a separate section in the Second *Tantram*, significantly captioned "*Linga Puranam*". By Tirumular's time, the *linga* concept had been well established in the Tamil culture —— as his frequent references to *linga* prove.

In separate sections, nos.9 to 13, of the Second *Tantram*, Tirumular deals with the *Pancakrtyas*: Creation, Preservation, Destruction, Obscuration and Bestowal of Grace (concepts inherent in Nataraja's *Ananda Tandava*). This is of considerable significance to the theme of the present work.

Verse 382: From the union of *Nada* and *Bindu* appear Siva and Sakti. From Siva arises *Jnana* (knowledge, the *Sakti* of Isvara); from *Sakti*, *Kriya* (action) is born; Iccha (Will or Desire, the Sakti of Sadasiva) arose from the *Bindu* (which is the creative force compacted into a point).

Verse 385: Out of *Maya*, space was evolved; from space, air; from air, water; from water, earth's hard crust. Thus the five elements (*bhutas*) are formed.

Verse 386: Siva is the source of all creation. He has five forms: Sadasiva, Mahesvara, Rudra, Brahma and Vishnu.

Verse 388: The elements were evolved thus: water from fire; light from wind; sound from space; and earth from water.

Verse 431: This deals with *Tirobhava:* God is the light within us all. But we do not see Him. Why this concealment by the Lord?

Verse 441: Grace: Sadasiva confers Grace by cleansing the *jiva* of its primordial triple impurities.

Verse 450: The Lord is the Cosmic Form that no one knows: the Infinite Space that fills the universe.

Verse 521:*'Adho-mukha Darsanam'* : the blue-throated Siva with the downward-looking face is the sustainer of the universe. He retained the poison in His throat symbolising the fact that He keeps the universe in the manifested state, taking on Himself the responsibility of sustaining it.

Tirumular emphasizes that those who revere *Sivajnanis (Mahesvaras)* are rid of the ill-effects of evil. (Many of the Cola inscriptions speak of the rulers' endowments for the benefit of *Mahesvaras*, devotees of Siva.)

Third Tantram:

Verse 609: *Yoga* leads to *Nadanta*.

Nada's end is divine Sakti and Yoga is the Lord.

Verse 731: In *Yoga* practice, the sound '*ha*' emanates from '*Bindu*'; the sound '*sa*' emanates from '*Nada*'.

Repeated continuously together, they become '*Soham*'. The *yogi* chants this phrase silently.

Verse 771: One can concentrate on God only when one transcends *Nada*.

Fourth Tantram:

The Fourth *Tantram* has considerable significance for Cidambaram. In the opening section '*Ajapa*' itself, Tirumular starts off with a description of the glory of Cidambaram and makes specific mention of Cidambaram and Ponnambalam (Golden Hall or Temple) and refers to the Dance of Siva as '*Ananda/Adbhuta Tandava*' — anticipating here his Ninth *Tantram*.

தேவ ருறைகின்ற சிற்றம்பலமென்றுந்
தேவர் உறைகின்ற சிதம்பரமே யென்றுந்
தேவர் உறைகின்ற திரு அம்பலமென்றுந்
தேவர் உறைகின்ற தென் பொதுவாமே. (Verse 886)

Glory of Cidambaram

Devas reside in *Cirrambalam*
Devas reside in *Cidambaram*
Devas reside in *Tiru-Ambalam*
Devas reside in the *Sabha* of the South.

(Devas come down to Cidambaram, stay there and witness the Lord's Dance.)

ஆமே பொன்னம் பலம் அற்புதம் ஆனந்தம்
ஆமே திருகூத் தனவரத தாண்டவம்
ஆமே பிரளய மாகும் அத்தாண்டவம்
ஆமே சங்காரத் தருந் தாண்டவங்களே (Verse 887)

Dances In the Golden temple

The Wonder Dance is performed in the Golden Temple;
The *Ananda* (Bliss) Dance is performed in the Golden Temple;
The *Anavarata* (eternal) Dance is performed in the Golden Temple;
The *Samhara* (or Pralaya) — Dissolution — Dance is performed in the Golden Temple.

In verses 888 and 889 Tirumular employs the descriptions: 'That which became *Tandava* Dance is the one-letter *Aum*'; 'He is the Cosmic light' 'the un-created Lord' and 'He who performed the *Tandavas* in the Golden Hall'. (See verse 2503 in Eighth Tantram.)

In verse 1009, Tirumular identifies *Nadanta* with *Jnana Marga*.

In Verse 1070, Tirumular speaks of 'நாதாதி நாதத்து நல்லருளாளே' (Sakti is the grace within *Nada* and *Nadanta*; what transcends *Nada* is *Nadanta*. Sakti resides in *Nada* and *Para-Nada*).

Verse 1173: "In the Union of Siva and Sakti, *Maya*, *Bindu* and *Nada* arise."

Fifth Tantram

The basic concepts in Saiva Siddhanta are spelt out here. It gives an elaborate description of the different forms of Saivism: *Suddha Saivam, Asuddha Saivam, Marga Saivam* and *Kadum Suddha Saivam* (extremely pure Saivism). The four *sadhanas* (or means) in the path to Saiva Siddhanta are also described: *Carya, Kriya, Jnana* and *Yoga*. *Jnana* is to be one with Siva: light within life. Seeking that light within life is *yoga*. The external act investing an image with vibrant spirituality is *kriya*; *carya* (spelt *cariya* in Tamil) is the adoration of Siva in intense love. Constant worship and adoration of the Lord's glory make the Lord erect a temple within you.

(A less sophisticated translation of these four concepts would be:-

Jnana -	Philosophical tenets
Yoga -	Meditative exercises
Kriya -	Activity in the form of construction of temples, making of images etc.
Carya -	Conduct, service to the Lord and His devotees, to the temple, cleaning the temple premises and similar services.)

The *Sanmarga* path (the *true* or 'good' path) and other related concepts are also explained. The end of *Siddhanta* is union with Siva.

Seventh Tantram:

Tirumular opens the Seventh *Tantram* with a reference to the six *Adharas* and their 'petal compositions.'

There are six '*cakras*' situated at different points along the spinal column of the human body. They are:

Muladhara - of four (lotus) petals
Svadhishthana - of six petals
Manipuraka - of ten petals
Anahata - of twelve petals (*Nada* sphere)
Visuddhi - of sixteen petals (*Nadanta* sphere)
Ajna - of two petals (Beyond *Nadanta*, where Parasakti is enshrined. Above this centre is the Final Truth).

The *Adharas* are thus symbolized as made up of lotus petals of varying numbers. The climax is attained in Ajna, the "twin-petalled *centre finale*" (in the cranium, between the eye-brows).

In the Section, '*Pinda Lingam*', Tirumular is emphatic that the human form itself is truly a *Siva Lingam*; it is Cidambaram, Sadasiva and the Holy Dance Hall itself.

Sadasiva Linga has five faces:

Isana - the central face (crystal clear: no colour): Sakti's crown.
Tatpurusha - the eastward face (crimson): Sakti's face.
Aghora - the southward face (dark): Sakti's heart and waist.

Vama - the northward face (red): Sakti's blessed feet.
Sadyojata - the westward face (milky white)

Sakti dwells in the five faces of Sadasiva.

Eighth Tantram:

Tirumular speaks of six 'Essences' which are the ultimate: *Vedanta*, the essence of Veda; *Siddhanta*, the essence of *Siddha*; *Yoganta*, the essence of *Yoga*; *Nadanta*, the essence of *Nada*; *Bodhanta*, the essence of *Bodha*; and *Kalanta*, the essence of *Kala* (Verse 2370).

The *jiva* that transcends the tribulations of the *tattvas* reaches *Nadanta*.

Verse 2386 is important. It says:

"There is no difference in the imprint of *Vedanta* and *Siddhanta*. Bodhanta is *Jnana* (Divine knowledge); *Yoganta* is 'the known'; *Nadanta* is the dawning of Bliss."

In the context of the Lingodbhava episode, Tirumular deals with the real meaning of the story that Brahma and Vishnu could not get to see the head and the feet respectively of Siva. In verse 2425, Tirumular explains that the head represents '*Jnana*' and the feet represent 'Grace'. Vishnu could not see Sakti or the power of Siva and therefore did not obtain His grace. Brahma, the Vedas, could not see Siva, the embodiment of *Vedanta* (*Siddhanta* etc.). Siva is beyond the reach of the Vedas.

காலுந் தலையும் அறியார் கலதிகள்
காலந்தச் சத்தி யருளென்பர் காரணம்
பாலொன்று ஞானமே பண்பார் தலையுயிர்
காலந்த ஞானத்தை காட்ட வீடாகுமே. (Verse 2425)

Being 'miscreants', they knew not the head or the foot. Holy men say that the feet are the Grace of *Sakti*, and the head is *jnana*. When the 'Feet of Grace' show the Head of *Jnana* to the *jiva*, liberation is assured.

(Incidentally, this stanza also gives an explanation of the image of Nataraja. The raised foot of Nataraja points to the head. Hence Nataraja's image represents *mukti* or (final) liberation.)

In verse 2454, Tirumular speaks of "transcending the *turiya* state" and "this *turiyatita* state is the endless space where you have a vision of the eternal dance of the mighty Lord."*

In the '*Tirumandiram*', there are frequent references to *kundalini sakti* which, according to the *Yoga* doctrine, functions in the *Sushumna* canal. Real illumination is obtained only by rousing the *kundalini* by stopping activity in the *Candra Nadi* and the *Surya Nadi*, i.e., the *ida* (*kalai*) and *pingala*, and so opening out the *Muladhara* lotus so as to liberate the *kundalini sakti* lying coiled up there. The *yogi* attains the eight *siddhis* by directing the *kundalini sakti* through the six centres within the body and experiences the divine *Nada* state. Rid of *karma*, he abides there in tranquillity. He reaches the Primal One and stands in union with Him.

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* Tirumular has used Upanishadic phrases freely.

Each of the six successive *adharas* (*cakras*) has its presiding deity:

Brahma in Muladhara;
Vishnu in Svadhishthana;
Rudra in Manipuraka;
Mahesvara in Anahata;
Sadasiva in Visuddhi; and
the Apara bindu in Ajna.

Making the *kundalini* course through the six centres and reaching the *apara-nada* Sakti and Siva in *Sahasrara* is *'adhara yoga'.*

In the Eighth *Tantram*, Tirumular interprets the well-known *Mahavakya 'Tat-tvam-asi'* (verse 2488) and the *mantra 'Sivayanama'* (verse 2499). They help the soul's journey to the ultimate void (verses 2488 to 2500). The Sakti's are *Maya, Parai* and *Santi (kala)* (verse 2492); the *Gunas* are three and so the *Malas* (*kamiya* etc.) are also three (verse 2494).

We are content with merely stating some of the main concepts of Tirumular's *Tirumandiram,* which are directly relevant to this study. Any elaboration is outside the scope of this book. A study of the original text and the many commentaries will be a rewarding experience. To summarize:

Nada is the sound principle. The Dancing Lord is *Nada* that has the form of *'Pranava'.*

Nadanta is that which transcends sound: 'the essence of sound'. It is the 'subtle unmanifested sound' which is in *akasa*. *Nadanta* emphasises the 'sound aspect' of the 'Ultimate'. It is synonymous with the 'sphere of sound'. Hence the name *Nadanta* dance for Nataraja's *Ananda Tandava* —— a term which Tirumular uses extensively in his great work.

It is significant that, in Verse 31 of the famous work, *'Unmai Vilakkam'*, *Nadanta* is regarded as synonymous with *Pancakshara*, which, again, is *Pranava*.

Nada is the essence of Space (*akasa*) and *Nadanta* is the 'determined end' of *Nada* —— and *Nadanta* dance therefore is the Cosmic dance of the Lord in Infinite Space.

Sadasiva, according to Tirumular, is the Ultimate, Formless (and beyond sound) Power.

* * *

CHAPTER 19

Some Aspects Of Saivism

Saivism:

Cidambaram has been a great centre of Saivism in all ages. A brief survey of the origin and growth of Saivism in South India is relevant to any history of the Cidambaram temple of Nataraja. (An elaborate study of Saivism is outside the scope of this book and has not been attempted here.)

The term 'Siva' means 'auspicious' and *suddha* means 'unsullied' or 'pure'. Saivam (in Tamil) or Saivism stands for the school of thought which adores 'Siva' — the "Auspicious Being known to man". The study of Saivism is a fascinating field of inquiry, with its roots, according to some scholars, in the pre-Aryan civilization of India that grew into a mighty tree with numerous branches and off-shoots — from Kashmir in the North to Sri Lanka in the South, from Afghanistan in the West to far-off countries like Sumatra, Java, Cambodia in the East, regions where Saivism became a dominant religion in the first twelve hundred years of the Christian era. Apart from its religious impact, Saivism has also inspired some of the noblest expressions in the fields of art and literature. It has a vitality of its own, built up over many centuries, and continues to be the guiding light in the lives of millions of Hindus, spread out now all over the world.

Pasupati:

One of the most important traits of Siva is His aspect of *Pasupati*, the Lord of sentient beings. He is also known as *Bhutapati*, the Lord of all the elements of the universe. The worship of Siva as *Pasupati* is traced by scholars to the Harappan civilization, in one seal of which Siva is shown surrounded by animals. The Harappans are considered pre-Aryan, probably representing the proto-Tamils. Saivism has been the main religion of the Tamils from time immemorial.

Rudra of the Vedas:

Vedic hymns attribute to Rudra a two-fold function: of bestowing prosperity and of eliminating suffering. He is conceived of as a positively benevolent deity when He confers wealth and well-being and as a wrathful god when He eliminates evil and conquers evil-doers. His grace is invoked to ensure long life and progeny and to remove suffering and sin. 'Siva' also means 'one who attenuates sin (*asubha*)'. Rudra came to be regarded as a 'fierce god', who inflicted punishment on evil-doers. Thus, of all the Vedic gods, Rudra combined in Himself the functions of both protection and destruction. Rudra was worshipped by all the castes. He is the god of all the beasts too. Pasupati Siva was the ideal of mendicants, for Siva alone is spoken of in later religious literature as a mendicant-God (*Kapalin*). There sprung up in the land many *Siva-yogins* who attached greater importance to a life of austerity and meditation on their god than to the performance of Vedic sacrificial and other rituals. They took into their fold all devotees, irrespective of caste, who had the requisite qualifications for a life of dedication to Siva — a predominant characteristic of the Saivite Nayanmar who came on the scene centuries later. Saivism had struck deep roots therefore in the Vedic period itself.

The name *Pasupati*, 'the Lord or protector of animals', is mentioned in Vedic hymns, too, as applied to Rudra. The idea of Rudra being a fierce deity is compounded into that of a positive, benevolent one as reflected in the prayer: "Be merciful to our steeds". In the Upanishadic period, Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra came to be regarded as the three forms of the Cosmic *Brahman*; the concept of exclusive worship of one alone of these three Gods as a means of salvation took shape. Possibly, people belonging to different castes began the practice of adoring and meditating on Rudra in various forms depending on their intellectual and spiritual evolution; and this led to the rise of several sects and different types of Siva worshippers. The concept of initiation into the faith by a *guru* (teacher) came into vogue; another modification in religious practices appeared with the rite of initiation, whereby pious men could satisfy their inner craving for a godly life by becoming *'Siva yogins'*, without losing caste. They specialised in chanting utterances such as *"Om Namasivaya"* (*Om*, prostration to Siva) and sought salvation through *yogic* practices and self-imposed restraints in matters of food, clothing, etc. and worldly pleasures.

The emergence of such an order in increasing numbers called for the framing of rules for the conduct of the order, and, as this codification of observances was handed down from time immemorial by one generation to another of such 'specialised' *bhaktas*, it came to be reasonably believed that they were as ancient and sanctified as the Vedas themselves. They came to be known by the name *'Siva Agamas'*, and it is the traditional belief that these were revealed to man by Lord Siva Himself. They were believed in only by those who identified Rudra or Siva with the Cosmic *Brahman*. The *Siva Agamas* are exclusive and not only emphasize the necessity to worship Siva in the prescribed manner but also insist on the subordination of every other God to Siva, Who alone should be regarded as the Highest Being, identical with the Cosmic *Purusha*. This explains why, when the *Puranas* came into being, one or the other of the three Gods — Brahma, Vishnu, or Siva — is glorified and one of them is spoken of as being worshipped by the rest. The *Agamas* embody the doctrines and rules of worship.

Images of the Gods and Goddesses are visible, tangible objects which could concretise God for the purpose of worship with incense, flowers etc. The *Agamas* have laid down the rules for the making of images. Siva's image is the *Siva Linga*.

Rudra is identified with Agni; the sky, the atmosphere and the earth give birth to Agni in his triple aspects of the Sun (in the sky), lightning (in the atmosphere) and fire (on earth); hence his name *'Tryambaka'* or 'three-mothered'.

Siva Linga:

Siva is mainly worshipped in the form of a *Siva linga*, although in later times various other aspects of *Siva* have found manifestation and praise. There are two opposing schools of interpretation in tracing the origin of *linga* worship.

One is the view propounded by Marshall, MacDonald and other western scholars, who trace *linga* worship to a phallic cult. The other school, constituted by the traditional scholars of India, is stoutly opposed to this view (of a phallic cult).

The Phallic cult:

(a) Sir John Marshall and Sir Mortimer Wheeler and some other western scholars have expressed the view that phallic worship was an important element of Harappa religion (B.C.2900).

Some cone-shaped objects were found "which are almost certainly formalised representations of the phallus". The inference was drawn that the phallic emblem was the *linga*, symbol of God Siva. Will Durant, too, writing in 'Our Oriental Heritage' in his series on 'The Story of Civilization', said that Siva represents phallic worship and that the Indian tradition leans on 'ritual adoration of the symbols of reproduction and fertility'; and that "with Sakti as the female element in Siva's nature, the *linga* and *yoni* represent the male and female organs of generation". A.L. Basham too expresses similar views.

A few passages in the *Anusasana Parva* of the *Mahabharata* led some other scholars to this view that the *linga* was identified with the phallus.

What H. Krishna Sastri wrote in 1916 could perhaps be perceived as a more balanced approach to this controversy, though he wrote it in a period when the phallus theory had wide support from the archaeologists of that age, particularly the western scholars.

> "Siva is generally worshipped in the form of the phallus (*linga*) fixed on a pedestal. The phallic cult has been traced to very ancient times, its orgin, however, being still involved in mystery. The worship of the creative energy of God, interpreted by the sense-perception of men and represented by the symbols *yoni* and *linga* in unison, has been apparently as old as man himself. Whatever may be the origin of the *linga* worship, there is no doubt that it has come to be recognised as a perfect symbol of the formless, all-pervading, Divine Being, unlimited by time and space.
>
> "The Skanda-Purana says: 'The sky is the shaft and the earth its pedestal; all gods dwell in the *linga*; since the whole creation finds its origin and rest there, it receives the name *linga*.'"

In the introduction to his translation of the Vishnu Purana, Professor H.H. Wilson makes the following remarks on the *linga* worship in India:

> "The *linga* is two-fold, external and internal. The ignorant, who need a visible sign, worship Siva through a *'mark'* or *'type'* which is the proper meaning of the word *linga* — of wood or stone; but the wise look upon His outward emblem as nothing and contemplate in their mind the invisible, the inscrutable type of which is Siva himself. Whatever may have been the origin of this form of worship in India, the notions upon which it was founded according to the impure fancies of European writers are not to be traced even in the *Saiva Puranas*.
>
> "Various forms of the *linga* are worshipped, from the crude, uncut, conical gneiss usually believed to be *'svayambhu'* ('self-born') to the highly polished shafts."

Eka-mukha lingas, *Panca-mukha lingas, Dhara-lingas* with fluted vertical facets, *sahasra lingas* are different types and it is difficult to imagine how they could be described in terms of the phallus concept. The latter should have been a much earlier, crude approach to the subject without due regard to the true meaning of the *linga* concept.

(b) A *linga* in Gudimallam (almost eleven kilometres north-east of Renigunta near the highway to Kalahasti in Andhra Pradesh), which is still under worship, has been described in detail by T.A.Gopinatha Rao in his chapter on Siva at pages 65-71 of Volume Two, Part One, of his "Elements of Hindu Iconography" (1916 Edition). The *linga,* Parasuramesvara, is set directly on the floor of the central shrine; and the *pindika* or *pitha* (pedestal) is cut out in the form of a quadrangular ridge on the floor. The *linga* is exactly five feet in height and bears upon its front portion a beautiful figure of Siva with striking attributes. The figure of Siva stands upon the shoulders of a *rakshasa* —— the *Apasmara purusha*. T.A.Gopinatha Rao proceeds to observe: "The *linga* itself is composed of two parts, the nut and the shaft of the *membrum virile*, each of them shaped exactly like the original model in a state of erection. The side and back views of the *linga* will help the reader form an excellent idea of the exactitude with which the sculptor has modelled the *linga* in imitation of the human phallus. The longitudinal facets on the erect organ *(urdhva-retas)* are also represented in this *linga*."

T.A.Gopinatha Rao has postulated the inference that "this image of Siva might belong to the first century A.D. if not a still earlier period." He draws the conclusion: "from the exact likeness of the Gudimallam *Linga* to the human phallus, it is certain that *linga* worship was not of a mere symbol (*linga*) nor of a simple pillar (*sthanu*), but is beyond doubt phallic in its nature."

He continues:-

> "That this is the real origin of *linga* worship even at the present day is easily seen from the rules laid down in the *Agamas* for making a *linga*, as also from the innumerable sculptures of *linga* found throughout the length and breadth of India."
>
> "The *Agamas* provide an elaborate dissertation on the male, the female or the neuter nature of stones, timber and other materials and also lay down that the *linga* should be made out of *pum-sila* or male stone, while the *pindika* or the *pitha*, of *stri-sila* or female stone."

T.A.Gopinatha Rao adds:

> "Because it is established to be phallic in its nature, some may be inclined to consider *linga* worship obscene and immoral. There is nothing in it to be ashamed of: the two great generative principles of the Universe, Siva and Sakti or *purusha* and *prakrti*, the father and mother of all creation, the energy and matter of the physical scientist, are symbolised briefly in the form of the *linga* and the *yoni*. There is no obscenity in this pure symbol of the fatherhood and motherhood of the Supreme Deity."

(An elaborate thesis on the phallic cult with special reference to Gudimallam has been brought out in 1982 by the Andhra scholar, Dr. I.K. Sarma, with the title, "The development of Early Saiva Art and Architecture--with special reference to Andhradesa". Yet another research work on Gudimallam, I gather, has been published recently.)

(c) A passage in the *Rg Veda* referring to *"Sishna Deva"* is often held out as pointing to the cult of phallus worship.

According to this passage, Indra is implored to repel hostile forces and not let the *Sishnadevas* (i.e., whose God is Sishna or phallus) approach the sacrifice. Indra is praised for having slain the *Sishna devas* when he won the treasure of the 'fort with a hundred gates'. From this reference, the conclusion was drawn that *linga* worship had its origin in the phallic cult and that the *linga* represents the phallus.

Eminent Vedic commentators like Yaska and Savana have opposed this interpretation of this passage from the *Rg Veda*. They hold that the term *'Sishnadeva'* does not refer to one who worships the phallus, but to one who sports with the *sishna* —— an unchaste man. Rudra and Pasupati being identical in the Vedic period, even if the *Sishna devas* are considered worshippers of the phallus, they were totally different from the worshippers of Rudra Pasupati. This *Rg Veda* passage alone should make it clear that phallic worship is foreign to the Vedic religion, as T.A.Gopinatha Rao himself was quick to point out in his chapter on 'Siva'. Gopinatha Rao goes even further, to point out that the worship by the ancient Saivites of the phallic symbol was an important reason why the followers of the Vedic cult did not take kindly to those Saivites. Some of the earlier sects of Saivites might have worshipped the phallus; on the other hand, hundreds of passages in Vedic, Upanishadic, and Brahmanical literature provide the now traditionally accepted interpretation of *linga* worship, and do not mention worship of the phallus.

The word *'Linga'* occurs in the *Upanishads* in some places but in a different sense, e.g., the 'Cosmic *purusha*' is described as *'a-linga'* in *Kathopanisad*, VI-8: "all-pervading and without any mark whatever (*a-linga*)". The meaning is that He does not have a distinguishing mark. By the period of the *Mahabharata*, Mahesvara or Rudra must have been completely identified with the Cosmic *purusha* by the worshippers of Siva. Siva was regarded as "the cause of causes". This phrase is best explained by the *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, I-2.

"Time *(Kala)* or inherent nature (*sva-bhava*) or necessity (*niyati*) or chance (*yadrcca*) or the elements (*bhuta*) or the womb (*yoni*) or a (male) person —— *purusha* are to be considered as the cause."

"Isa (Rudra) is the 'cause of these causes'. (He is identified with the 'one who rules over these causes': *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, I-3). Siva alone is formless, in other words, "all-formed". The *linga* is the mark of the "formless Siva".

The mind needed something concrete representing Mahesvara or Siva for worship. That was the *'linga'* or characteristic mark of Siva. But Siva is *'a-linga'* —— without a mark. Hence Siva's mark was imperceptibility in a form. Everyone who thought of Siva as the Cosmic *purusha* believed that everything else had a form including Brahma and Vishnu, and that Siva alone was 'formless' or 'all-formed'. It was in order to represent this twin idea of the 'all-formed' and 'formless' that the Siva *Linga* was chosen and became an object of worship.

Witness what the *Svetasvatara Upanishad* says on the Cosmic *Purusha*: III, 14 and 16:

The Cosmic *purusha* has a thousand heads,
A thousand eyes, a thousand feet,
He surrounds the earth on all sides,
He has a hand and foot on every side,
On every side an eye, head and face,
He has an ear everywhere in the world;
He stands encompassing all.

Chapter II, *Slokas* 1 to 4, from *'Linga Purana'* are of interest in this context:

"1. The non-characterised is the root of the characterised. The manifest *Prakrti* is the characterised, while Siva is the non-characterised, but the characterised *Prakrti* is said to be related to Siva.

> "2-4. They call the characterised by the name *Pradhana* or *Prakrti*. But the non-characterised, devoid of smell, colour, taste, sound, touch and attributes, is Siva, Who is stable and ever-lasting. On the contrary, the characterised *Prakrti* or *Pradhana* is endowed with smell, colour, taste, sound and touch; it is the source or origin of the universe; it is elemental in both subtle and gross forms. It is the physical body of the worlds; it has originated from the non-characterised of its own accord."

The assertion here is that the shape (form) of the world created itself from the indistinguishable (*'a-linga'*).

His Holiness Sri Mahasvamigal Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati Svamigal VII of Sri Kanci Kamakoti Pitham has explained, years ago, with characteristic lucidity, the concept of *Linga*. The term *linga* means a symbol, a mark. The *linga* is circular in cross-section; the circle has neither beginning nor end, in the same way as Isvara has neither beginning nor end; it is cylindrical in shape and has no form of its own and represents the "formless Siva." This concept of *linga* is reinforced with greater effect in the *sphatika linga*; it is a synonym for purity; it assumes for the moment the colour of the substance with which it is worshipped, the rose or the *vilva*, as the case may be.

The hemispherical top of the *linga*, resembling the visible horizon, is truly symbolic of the universe which surrounds the earth on all sides. Speaking of the *linga* at Gudimallam, His Holiness has said that the bottom portion represents a Gandharva (Brahma under a curse), the middle figure with a turban, Parasurama, and the top portion, Sivalinga. It is thus a combination of Brahma at the *mulam* (root), Vishnu in the middle and the Siva form at the top.

C.V.Narayana Aiyar, in his masterly exposition on 'The Origin and Early History of Saivism'. raises the interesting question:

"If the *lingam* is understood to mean the phallus, why should Mahadeva's *lingam* alone be the object of worship? Any god's *lingam* would serve the purpose."

The answer is : It is impossible to interpret the *linga* as meaning the sex-mark. The reason why this wrong notion had crept in was that in Sanskrit the word *linga* also means: 'the male organ'. (Tirumular too has, in his *Tirumandiram*, used the term *'lingam'* to mean the male organ). But it should be obvious that it is a derivative meaning, since the organ happens to be a distinguishing mark. But this fact cannot be allowed to distort our understanding of the meaning of the *Siva linga*.

The views of some scholars, that "phallic worship was the primitive form of Siva worship and un-Brahmanical and un-Vedic in origin with its roots in the neolithic times", that the Nagas were phallus-worshippers, and that the phallic cult was closely connected with ancestor-worship and the snake-cult, only indicate that there *could* have been worshippers of the phallus. But it is wrong to confound the phallic cult with Siva worship because the phallus has nothing to do with the *Siva linga*.

A separate school might have flourished worshipping the phallus as the generative principle of the earth. Not worshippers of Siva originally, they were strongly influenced by the worshippers of the Mother Goddess, who worshipped the *yoni* (the female organ). They formed a separate school of Siva worshippers, who were not absorbed into the pure Saiva fold.

In the northern part of India, a number of sculptures of Siva, including representations of Lakulisa, show the *membrum virile* erect, which fact proves the sway of the phallic cult over a section of ancient Saivas. Of course, the fact that such a concept existed establishes the antiquity of some of the Saiva cults. The peculiar shape of the *linga* at Gudimallam, Kalattur and Kudumiyanmalai led T.A.Gopinatha Rao and others to conclude that the *linga* was only a representation of the phallus. These three exceptions may really belong to a phallus-worshipping tribe. These three isolated instances, however, cannot affect our general conclusion that this cult did not exert any influence in Tamil Nadu proper on Siva worship and the nature of Saivism, as the innumerable Siva *lingas* of the Tamil country are all of a common shape without the slightest resemblance to the phallus. As Dr. R. Nagaswami * has put it emphatically, this cult did not exert any influence in Tamil Nadu proper, since none of the sculptures dating from the Pallava period to the present times shows this trait.

The Linga and the flaming pillar:

The *linga* is only the outward symbol of the formless Cosmic *Siva Purusha linga* — the flaming pillar.

Agni (fire) has always been identified with Rudra. The origin of the *linga* cult must be traced to the worship of *Agni* as a shaft of fire — which gave rise to the Lingodbhava concept of later mythology. The *linga* worshipped as Siva consists of three parts, standing for Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra — as His Holiness Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati VII has pointed out in the context of the Gudimallam *linga*.

It is noteworthy that the *Devaram* hymnists sing only of the 'fire *linga*'. The 'phallic *linga*' has no place in the *Devaram* hymns.

A clear example is provided by Appar, who describes the Kanci *linga* in splendid poetry (Verse 474 of the Fifth *Tirumurai*):

பண்ணிலோசை பழத்திலின் சுவை
பெண்ணோ டாணென்று பேசற் கரியவன்
வண்ண மில்லி வடிவு வேறாயவன்
கண்ணி லுண் மணி கச்சியேகம்பனே.

"The Lord of *Kacci* (Kanci) is the music in the song, the sweetness in the fruit. He cannot be called male or female. He has no dimensions or form. He has no colour of His own. He is the lustre in the eyes."

The *'Linga Purana'* exalts Siva in the *linga* form as above all gods and as containing everything.

Another scholar has explained his stand in the following terms (Mahabharata, XIII, 19,78):

"Our philosophy has denied altogether the phallic character of the *Lingam*.

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* "The origin and development of Saivism," *Sankara and Shanmata,* June 1969, Madras.

"The term *linga* is interpreted as a symbol or source of creativity that is invisible and unmanifested. In his *'Saundarya Lahari'*, Adi Sankara declares that Siva can create only when united with Sakti; otherwise He is unable even to move. The *Agamic* texts extol the inextricable nature of the conjoint *Purusha-Prakrti* aspect. In fact, according to the general teaching of the *Tantras*, 'the human organism is a microcosm, a mini-universe, which contains a large number of minute channels (*nadi*), and, connected with these channels are six great centres (*cakra*) of the occult force, described as so many lotuses, one above the other. Among these six centres, *Brahman* in the form of a *linga* is the lowest and the most important centre, and, coiled round the *linga* like a serpent lies the *Sakti* called Kundalini.' All the above interpretations were perhaps due to the impact of the *Sankhya* doctrine on the *linga* cult and the phallic worship came to be clothed with a mystic and philosophical meaning."

K.R. Subramanian, writing in 1927 on "The origin of Saivism and its History in the Tamil land", expressed the view that "phallic worship was the primitive form of Siva worship and un-Brahminical and un-Vedic in origin with its roots in the neo-lithic times" and referred to the peculiar shape of the *linga* at Gudimallam, Kalattur and Kudumiyanmalai (in Pudukkottai district). We have commented already on the Gudimallam *linga*. As for Kudumiyanmalai, the stone *linga* has a tuft of hair in stone on the top, justifying its name Sikhagirisa, and it is a *sthavara linga* (*Svayambhu*). What K.R. Subramaniam could have considered wrong in the image at Kudumiyanmalai is beyond our comprehension.

Rounding off the debate, C.V. Narayana Ayyar was quite justified in saying (in 1936) that, conceding also that the few exceptions like Gudimallam, Kalattur and Kudumiyanmalai really belong to a phallic tribe, this has no bearing on Siva and Saivism. This discussion may well end on that note.

Schools of Saivism:

The various schools of Siva worshippers were generally called *Saivas*. Many schools of Saivism seem to have existed even in the pre-Mauryan era. The term Pasupata has also been used generically to denote the various types of Saivas, though this term stands for a particular school as well.

One of the oldest, well-established schools of Saivism, which is flourishing with all its powerful appeal even today, is the *Siddhanta Saivam* of Tamil Nadu. A number of treatises of this school have classified the various Indian systems of philosophy into two categories: Saivite and non-Saivite. The internal systems accept the authority of Siva Agamas and the external systems do not.

The various Saivite schools are divided into two categories: (1) those who follow violent or 'wild' methods called *Raudra margas* and (2) those who follow the benign schools known as *Saumya margas*.

The Raudra Schools:

The *Raudra* (violent) sects are the following:

1) Vamam
2) Bhairavam
3) Mahavratam
4) Kalamukham
5) Kapalikam
6) Pasupatam

They are basically non-vegetarian sects; their followers traditionally ate meat and took to drink.

The Saumya schools:

They were pure vegetarians, and their division was based on differing interpretations of some philosophic thoughts. The Saumya Saivas are also called Suddha Saivas.

The various Raudra sects:

(a) Vama Sect:

The followers of the Vama school are the Saktas, worshippers of the Mother Goddess. The Vama school believes in the supremacy of Sakti, which pervades the entire universe. Even Siva is subsumed in Sakti. Siva has no existence without Sakti. The followers of the Vama school wore shell- and bone- ornaments, consumed intoxicant drinks, ate non-vegetarian food and carried on their person a trident, a *kapala* and a *kadvanga*.

(b) Bhairava Sect:

The followers of the *Bhairava* sect believe in the supremacy of Lord Bhairava. They follow the text called *Svacchanda Bhairava tantra* and other *Agamas*, which were quite popular in Kashmir. *Svacchanda Bhairava*, with eighteen arms, is worshipped as the supreme deity and also His Consort, Bhairavi. The school has a terrific aspect: human sacrifices on the banks of rivers are prescribed. The followers of the Bhairava school wore shells on their ears, deer skin, a trident and a *damaruka* as symbols. This sect must be traced to tribal customs and tribal instincts. Some followers of the Bhairava schools were specially initiated into supposedly mystic powers.

(c) Kalamukha sect:

This school believes in the supremacy of Rudra. The followers of the school wear crystal ear ornaments, anoint their body with sandal paste and worship Pasupati. They also believe in *Pati, Pasu* and *Pasa*. This doctrine emphasises that nothing could exist without Rudra. The same Lord takes other forms such as Dakshinamurti. The union of Siva and the soul is called *paramoksha* (the supreme emancipation). This school is identical with *Soma Saivam* or *Soma Siddhanta*.

T.A.Gopinatha Rao has expressed the view that the Kalamukhas were identical with Lakulisa Pasupatas.

(d) Kapalika sect:

The Kapalikas accept a part of the *Siddhanta* of the Kalamukha sect, and their doctrine is based on *Kapala tantra*.

As Siva is regarded as dancing in the cremation ground at the time of destruction, the Kapalikas imagine themselves to be Siva and dance in the cemetery, against the background of *Samagana*. Later, with a human skull in hand, they go round begging for food. To them, the dancing Siva is the supreme Sadasiva. The Kapalikas are initiated into daily rites, severe vows: they beg for their food and attain release by rising to the level of equals to Siva.

According to T.A.Gopinatha Rao, the Kapalikas also appear to be an ancient but extremist sect of Saivas. They have rites and ceremonies which are more revolting than those of the Kalamukhas: the use of a human skull for drinking water from, smearing on of the ashes of a dead body, eating the flesh of such a body, setting up a skull as a liquor jar, etc. That human sacrifices were practised by this sect is also borne out, say scholars, by literary evidence.

One set of Kapalikas — the *Vamacara* sect of Saivites — worshipped Bhairava, the terrible form of Siva.

Professor K.A.Nilakanta Sastri has drawn pointed attention to the reference to Kapalikas in *'Manimekhalai'*.

(e) Mahavrata sect:

The Mahavrata school, too, believes that Siva as Pasupati is the Supreme Lord, Who dances at the cemetery at the time of destruction. Their belief is that Siva is the embodiment of knowledge and action (*jnana* and *kriya*). Human bondage is attributed to *Karma-Maya* and not *Anava-Maya* (the innate ignorance of the *jiva*). Final emancipation is attained by *Saktipata* and initiation and pratice of *carya* and *kriya*. Release is attained by wearing the *linga* and not necessarily by *puja*. A *Mahavratin* carries a *linga* on his head, neck, chest or any other part of the body above the navel. The Mahavratins have their own symbols, and lay considerable stress on *Vidya*. The *"Siddhanta Samucchaya"* seems to identify the Mahavratins with the *Lakula* sect, while this identification is not accepted by other texts. The 'Sarva Siddhanta Viveka' looks upon even the *Lakula* sect as a branch of the Kapalika school. The carrying of a *linga* is spoken of here as the custom of a *Mahavratin*. The same attribute is mentioned for the *Vira Saiva* sect, which is identified with the *Dakshina Suddha Saiva* school. Probably these two schools were identical in earlier days and their mutual ramification came later. These schools could be probably traced to the Lakulisa cult.

The *Lakula* cult was originated by Lakulisa at Kayavarohana (Karona of Tamil literature), identified with Karvan in Gujarat State. *Lakulisa*, who is said to have delivered his first sermon at Ujjain, is assigned to the 1st century A.D. Some scholars put him down to the 2nd century A.D.

(T.A.Gopinatha Rao recalls that the Devaram hymnists have sung the praise of the Siva temples at Nagapattinam and Kumbakonam, which were known even in their period by the name Kayarohanam or Karonam, so named after the more famous place in North India. We refer to them again later in this Chapter.)

Yet another savant has pointed out that, in the Siva temple at Tiruvorriyur, a shrine for Padampakkanayaka deyar was built at the time of Vira Rajendra (A.D.1063-69) — A.R.E. 232 of 1912 — and that the deity was called "Karanai Vitankar". S.R. Balasubrahmanyam has pointed out that two of the inscriptions in the shrine of Padampakkanayaka Devar belong to the fifth year of Vira Rajendra. (See the later paragraph on 'Tiruvorriyur' in this Chapter.) The shrine has two inscriptions of Kulottunga I also. The conclusion has been drawn that Karanai must be an old name for Tiruvorriyur and it was home to the Saiva sect of Lakulisa Pasupatas. So 'Padampakkanayaka deva of Tiruvorriyur' may be linked with the Lakulisa influence of Karohana. It seems fair to conclude that the location is given in the early half of the name and, the word Karohana, appearing in the latter half, denotes only the name of the shrine. This seems to be true of Nagapattinam, Kumbakonam, Kanci (see the Note at the end of this Chapter) and Tiruvorriyur.

Some scholars hold that there was perhaps an early wave of the Pasupata cult in the 2nd century B.C. moving towards the South; but Pasupata Saivism as inspired by Lakulisa could obviously have spread to the South only after the first/second century A.D., when Lakulisa gave it a fresh shape and impetus, and the faith came to be called 'Lakulisa Pasupatam'. It spread out into certain pockets in the South in the early Pallava period.

There is general agreement among scholars that, by A.D. 600, the Pasupata school had become a well-established system even in the Tamil-speaking areas. This trend is reflected by the Saiva saints and the rulers, too, particularly the Colas.

(f) Pasupata sect:

The Pasupata sect had two sub-divisions: (1) the *Vaidika* and (2) the *Avaidika* sects.

(1) The *Avaidika Pasupatas* have a number of Agamas of their own. They do not accept the concept of any *Mala* other than *Maya*. The individual souls were considered omniscient but were bound by *Maya* and *Karma*. The followers take Pasupata Siva *"Diksha"*, an initiation (without which they believe, they cannot attain liberation), and, following *Carya* and *Jnana*, get liberation —— which is the state of identity with Siva.

Sacred ash, skin, upper garment, *vistara* (a bed of *kusa* grass), *pustaka* and *kaupina* are symbols of Pasupata. This school laid emphasis on good companionship.

(2) The *Vaidika Pasupatas* trace their origin to the *Atharvasira* Upanishad taught by Srikantha. Three principles postulated by this school are: *kshara*, *akshara* and *ksharakshara*. *Kshara* is *Prakrti*, *akshara* is *Purusha*, and *ksharakshara* is Isvara. *Maya* is considered *Prakrti*; bondage is due to *Maya*; the *sambandha* or connection is by *mala* or *karma*. *Punya* and *Papa* (spiritual merit and sin) are accumulated by *ajnana* (ignorance). The entire system is based on Vedantic doctrines.

(Dr.B.S.L.Hanumantha Rao of Guntur in his "Religion in Andhra", 1973, p.275) has expressed the view that the *Pasupata* system is one of the orthodox *Siddhantas* of India; it was not a repulsive system and writers such as Aparaditya of the 12th century A.D. regarded it as respectable.)

Dakshina Suddha Saivam:

This school, justly looked upon as the "pure righteous *Saiva*" sect, is considered a separate sect of the Vama school, as it is based on Agamas like *Mulavatara tantra*. Also called the *Sakti Sambhava* school, it is a benign (*Saumya*) sect and not of the *Raudra* school. It is called the "righteous" (*Dakshina*) school, as it followed the Vedic doctrines. There were various groups in this sect. The pure Saivas wear matted or long hair, and offer puja to Siva, wearing the sacred ash; *Rudraksha* (a holy bead), *upavita* (sacred thread), *ushnisha* (head-dress), *uttariya* (upper garment) and the sacred ash are considered the five symbols of *Suddha Saivas*.

This school appears to have given rise to the *Vira Saiva* sect, established by Basavesvara in Karnataka (about A.D.1167).

Saiva Siddhanta system:

Saiva Siddhanta or *Agamanta Saivism* is the most popular religious school in Tamil Nadu. "Saiva Siddhanta" means: the "determined end" or "summing up of the doctrine" of those who worship Siva as the Supreme God.

The followers of Saiva Siddhanta acknowledge the validity of both the *Karma Kanda* and the *Jnana Kanda* of the Vedas. However, as the *Jnana Kanda* (Vedanta) is regarded as the culmination of all knowledge, which leads to final emancipation, its influence on the Saiva Siddhanta doctrine has been greater. Some scholars have classified Saiva Siddhanta itself as *Karmanta* and *Jnananta*.

As this school accepts the validity of the Vedas, it holds the Saiva Agamas as equally valid.

The basic doctrines:

The Supreme Reality is called *Siva* (*Nada*) and is regarded as beginning-less (*anadi*), uncaused, pure (*suddha*) —— free from defects or impurities —— the all-doer and the all-knower, subtle in form, who can only be experienced but not concretised, who frees the individual souls from the bonds which fetter them.

The central theme of the doctrine is the concept of the triplet of *Pati-Pasu-Pasa*. The Lord (Siva) is the *Pati* or Master. The *Pasu* (literally, 'animal') is the *Jiva*, the individual soul enwrapped in ignorance. *Pasa* is the bondage of *Maya* (illusion) that fetters the *Pasu*, the individual soul. All these three entities are real.

Siva, the Pati, is the *Samhara Karana*, the cause of destruction, who is Sadasiva, the supreme power. He is omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient, the first cause 'who moulds pot from clay.' Just as the staff and the wheel are the instrumental causes in the making of a pot, and clay its natural cause, even so the world has Siva for first cause, Sakti (the Lord's Manifestation) as instrumental cause, and *Maya* or *Prakrti* as material cause. By His Sakti, the Lord pervades the whole so fully that He does not appear to be different from it. Siva and Sakti have complete identity with each other, represented by the *Ardhanarisvara* form. *Sakti* is the conscious, unchanging essential energy, the *Svarupa Sakti* of the Lord. The material cause of pure creation is Mahamaya (*Bindu*).

Sakti is the intermediate link between Siva, pure consciousness, and matter: the purely unconscious *Sakti*, often called Uma, is but an aspect of Siva, not having an independent existence. Siva is the absolute, Sakti is the Absolute in relation to objects. According to Saiva Siddhanta, Siva is the saviour and *guru*, and assumes forms out of love for mankind. Siva is the "God of Love"

The web of bonds (*pasa*) is distinguished into *avidya*, *karma* and *maya*, the triple *malas* (impurities). The first is called *anavamala*, the taint due to the false notion of finiteness (*anutva*) which the soul has (glorification of I and mine, the innate ignorance of the Jiva). The self mistakes the body for reality, owing to the bondage of the soul. *Avidya* is one in all beings. *Karma* is the cause of the conjunction of the conscious soul with the unconscious body. *Maya* is the material cause of the universe, unconscious in nature.

Pasu and *Pasa* have no beginning, but are in bondage owing to the association of *Anava*. *Pasa* does not bind *Pati*, the Supreme deity. *Pasa* binds only the *Pasu*. Since the individual soul identifies itself with the five senses (*Panca Indriyas*), it is unable to realise its true nature. If the attachment to the senses is overcome, the real nature of the Self would stand revealed. Knowledge dawns on the soul by *tapas*. The Supreme Lord manifests Himself as the teacher of the soul. The individual soul can perceive the Supreme only through His grace. Once the *Pasa* is removed, the soul can perceive the Supreme. *Japa*, the chanting of the five sacred letters (*Pancakshara*) of Siva —— *tapas* and divine grace are necessary to attain salvation. Dedication of all action to the Lord, worship of the Siva *linga* and *Sivajnanis* as Siva Himself, and the removal, by this means, of the triple *malas* lead to emancipation. The final release consists in the individual soul (*jivatma*) merging with the Supreme (*paramatma*). The Supreme Being is credited with five divine acts: creation, sustenance, destruction, *tirodhana* (concealment) and *anugraha* (bestowal of grace). These five acts, commonly described as *Pancakrtyas,* acquire visual representation in the cosmic dance form of Nataraja at Cidambaram (Tillai).

Cidambaram, the home of the Ananda Tandava of Nataraja, is therefore closely associated with the evolution and the active promotion of the Saiva Siddhanta system of philosophy and the *Panca-krtya* concept.

What Dr.S.Radhakrishnan wrote years ago on the subject is relevant to our discussion: "When Siva is pure consciousness, matter is pure unconsciousness, and Sakti is said to mediate between the two. She is of the nature of consciousness (*caitanya*). She is the external sound, the connecting link between the gross and the subtle, the material and the spiritual, the word and the concept. *Sudhamaya*, the mother of the universe, is *Vak (*speech) or *Nada* (sound), 'the voice of the silence'. Saiva Siddhanta analyses the universe into thirty-six *tattvas*.

"Saiva Siddhanta does not support the illusory conception of the world. The beginningless *samsara* is due to matter and soul which are also eternal. The world has a serious moral purpose and cannot be dismissed as a mere error or jest.

"God is ever engaged in the release of souls from the bondage of matter," concludes Dr.S.Radhakrishnan.

The Lord's dance at Tillai, described by Tirumular as *Nadanta* dance, would mean the dance which embodies 'the determined goal of *Nada*', Which is Siva, "the Voice of the Supreme Silence", the dance that "transcends sound". We have discussed this topic in detail in earlier chapters. The basic concept is that *akasa* (ether) is the medium for *nada* (sound). So *akasa* and *Nada* are one and inseparable.

Siva - Agamas:

There are twenty-eight main treatises called *Agamas*, which deal with the worship of Siva. The first position is assigned to *Kamikagama*, which may be accepted as the earliest. According to this *Agama*, the terms *Agama*, *Tantra*, *Mantra* and *Siddhanta* are synonyms. Of these twenty-eight *Agamas*, the first ten are called Siva (auspicious) Agamas and the remaining are called Rudra Agamas. These Agamas are generally divided into four sections as *Carya, Kriya, Yoga* and *Jnana*.

The *Agamas* provide the following: a brief account of Creation; directions for the lay-out of villages, cities, forts and for construction of temples and residences; iconographic details of various deities; *nitya, naimittika* and *kamya* modes of worship in temples; initiation and related rites for worshippers and for the realization of the Supreme. They include information on skills such as those of potters and architects. Short treatises known as *Paddhatis*, based on the *Agamas*, on temple rituals alone, were also published. Of the various *paddhatis*, the one written by the great Acarya, Aghora Siva in A.D. 1158, has been very popular.

Verse 57 of Tirumular's *'Tirumandiram'* refers to the twenty-eight Agamas.

அஞ்சன மேனி அரிவையோர் பாகத்தன்
அஞ்சொ டிருபத்து மூன்றுள ஆகமம்
அஞ்சலி கூப்பி அறுபத் தறுவரும்
அஞ்சா முகத்தில் அரும்பொருள் கேட்டதே

Agamas From The Fifth Face Of Siva

The Lord that consorts with His blue-hued half
Has the Agamas twenty-three and five;
Bowing low, the sixty-six heard
His Fifth Face expound the Agamas.

(1)- The 28 Agamas are:

1. Kamikagama
2. Yogajagama
3. Cintyam
4. Karanam
5. Ajitam
6. Diptam
7. Sukshmam
8. Sahasram
9. Amsumam
10. Suprabhedam
11. Vijayam
12. Nisvasam
13. Svayambhuvam
14. Agneyam (Analam)
15. Viram
16. Rauravam
17. Makutam
18. Vimalam
19. Candra Jnanam
20. Mukha Bimbam
21. Purodgitam
22. Lalitam
23. Siddham
24. Santanam
25. Sarvoktam
26. Paramesvaram
27. Kiranam
28. Vatulam

(The details of the tradition regarding the sixty-six sages has been explained in the *Payiram* in pp. 89-90 in the Tiruvavaduturai Adhinam (1987) Edition.)

Fifth Face:

Siva has five faces —— four facing the four directions, and the fifth facing upward. The westward looking face is known as *Sadyojatam*, the eastward as *Tatpurusham*, the northward as *Vamadevam*, the southward as *Aghoram*, and the upward as *Isanam*. The first four faces revealed the four Vedas and the fifth face, *Isanam*, revealed the *Agamas*.

Saiva Siddhanta and the Nayanmar:

Saiva Siddhanta is an ancient form of Saivism that has been prevalent in Tamil Nadu. The Bhakti movement has flourished in South India most definitely from at least the middle of the sixth century A.D. Many of the Saiva saints of the *'Periya Puranam'* from among the Sixty-three Nayanmar obtained the grace of the Lord, attained spiritual illumination and final *mukti*, not by following, in a technical sense, any of the Saiva paths described by Tirumular in his *'Tirumandiram'* or earlier but by complete surrender to Siva, the high quality of their devotion to Siva and to the service of Siva's devotees and the conviction that a life of devotion to Siva and His devotees was much more important than literature or philosophy. Saivism became a cosmopolitan creed, cutting across all notions of caste. Miracles of the *Nayanmar's* times made a tremendous impact on peoples' minds in respect of the superiority of Saivism. Appar, Sambandhar, Sundarar, Kannappa Nayanar, Nandanar and, of course, Manikkavacakar are obvious examples. The songs in praise of Siva — and, of course, Vishnu — showed a great deal of similarity in form and content. So the sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth centuries were an age of devotion in the Tamil country. The hymns of Manikkavacakar, Sambandhar and Appar (of the seventh century A.D.) and Sundarar (early ninth century A.D.) reflect the pinnacle of the Siva *bhakti* movement in the Tamil land. These hymns embody the tenets of the Saiva Siddhanta school in the original, though not codified, form; Appar's hymns refer to many of these tenets. Remembering that Tirumular's period in Tamil Nadu was the middle of the 6th century A.D., we are not surprised that many of the Devaram songs reveal a fairly thorough knowledge of the Saiva Siddhanta philosophy; but it was subordinated to the over-riding virtue of total surrender to Siva and His chosen *bhaktas*. The tenth century A.D. witnessed more prominence being given to philosophy and emphasis on doctrines. The *bhakti* element continued to be important, however.

The ritualistic aspect of Saivism is reflected in the *Saiva Agamas* prevalent in that age. According to an inscription at the Kailasanatha temple at Kancipuram, the Pallava ruler Rajasimha (A.D. 700-728) *alias* Narasimhavarman II, who calls himself *Agama Anusari*, was a great devotee of Siva and had mastered various branches of the *Saiva Siddhanta* doctrine and thereby cleansed himself of all *malas*. This is a significant pointer to the existence of the Saiva Siddhanta concept as early as A.D.700, and a number of texts on Saiva Siddhanta being in vogue in this period. It is also clear that the influence of Tirumular's *'Tirumandiram'* in mystic poetry had spread gradually in Tamil Nadu from the middle of the 6th century A.D., and the impact of the new gospel on the Nayanmar is quite clear.

While Saivism was a force to reckon with in South India even before the Christian era, it is obvious that it received a fresh accretion of strength from its successful opposition to Buddhism and Jainism which (along with Vaishnavism) it overcame about the fifth or sixth century A.D., although it had its beginnings in the fifth/sixth century A.D., right from the period of Tirumular's *'Tirumandiram'* and the hymns of the Devaram Trio and Manikkavacakar.

The Rev.G.U.Pope looked upon the Saiva Siddhanta system as the most elaborate, influential, and undoubtedly "the most intrinsically valuable, of all the religions of India." In his 'Indian Philosophy' (Volume II), Dr.S.Radhakrishnan wrote: "While there are striking similarities between the Siddhanta and the Saivism of Kashmir, we cannot say that the former owes its general structure or essential doctrines to the latter."

The Southern Saivism was evolved out of the earliest Tamil works like the *Tolkappiyam*, which refers to the *arivars* (seers) who chalked out the path to freedom and bliss, the Vedic conception of Rudra and the Rudra-Siva cult, the Mahabharata and the Svetasvatara Upanishad, the twenty-eight Saiva *Agamas*, particularly those dealing with *jnana* (knowledge), the Saiva hymns (*Tirumurai's*) of the saints Sambandhar, Appar and Sundarar and Manikkavacakar's 'Tiruvacakam', Sekkilar's 'Periya Puranam' and other such *bhakti* literature of the age.

Other views on the Saivite sects:

Speaking of the important Saiva sects which have played a prominent part in the religious history of India, T.A.Gopinatha Rao points out that some at least of the followers of the Pasupata and other non-Vedic sects were at first followers of the Vedic religion and gave it up later and joined the *Avaidika* cults. The *Pasupata* and a few other sects are ancient. If we take the *Agamanta* or *Suddha Saiva* sect, it appears that they flourished in a place called Mantrakali on the banks of the Godavari and that there were four *mathas*, beginning with the Amardalaka Matha surrounding the temple of Mantrakalesvara.

When Rajendra I, the Cola ruler, went to the Ganga region on his victorious march to the North, he met these Saivas there on his way; on his way back, he brought these Saiva *acaryas* from Central India along with him and settled them in his kingdom, and from that time, the Saivas continued to immigrate into Tondaimandalam (with an establishment at Kancipuram) and Colamandalam. This development gave an impetus to the spread of *Saivism*, and a large number of works on the Agamanta school of *Saivism* came to be written. Historians have expressed the view that in so settling them in the Tamil country, Rajendra I wished to strengthen the intellectual core of the educational and religious institutions at Kanci and elsewhere and to strengthen the Saiva creed in the South. The members of some of these *mathas* were great authors and exercised considerable influence over the rulers. Among them was Aghora Sivacarya who lived round about the Saka year 1080 (1158 A.D.)

Rajaraja I appointed a certain Sarva Siva Pandita Sivacarya as the chief priest of the great temple at Tanjavur, and ordered that thenceforth the *sishyas* and their *sishyas* belonging to the Aryadesa, Madhyadesa and Gaudadesa alone be eligible for the office of chief priest (S.I.I., Vol.II,Pt.II,p.153). Some of these Sivacaryas became *Rajagurus* (preceptors of the rulers) and wielded considerable influence over them. When Kulottunga III appointed two *Sivacaryas* at the temple at Tirukkadavur, Svamidevar, his *Rajaguru*, overruled the king and appointed two others in recognition of their hereditary rights. A scholar has ventured the view that the *Rajagurus* of the Colas were Sivacaryas of the *Golakhi Matha* —— a sect which originally belonged to Central India —— the *doab* between the Ganga and the Narmada (others link it with Bengal).

T.A.Gopinatha Rao proceeds to emphasize that these Saivas should be distinguished from the *Vedanta Saivas*, who base their philosophy on the Vedas and the Upanishads.

Pasupatas:

The Pasupatas, Kalamukhas, Kapalas and other *Agamanta Saivas* are included in this category by thinkers like Ramanuja because the concepts of *jivatma* as *Pasu* and *Paramatma* as *Pati* are common to all these sects. The Pasupata sect is also known as the Lakulisa Pasupata sect, having been founded by Lakulisa, regarded as an incarnation of Siva. (The Pasupatas were also called Mahesvaras.)

Sankara summed up the Pasupata philosophy in these words: "The Mahesvaras (*Saiva* devotees) maintain that the five categories, viz., effect (*karma*), cause (*karana*), union of the soul with Pati (*yoga*), ritual (*vidhi*) and the end of pain (*duhkhanta*) were taught by Lord Pasupati (Siva) to the end of breaking the bonds of the 'animals' (*pasus*, i.e., the souls). The Lord, Pasupati, according to them, is the operative cause." Obviously, the Lakulisa Pasupata sect predates Sankara at least.

The Kalamukhas also appear to be a sub-division of the Pasupatas. *'Somasiddhanta'* is the basic authority for the Kapalikas.

The *vidhi* (rules of behaviour) prescribed for the Pasupatas has many crude oddities, and T.A.Gopinatha Rao has expressed the view that the *vidhi* of the Pasupatas explains the origin and existence of what are regarded as obscene sculptures in Hindu temples (and *rathas*).

The Kalamukhas are so called because they mark their foreheads with a black streak.

T.A.Gopinatha Rao suggests that the prototype of all the *ghora* forms of Saivism is the personality of Siva Himself. Wild dancing and singing on the burning ground, smearing Himself with the ashes of the dead and donning the skulls and bones of the dead, going about naked in the streets of house-holder *rishis* and tempting their womenfolk even while living in bliss with His own Consort, severe austerities, drinking and eating from human skulls —— all these practices attributed to Siva were closely followed by the Saivite sects, the Kapalas, the Kalamukhas and the Vamacaris. Soon the teachings of some of these sects led to lives of degeneration, ease, pleasure, indulgence in flesh-food, drinking liquor and other vices. With their moral depravity and deterioration in social conduct, the Kapalas and the Kalamukhas lost out, and *Suddha Saivam* asserted itself.

With the orgies and revelries of some of the early forms of Saivism and the set-back they had in public estimation, new forms of Saivism sprang up —— the Vira Saivas in the Karnataka region of South India and the Pratyabhijnas of Kashmira. Basava, a *brahmana* by birth, founded the *Vira Saiva* sect with emphasis on the adoration of the *Linga*; the Lingayats, as the followers of Basava are called, carry on their person a small *linga* encased in a silver casket and suspended about the neck or tied up in a silk cloth. Caste distinctions are repudiated by this sect.

The Pratyabhijna school of Kashmira Saivites became prominent in the 10th century A.D. Their main inspiration was Abhinavagupta. According to this school, there is no distinction between Paramesvara and the *Jivatma. Paramatma* exists always, is all-pervasive, free and is the embodiment of energy and of blissful light. But the *Jivatma* is covered by the darkness of *Maya*.

The term *'Pratyabhijna'* has been translated by some scholars in English into "Recognition". T.A.Gopinatha Rao puts it thus:

"The power of recognising an object originally known to us but which had been lost sight of for long is called *Pratyabhijna*". (We refer to the Pratyabhijna system in some detail in a later Chapter.)

Tirumular, also born to Kashmira Saivism, nearly four centuries ahead of Abhinavagupta, the inspiration of the Pratyabhijna School of Kashmira Saivism in the 10th century A.D., might have introduced an early version of this Saivism into the Tamil land through the medium of his Tirumandiram in the fifth/sixth century A.D. However, to link the Ananda Tandava Nataraja cult of Cidambaram with the Pratyabhijna school of Kashmira Saivism appears far-fetched. When Tirumular visited Ponnambalam (Tillai), the Tirukkuttu (Ananda Tandava) of Nataraja was already an established tradition. It may be fair to say that Tirumular's new cult spread over different parts of Tamil Nadu; but to say that Kashmira Saivism had an impact only on Cidambaram, where a pocket of adherents of this School of Saivism established themselves, and that the Nataraja cult is only an off-shoot of this School does not appear justified or warranted. More about this in Chapters Twenty and Twenty-four.

In his survey on 'Saivite trends' on pp.37-44 of his book, "The Art of South India ´— Tamil Nadu and Kerala" (1978), K.V.Soundararajan emphasises that the representation of Siva in a 'formless' yet 'formal' state (*a-rupa-rupa*) as a *linga* has been of fundamental importance to Saivite rituals and iconography. Vedic concepts like Skambha came to be attached to the later Siva; and Siva was represented as Sthanu-Isvara by the *linga*; the *linga-lingin* symbolism (constituting *purusha* and *prakrti*) acquired a fresh amalgamation with the re-established Rudra-Agni-Skambha (the flaming pillar) equation.

(The *'Linga Purana'* of the 4th century A.D. states that *Pradhana* — Nature — is called *Linga* and Paramesvara is called *Lingin* (the sustainer of Nature, the *linga*), and that the pedestal of the *linga* is Uma and the *Linga* is the visible Mahesvara).*

"The Siva-Sakti aspect produces not only Ananda but also the resurgence of the universe by the role of procreation inherent in such a symbolism. Iconographically, this aspect took the Ardhanari, Harihara and Somaskanda forms; and the *arupa* manifestations carried out the concept through the Mahesa cult to the finer formless *Linga* cult." K.V.Soundararajan has arrived at the conclusion that Lakulisa was the first to initiate such a form. He is taken as an *avatara* or a substantiation of Siva in this world and was characterised as a cross-legged *yogi* with a *lakuta* (a short club) in the left hand and a *matulunga* fruit in the right and with his *membrum virile* (*urdhvamedha*) emphasized. He is also shown as seated back to back with a *linga* in examples from Gujarat and Rajasthan.

Karvan (*Kayavarohana*) in Gujarat is usually regarded as Lakulisa's place of birth, and Eklingji (near Udaipur) in Rajasthan as the centre where the *Yogisvara* or *Mahayogi* tradition represented by Lakulisa was established.

K.V.Soundararajan takes the view that undoubtedly this was the germ of the Dakshinamurti icon of the Tamil country. The four disciples, and the cross-legged seating, point to the similarity. In the South, the *linga* form of Siva has been identified not merely with *Sthanu* but with the entire creation by associating the five vital elements of the Universe: *Prthivi* (earth), *apah* (*appu* in Tamil) (water), *tejas* (*teyu* in Tamil) (fire), *vayu* (wind) and *akasa* (ether). Special significance attaches to the *linga* or Siva as *akasa*, as at Cidambaram, where the *sanctum sanctorum* is the Cidambara Rahasya or cosmic secret (or mystery) and is only filled with *akasa* (limitless void), which highlights the cosmic immanence of God and constitutes the most esoteric, sublime, expression, yet known to man, of formal and formless universal god-head.

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* As already pointed out, 'Linga Purana' - a Sanskrit work of 163 chapters - was written during the reign of Candragupta Vikramaditya II (A.D. 380-412).

K.V.Soundararajan postulates that the Lakulisa-Pasupata cult was the first to 'transform a mere idolization of Siva into a cult-oriented sect' and that this sect entrenched itself in Kancipuram in the 5th century A.D., apparently in the wake of Samudragupta's southern campaign, and there developed the iconic variants of *Siva tattva* (*Cit*) in the shapes of Somaskanda, *Dhara-linga* (multi-faceted *linga* without a *pitha*), Dakshinamurti (the teacher of *yoga*) and *Lingodbhava* (the flaming pillar, *Agni-Rudra*). The *linga dhara* or 'Bhara Siva' (the weight-bearing form of Siva) in Tamil Nadu is indicative of the areas where the Pasupata cult had spread. In the Pallava region, it was initially deep-rooted, and the entire Pandya country witnessed a concentration of such Lakulisa Pasupata or Mahesvara ascetics. That some of the Cola inscriptions refer to provision of facilities —— feeding in temples and *mathas* —— for Mahesvaras indicates that these ascetics were also taken care of and patronised by the Tamil rulers of the time. (We refer to this matter a little later in this Chapter.)

C.Sivaramamurti also has expressed the view that Siva has two forms: Lakulisa and Dakshinamurti: that the Lakulisa form is found in temples of North India, represented by Madhera in Gujarat in the West, by Payar in Kashmir in the North, and by Bhubaneshwar in the East. Dakshinamurti in several forms occurs throughout South India.

The Dakshinamurti concept:

Siva is a great master of *yoga*, music and dance. As a teacher of these arts and sciences, Siva is known by the name Dakshinamurti. He came to be known by this name because He was seated facing South when he taught the *rishis yoga* and *jnana*. While Siva as Nrttamurti radiates joyousness, Dakshinamurti betokens peace. The niche on the south wall of the central shrine of any Siva temple should have a Dakshinamurti icon installed in it. Dakshinamurti sits on a seat covered with tiger's skin under a banyan tree (or on a white lotus: *padmasana*). The right leg hangs freely while the left leg is bent and rests on the right thigh (*virasana*). The suspended leg rests on the *Apasmara-purusha*. Of the four arms, the front right one has the *jnana* mudra (the sign of knowledge). The rear right hand holds a string of beads (*akshamala*). The torso does not have any bends —— indicative of the resolute will and force of thought of the Lord in the form of the great Teacher.

The Dakshinamurti form has an esoteric meaning. At the end of an aeon (*kalpa*), Dakshinamurti absorbs within Himself the whole universe in a joyful mood. *Jnana* is also known as Dakshina, and since Dakshina is ever in front of Siva and gazes at Him in the aspect of Dakshinamurti, He is called *Dakshinamukha*. The *Apasmara-purusha* symbolises ignorance. The book the Lord holds in His hand represents universal wisdom for the illumination of souls. The *akshamala* represents the *tattvas* (truths). The spreading banyan tree is symbolic of *maya* (illusion) and Siva's bull represents *dharma*. To the *rishis*, who are already deeply learned, Dakshinamurti imparts *atma vidya* (self-knowledge), and releases them from bondage. The *kamalasana* is the sacred syllable 'OM'; and He is imperishable.

Some Western scholars see Buddhist influence on the evolution of the Dakshinamurti concept. It is a totally Hindu concept.

It is noteworthy that the main forms of Siva as represented in the Pallava shrines in the Tamil country are Somaskanda (Siva with Parvati and the infant Subrahmanya placed between them), Dakshinamurti, Ardhanari and Gajantaka. This establishes that, by the 7th century A.D., the pattern of Hindu iconography (in the South) had already been determined and Subrahmanya had acquired a firm place. In the Pallava period, Siva and Vishnu images and shrines were found side by side, and the early Alvars too (Tirumangai Alvar: 8th to 9th century A.D.) refer in their hymns to the inseparable nature of Siva and Vishnu.

Some scholars see in the emergence of the Lingodbhava form the establishment of the superiority of Siva over Brahma and Vishnu —— a change in outlook brought about already by the time of the advent of the Colas by the activities of the Saivite saints, whose hymns sang limitless praise of Siva. Lingodbhava sculptures in the western niches of Siva temples became a well-established pattern in the Cola period.

The Ardhanarisvara concept:

Ardhanarisvara is Siva and Parvati merged into a half-male, half-female composite form. Two explanations are offered for this concept. According to one, while all the *rishis* offered their homage equally to Siva and Parvati by circumambulating both of them, Bhringi alone would recognise only one Being: Siva, and would not go round or bow to Parvati, who punished Bhringi for this recalcitrance. When he became emaciated as a result of this punishment, Siva gave him a third leg with which to dance. Relenting, Parvati also arranged with Bhringi to perform a penance and obtain a boon from Siva, Who was so pleased with Parvati's attitude that He granted Her wish of being united with His own body.

A second explanation is as follows: Brahma meditated on Mahesvara, trying to find a way to perpetuate the created worlds. Siva appeared in Ardhanari form and comforted Brahma; the latter prayed to the female half of Mahesvara to give him 'female' forms with which to proceed with the process of Creation. Brahma's request was granted. This was the origin of the Ardhanarisvara concept.

Parvati, the daughter of Himavan, undertook severe penance when She was separated from Lord Siva. Siva married Her and absorbed Her as part of His body. The *yogic* nature of Siva is brought out in the Ardhanari form because, although the Lord has a woman as part of his body, He has completely conquered His senses, is free from passion and, in Appar's words, is a *Parama Yogi*.

The Somaskanda concept:

Somaskanda, meaning: '(the Lord) with Uma and Skanda,' a processional deity, consists of Siva on the left and Parvati on the right (Parvati should be to the proper left of Siva) with the infant Skanda (in diminutive form) in the middle. In Pallava temples, a panel of Somaskanda was always fixed on the upper portion of the *garbha-grha* wall behind the *linga* in the *sanctum sanctorum* (we have examples: Kailasanatha temple, Kanci; Mamallapuram; Kudumiyanmalai). *Sa(ha)+Uma+Skanda* make up the term *'Somaskanda'*. The concept emerged from the *Isana-*

mukha of Siva's *Pancamukhas*. It is again an emphasis on Siva and Sakti. It also stands for *Sat, Cit and Ananda*.

A story of misdemeanour:

That some of these Saivite sects, during the period: 6th to 9th century A.D., fell into disrepute by their own misdemeanour is brought out clearly by many historians. The Pallava ruler Mahendra Varman I (A.D. 580 to 610 or 630), known for his proficiency in Sanskrit, wrote a satire in Sanskrit, 'Mattavilasa Prahasana', which centred round the drunken revelry of a Kapalika dallying with a female companion and disgracing himself, a Buddhist monk of questionable morals with a leaning towards wine and women of good looks, a degenerate Pasupata and a lunatic. The object of Mahendra Varman in portraying such characters in this play was to communicate the contempt with which society regarded those who pretend to be *bhaktas* but were in reality of questionable standards. The play throws considerable light on the contemporary state of the Kapalika, Pasupata and other faiths and on the religious and social life in Kancipuram at the time of Mahendra Varman I —— in the seventh century A.D.

The late Dr.C.Minakshi (see p.137 of her book, "Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas", 1938) quotes the Buddhist monk as saying of the Kapalika in this satire: "Oh, that Kapalin lives in Ekamra". It follows that the Ekamranatha temple should have been the abode (or one such) of the Kapalikas at Kancipuram.

At pages 180-181, Dr.C.Minakshi proceeds to observe: "In the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries A.D., the Kapalikas, the Kalamukhas and the Pasupatas, the adherents of Vira Saivism or the *Tantric* and *Sakta* forms of worship, practised religious rituals comprising offering of wine and blood to Bhairava and Kali. Hieun Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, who visited Kancipuram in the first half of the seventh century A.D., has a vivid description of the Kapalikas with their chaplets of bones round their heads."

While there is no direct evidence to show that any of the Pallava kings was personally attached to the worship of Siva in the form of Bhairava or of Parvati in the form of Durga or Kali, it is clear from the Devaram hymns of the Nayanmar (particularly of Appar and Sambandhar) and the 'Mattavilasa' of Mahendra Varman that the Kapalikas, the Kalamukhas and the Pasupatas were active in the Pallava kingdom from the sixth century A.D.

The chief centres of these sects seem to have been Kanci (as pointed out earlier), Tiruvorriyur (we offer detailed comments in the paragraphs to follow), Mayilappur (in Madras, where the temple is dedicated to Kapalisvara and where Sambandhar sang some of his well-known hymns), Kodumbalur (which was a centre of the Kalamukha sect from the 8th century A.D., as attested by an inscription of later days, of the chieftain Bhuti Vikramakesari —— details of which are given below) and certain parts of the Tanjavur and Tirucirappalli districts of Tamil Nadu.

Siruttondar, one of the Sixty-three Nayanmar, belonging to Tiruccengattangudi, was of Mamattirar clan who, as commander-in-chief of the Pallava ruler, is said to have won a victory over Pulakesi II in the year A.D. 642, destroyed Vatapi and brought an image of Ganapati to his native village. He would offer food daily to Siva yogins without exception and would eat only after the yogins had been fed. One day Siva is said to have appeared before him in His terrible form of Bhairava. This legend is a clear case of the Bhairava sect in action.

Several members of the Kapalika and Pasupata groups had their residence in and procured their food from Saiva temples. The Saiva *matha* of Tirukkacci-Mayanam in Kanci and the *matha* for the Kalamukha sect at Kodumbalur (in the former Pudukkottai State) represent respectively a late Pallava and an early Cola *matha* in Tamil Nadu.

Dr. I.K.Sarma mentions (p,68 of "The Development of Early Saiva Art and Architecture", 1982) that a place called Jogimallesvaram in Andhra Pradesh —— not far removed from Kalahasti and Gudimallam —— seems to have been a centre of Pasupatas or Mahesvaras "during the mediaeval times also."

Professor K.A.Nilakanta Sastri (p.647 of "The Colas," 1955) observes:

> "Saivism was at this period in marked contrast with the Advaitism of Sankara, Smarta Hinduism as it may be called, and embraced a whole gamut of sectional groups ranging from the mild Sivayogins to the extremely fanatical and repulsive groups like the Pasupatas, the Kapalikas and the Kalamukhas."

Besides this reference, Professor Sastri also made a detailed study of the Kodumbalur inscription of Bhuti Vikrama Kesari in an article in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras (1933 Issue). He puts down Vikramakesari to the period A.D. 950-970.

The object of the inscription is to record the erection of the three temples, now together known as Muvar Koyil, at Kodumbalur by Vikrama Kesari and to the presentation to the Kalamukha ascetic, Mallikarjuna, of a big *matha* (monastery) attached to the temple, with eleven villages set apart for the maintenance of the *matha*, for the benefit of fifty *Asita-vaktras* (Kalamukhas). Professor Sastri adds that the Kalamukhas to whom Vikramakesari gave this *matha* were a set of Pasupata ascetics addicted to many gruesome practices, whose sect was apparently very influential in South India between the ninth and twelfth centuries A.D., as they are mentioned in several inscriptions in the Tamil country.

Tiruvorriyur:

Tiruvorriyur has obviously been a major centre of the Lakulisa cult during the periods of the Middle and Later Colas, who were deeply interested in it and its promotion. The name of the presiding deity of the shrine, Karanai Vitankar, is very suggestive of 'Karonam'. Rajadhiraja I (A.D.1018-1054) — ARE 220 of 1912 — had apparently donated land for offerings to 'the temple of Karanai Vitankar' at Tiruvorriyur. (See S.R. Balasubrahmanyam's 'Middle Chola Temples': 1975, pp.305 - 308.)

The temple of Gaulisa (or Gaulisvara) was built for 'Padampakka Nayaka deva' by one Pasupati Tiruvarangadeva (A.R.E. 232 of 1912). During the periods of the Middle and Later Colas, this shrine was referred to as dedicated to 'Lakulisa' (corrupted in course of time into Gaulisa).

Writing in A.R.E 1913 (p.103), the Government Epigraphist observed:

> "The stone image of Padampakka devar* is apparently the same as that of the present Gaulisvara. It cannot be explained why Padampakka came to be called Gaulisvara or what Padampakka actually meant. The deity/image does not correspond to any of the forms of Siva known to me so far, and leaves one doubtful whether the image may not be one of Lakulisa of (Karohana) Karvan, with whom the temple of Tiruvorriyur may have been intimately connected."

The Gaulisa shrine also houses a fine granite image of Adi Sankara. The later paragraphs will perhaps provide an answer to the question why an image of Adi Sankara was installed here.

We now refer to the Madras Epigraphical Report, July 1912, pp.60-61. It refers to a very significant series of events at Tiruvorriyur, a known centre of the Kapalikas.

This is a clear instance where the benign hand and the sobering influence of Sankara are seen. He brought under check what must have been an unsavoury situation obtaining till then in certain sections of the Saivite fold. Sankara exercised a similar influence on Taradevi at Kanci, and Kamakshi emerged on the scene.

The following extracts** from pp.60-61 of the Madras Epigraphical Report, July 1912, throw considerable light on the then prevailing situation:-

> " 28. Two records of Parakesarivarman Rajaraja II are registered as Nos.221 and 369 of Appendix B, in both of which his queen appears under the name or surname Mukkokkilanadigal. Professor Hultzsch quotes a record of his successor Rajadhiraja II (S.I.I., Vol.III, p.207) from which it may be gathered that Rajaraja II must have reigned at least for 26 years. The Kalamukha or the Lakulisa-Pasupata sect, one of the oldest schisms of Saivism, appears to have been current at the end of the 12th century A.D. The Kalattur and Tiruvanakkoyil inscriptions mention Gomadattu Sailarasi-Pandita and Jnanarasi-Pandita, who were the owners of these temples and belonged to that sect. I noticed a figure of the Kalamukha, Paranjoti-Pandita, pictured on the north wall of the Tiruvanakkoyil temple.
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> "29. Rajakesarivarman Rajadhiraja II is represented by four inscriptions in the collection, one of which (No.300 of Appendix B) gives him the credit of having conquered Madurai (Madura) and Ilam(Ceylon). No.371 represents him as personally attending a festival in the temple of Padampakka-Nayakadeva at Tiruvorriyur, on which occasion were also present the Saiva teachers Chaturanana-Pandita and Vagisvara-Pandita, the latter of whom expounded the Soma-siddhanta (i.e., the doctrine of the Kapalika Saivas) in the temple. It is also stated that the king in company with these learned teachers was on that occasion pleased to hear the story (*sripurana*) of Aludaiya-Nambi. Evidently Tiruvorriyur was a place of great religious sanctity which attracted even kings to attend its festivals. Kulottunga-Chola III, the successor of Rajadhiraja, is also stated to have attended a festival in that temple (No.368 of Appendix B). The name Padampakka-Nayakadeva (also referred to in No.367 of Appendix B), seems to connect the shrine of Adhipurisvara with the serpent's hood (*padam*) and confirms the statement of the priests that the god now worshipped in the Tiruvorriyur temple is an ant-hill covered on all sides with a metallic protector. The philosophic drama *Prabodhachandrodaya* written by Krishna-Misra about the middle of the 11th century A.D. introduces a character in the form of Soma-siddhanta and depicts it as a horrible picture wearing garlands of human bones, living in burial-grounds, eating

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* 'Padampakka Nathar' has been translated by a scholar as ' the Lord having the hood (of the cobra) at His side'.

** **Courtesy:** Dy. Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Fort St. George, Madras.

from skulls and practising the use of sorceric collyriums to realise the true relation existing between the seen and the unseen. Again the followers of this Soma-siddhanta, otherwise called Kapalikas, are represented to have offered human sacrifices to please their god Bhairava (one of the terrible manifestations of Siva) and his consort and to have practically revelled in drinking and debauchery. They believed, it is stated, in attaining Sivahood even while enjoying the sensual pleasures of life but condemned as hindrances to progress the practice of forbidden powers (*siddhis*) such as (1) bringing one under psychic control, (2) attracting a body from a distance, (3) mesmerising, (4) causing death without bodily injury, (5) creating craziness and (6) transporting a body away to distant countries —— by power of spells. These were evidently forms of religion which the Brahmanas condemned as 'left-handed'. That the Siva temple at Tiruvorriyur had an institution to propagate and a teacher to expound such a despised form of religion accounts perhaps for the one or two still existing ceremonials not generally permitted in Brahmanical temples, viz., the offering of arrack and flesh to a goddess within the very sacred precincts of the temple and the sacrificing of animals to propitiate her, even though they be on certain prescribed days in the year. It must be that the influence of Samkaracharya's refined and liberal Vedantism did effectually put a stop to the evil practices of Soma-siddhanta (which must have included the Sakti worship in some form or other) not only at Tiruvorriyur but throughout India wherever it was so observed and the event is even now gratefully remembered at Tiruvorriyur in the story that Samkaracharya personally went there and securing the vital energy of an evil goddess who was then swallowing everything that came in her way, threw it into a well (pointed out even now) and closed its mouth with a huge slab. The goddess became powerless and thenceforward assumed a calm countenance. Still, once in the year, by way of compromise as it were, the orgiastic rites are observed and the terrible and all-swallowing spirit is believed to be appeased. Samkaracharya too, as a benefactor, is immortalized by a statue placed in the temple and receives regular worship along with the principal deity. The persistence of Soma-siddhanta in the Tiruvorriyur temple in the 13th century A.D. despite the reformer Samkaracharya, only confirms one of those national characteristics of the Hindu —— a reluctance to adopt reforms even when they are proved to be good and beneficial."

To sum up:

It is clear from this rather lengthy survey that the fanatical and repulsive elements in some of the Saivite sects such as the Pasupatas, Kapalikas and Kalamukhas were brought under control and the necessary degree of refinement in Saivism was achieved by the intervention of the great Advaitin Sankara, when he came on the scene in the 8th/9th century A.D. Tirumular's 'Tirumandiram' of the 6th century A.D. and the hymns and miracles of Appar and Sambandhar of the 7th century A.D. followed by Sundarar (the *Devaram* Trio) and the hymns of Manikkavacakar gave the Saivite movement the much-needed correction and re-orientation. Many of the Devaram hymns reveal a thorough grasp of the philosophy Tirumular had embodied in his *Tirumandiram*, which was evolved on Tamil soil.

Although I have not yet come across a verdict from any of the renowned historians on the 'repulsive' aspects of some of the Saivite sects, I venture to think that the general deterioration in the culture of the land during the Kalabhra Interregnum from the third to the fifth century A.D. should have been largely responsible for vitiating the moral fibre of the various Saivite sects also and they could not recover from this setback till positive influences asserted themselves from the sixth century A.D., onwards. That this deterioration should have even continued into the 10th century A.D. is an indication of the depth of degradation and the intensity of the malady that pure Saivism had to contend with at the time.

The long roll of Saiva saints opening with Manikkavacakar, the Devaram Trio, Tirumular, and closing with Umapati Sivacarya (early 14th century A.D.) indicates that over a period of nearly six to seven centuries, the Saiva Siddhanta creed acquired a distinctiveness with an authoritative collection of sacred writings commonly known as the 'Tamil Veda'.

While total surrender to God and His *bhaktas* remained the keynote of Saivite practice, the tenth century witnessed the growth of 'Suddha Saivam', a growing appreciation of the teachings of Tirumular's *'Tirumandiram'*, the enlightened hymns of the Devaram Trio and of Manikkavacakar, and the impact of Adi Sankara and his Advaita philosophy. This happy blend of constructive forces augured well for the future of Saivism in Tamil Nadu and ushered in an age of wholesome philosophical disputation, discipline and decorum in the practice of Saivism.

As in other periods of history, there were close and intimate cultural and artistic contacts and free exchanges of philosophic thought between the North and the South, and there is evidence also of intimate contacts among the various systems of religious and philosophic thought among important centres of Saivism during the period of the Later Colas, especially during the reign of Kulottunga III.

The provision of many Saivite *mathas* (monasteries) in Cidambaram and other benefactions for the care of the Saivite devotees (Mahesvaras) is a clear pointer to the active association of Cidambaram with the growth of Saivism in Tamil Nadu in these eventful centuries.

Saivism - Golakhi *matha*:

The area known as the *Dahala mandala*, situated between the Ganga and the Narmada, built up a line of Saiva teachers, whose founder was Durvasa. According to the August 1917 Madras Epigraphy Report, there appeared in the line one Sadbhava Sambhu, who founded a monastery called Golakhi *matha*. A large number of disciples and Vedic scholars came under the spell of this cult. Round about A.D.1261, the cult acquired considerable following under one Visvesvara Sambhu. The Annual Report of 1910 mentions that a Saiva monastery called the Krishna Golakhi *matha* came up at Tiruvarur (in Tanjavur district, Tamil Nadu) at the beginning of the 13th century. The Cola kings, Rajaraja I, Rajendra I and Kulottunga III, are known to have taken active interest in the propagation of this creed. There was also a *Bhiksha matha* (Golakhi school) at Tillai Cidambaram (ARE 212 of 1912).

Lakulisa-Siddhanta, Pasupata and Karonam:

Siva —— smeared with ashes all over his body —— loves to dwell and dance in the *Rudra Bhumi* (the grave-yard or the cremation ground; Sanskrit: *smasana*), called *mayanam* in Tamil. The Devaram hymns refer to Tirukkacci Mayanam (Kanci), Tiru-Nallur Mayanam (near Kumbakonam) and Tirukkadavur Mayanam (in Tanjavur district). The saint-poetess of old, Karaikkal Ammaiyar, describes the Mayanam as the place where the ghosts and the *bhuta-ganas* sing and dance round the corpses. In Karaikkal Ammaiyar's *'Tiru-Alangattu Mutta Tiruppadigangal'* (Eleventh *Tirumurai*), the saint-poetess says, *"palli idamum aduve aga-p-paraman adume"* :"The resting place —— the cremation ground —— is the place where Siva is pleased to dance": *'palli'* means *"sudu kadu"*, the graveyard or crematorium. Siva clothed in the skins of the deer and the tiger dances in *palli idam* (the resting place) and so it is the temple of Lord Siva. Many of the Devaram hymns refer to places whose names end with the word *'palli'* (Tiruk-kattuppalli, for instance). The *Devaram* Trio of Sambandhar, Appar and Sundarar have composed many hymns in honour of Siva and His temples located in these *pallis*.

Tirukkudandai Karonam (Kayarohanam):

On the northern bank of the Mahamakham tank at Kumbakonam (Tiruk-kudandai) is located what is now known as the Kasi Visvanatha temple —— referred to by Sambandhar as Tiruk-kudandai-k-karonam (in the First *Tirumurai, Padigam* 19) —— which is its ancient name; and the local *mahatmyam* also confirms this name. Sambandhar visited the Karonam temple at Kumbakonam around A.D.650 and, praising the Lord in ten verses, he said in an eleventh verse that any devotee who recited those verses "would have no re-birth":

"கருவாரிடும்பைப் பிறப்பதறுத்துக் கவலை கழிவாரே."

Tiru-Nagai-k-karonam

There is another Siva temple by the same name, Karonam, at Nagappattinam, a town on the sea-coast, only sixty kms. south-east of Kumbakonam. In the records of the Cola rulers of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries A.D., the presiding deity of this temple is referred to as Karonam Udaiyar; and the local *sthala purana* also gives the name of this temple as that of *Kayarohanasvami*.

Sambandhar has visited the Nagapattinam Karonam temple also, and sung the praise of Siva of this temple in ten verses (First *Tirumurai*, *Padigam* 65) with the caption 'Tiru-Nagai-k-Karonam'; and in an eleventh verse, Sambandhar avers that one who recites those ten verses 'would go to heaven, with his body not destroyed':

கரையா உருவாகிக் கலி வான் அடைவாரே (Karaiya uruvahi-k-kali-van adaivare).

It is noteworthy that these two temples at Kumbakonam and Nagappattinam are known as '*karonam*'--a derivation from the Sanskrit term *kayarohana*. We have to look to Gujarat for an explanation.

According to the *Vayu* - and *Linga-Puranas*, Lakulisa was the twenty-eighth incarnation of Mahesvara, and he founded the Pasupata sect of Saivism at Kayavarohana in Gujarat——said to be the modern Karvan, near Baroda. Lakulisa, according to an inscription of Chandragupta II (A.D.380), lived in the first half of the second century A.D.

Through his four disciples, Kusika, Kaurusha, Gargya and Maitreya, Lakulisa propagated the Pasupata philosophy over vast territories of the Indian sub-continent and their schools were established at various centres.

There is a temple called Lakulisa at Karvan, where the Pasupata school was established by Lakulisa. The local *Mahatmyam* calls the place Kayavirohana. Inscriptions call it Karohan. The *Vayu* and *Linga Puranas* call it *Kayavarohana*.

Dr. Stella Kramrisch, in her 'Manifestations of Siva' (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1981), says: "Lakulisa, a Siva teacher (considered an *avatar* of Siva), probably lived in the first century A.D. in Kayavarohana (present-day Karvan, near Baroda). His four-armed deified image has the likeness of a naked ascetic. Lakulisvara is seated on a lotus flower. His phallus is seen erect (*urdhva-linga*)."

Scholars have given us an interesting explanation for the terms.

Kayavirohana : There is no re-birth. The body returns not.

Karohana=Kayarohana : The devotee goes to heaven, his body not being destroyed.

Kayavarohana : God comes down on the earth as an *Avatar* (Lakulisa is said to be an incarnation of Siva.)

In respect of the temples of Karonam at Kumbakonam and Nagapattinam, the first two meanings are inherent in Sambandhar's verses. The third meaning is to be found in Appar's verses on the Nagapattinam Karonam temple:

நாகைக் காரோணத் தெஞ்ஞான்றுங் காணலாமே.

It is noteworthy that, while the Sanskrit names were suggested in the second century in Gujarat, the philosophical concept of Pasupata behind these names is manifested in the Tamil hymns of A.D.650. The Karonams in Kumbakonam and Nagapattinam make it clear that the Lakulisa-Pasupata Siddhanta was understood in Tamil Nadu, and studies have shown that the Pasupata school continued to exert its influence on the culture of Tamil Nadu till the end of the 12th century A.D.

We have already referred to Tiruvorriyur. There was a Pasupata *matha* called *Mayana Matham* at Tiruvorriyur, which was most popular from A.D.958 to 1200. The heads of this institution were known as 'Caturanana panditas'. There is an instance of a gift of gold to a Caturanana pandita for the conduct of the *Sribali* ceremony, during Cola rule. The Kapalikas and Kalamukhas were quite powerful there during Cola rule.

In his Tiruvilimilalai songs, Appar says (Sixth *Tirumurai*, 50th *Padigam*):

"Lord Siva of Ekamba (Ekamra) of Kancipuram in his Pasupata form (*avatara*), with the ashes (from the grave-yard) smeared over his body, wearing a garland of bones and white skulls and with the sacred coil of hair, is the Lord of the *mayana* of the *savas* (corpses)."

Tiruk-kacci *Mayanam* inside the Ekamresvara temple complex at Kancipuram is mentioned in an inscription of Kulottunga I of the year A.D.1076. The Tiru-Mayanam temple was looked after by a *pandita* of Pasupata persuasion.

The names of the chief priests of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I suggest that they belonged to the Pasupata school. The chief priest of Rajarajesvaram, the Great Temple completed by Rajaraja I in A.D.1010, was one Isana Siva Pandita, and he was also the priest of the king. In the reign of his son, Rajendra I (A.D.1012-1044), the Acaryabhoga of the Rajarajesvaram temple was in the hands of one Sarva Siva Pandita. The names of the teachers and the native places of their pupils indicate that they belonged to the Pasupata school.

Verse 3 in the 20th *padigam* in the Fourth *Tirumurai* of Appar on Tiruvarur makes a pointed reference to the existence in his time, on the streets of the sacred Tiruvarur town, of *Viradhis* (ascetics with matted locks of hair), *brahmana* ascetics (perhaps from Kashmir), Saivites, Pasupatas and Kapalikas, which means that these Saivite sects had spread themselves out in Tamil Nadu by the 7th century A.D.

Pallippadai

Sepulchral temples built over the mortal remains of royal personages were known under Cola and Pandya rule. A record of Rajendra I from Kandiyur (A.D.1018) mentions grants made as Acaryabhoga to the Pasupata teacher, Lakulisvara pandita, the head pontiff of the *matha* in the village. It would appear that the Pasupata teachers (also called Kalamukhas) managed the affairs of the sepulchural temples and also discharged the regular duties prescribed in the routine.

In an inscription studied by Mr. N. Sethuraman of Kumbakonam at Udaiyalur (a village close to Kumbakonam), the Kailasanatha temple there is referred to as "Siva Pada Sekhara Isvaram" in the village "Siva Pada Sekhara Mangalam", both therefore in the name of Rajaraja I (A.D.1010). The village is also described as a *devadanam* and a Mahesvara *sthanam* —— the latter phrase is not found in any other Tamil inscription known so far and it implies that the village was a colony of Pasupata Saivites.

An inscription here, of the days of Kulottunga I, indicates that Pasupata ascetics also made gifts to the Kailasanatha temple. This inscription, of the days of Kulottunga I, recorded nearly ninety years after the demise of Rajaraja I, has led to the surmise that a portrait statue of Rajaraja I had been installed here and honoured in succeeding years, and the temple could therefore have been a sepulchural or memorial temple to Rajaraja I, on whom *Siva diksha* (sacred initiation) should have been imparted by his *guru* before the king's death.

It is noticed that there were some Kalamukha teachers who moved from Karnataka into Tamil Nadu and stayed on in this part of the country, in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D.

These observations confirm the view that the Pasupata sect of Saivism had obtained a strong foot-hold over large areas of Tamil Nadu in this particular period, shaping the personal faith of some of the Cola and Pandya rulers too.

(The last section of this chapter is based entirely on the ample material generously placed at my disposal by N. Sethuraman of Kumbakonam, with whom I have had many useful discussions on the subject of Saivite sects.)

Note:

While the Kayarohana shrines at Nagapattinam, Kumbakonam and Tiruvorriyur are well-known, it was not clear to me till recently where such a shrine at Kancipuram was located. In a chance encounter with a devotee of the Kanci Matha at Kanci in December 1993, I gathered that the renovation of the Kayarohana temple at Kanci had been entrusted to him by His Holiness Sri Mahasvamigal and that it is located near the Guru temple at Kanci and that the *kumbhabhishekam* after renovation is to take place soon. Kayarohanam at Kanci is also mentioned in the Kanci Puranam.

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CHAPTER 20

The Age of the Nataraja Cult

The dates of the origin of the Nataraja cult and of the sculpture of Nataraja in the *Ananda Tandava* form have been subjects of debate among scholars. P.R.Srinivasan, in his 'Bronzes of South India' (1965, p.145), wrote:

"It was probably during the time of Parantaka I (A.D. 907-955) that the very first sample in stone of the Ananda Tandava form of Nataraja was created,"—— a view expressed also in *Roop Lekha*, XXVI and XXVII.

Speaking of Nataraja in the Ananda Tandava form at Cidambaram, J.N.Banerjea wrote, in his 'The Development of Hindu Iconography' (Calcutta, 1956, p.280):

"The principal image of Siva in the main *sanctum sanctorum* of the temple, however, depicts Him dancing His cosmic dance, the right foot trampling down Muyalaka, the left raised in the *kuncitapada*; with one right hand sounding the cosmic drum, the other in the *abhaya hasta*, with one left hand holding the fire and the other in the *dandahasta* pose.

"Numerous bronze replicas of the same type of dancing Siva are found in Southern India, but most of them belong to the 14th or 15th century A.D. or even later."

J.N.Banerjea's remarks again point to a misconception which it is necessary to dispel.

Writing in "The Art of South India —— Tamil Nadu and Kerala" (Delhi, 1978, pp.39-41), K.V.Soundararajan took the view that "the main creation of the image of the *Pancakritya* concept of Ananda Tandava took place during the time of Parantaka, before whose time we do not have any authentic Ananda Nataraja figure."

In his "Glimpses of Indian Culture —— Architecture, Art and Religion" (Delhi, 1981, p.163), K.V.Soundararajan has dwelt on the theme of the Siva Nataraja iconic tradition, and has taken the extraordinary view that "the term 'Cidambaram' in the sense of *Cidakasa svarupa* of Siva's immanence there, even if taken as a later tradition, had nothing to do either with the Nataraja temple or with the icon at Tillai." —— obviously not an acceptable view in the light of the historical and the literary evidence of centuries.

Referring to the "sublimity of the Ananda Tandava pose of Siva as crystallised in a bronze icon," K.V.Soundararajan added:

"In so far as the Nataraja concept is concerned, the God being known in Tamil parlance as *Adavallan*, there is no evidence, sculptural or otherwise, to suggest that it had existed in any consistent role, earlier than the tenth century A.D." Doubtless, he refers to the period of Parantaka I.

In conclusion, K.V.Soundararajan expresses the views that:

"(1) The early dancing figures of Siva in other parts of India were primarily *tamasic* in character.,

(2) It gets a ritual fixity only in Tamil Nadu and in the tenth century A.D., and

(3) Nataraja is the 'king among dancers', while Natesa is the 'dancing Lord'. The distinction is important."

Our stand in this debate is simple enough. The *"Sri Tattva Nidhi"* quotes the *Karana Agama* and describes the 'seven dances' (to which we have referred already in Chapter 16). Representing the "five functions" of the Lord, these seven dances merge into Ananda Tandava.

There was a phase of widespread Hindu revival in the sixth century A.D. Badami, Aihole, Udayagiri (near Nellore), Elephanta and Ellora, in the western and northern parts of the ancient Dravida Desa, have early sculptures of the dancing Siva.

Cidambaram evolved the Ananda Tandava form of the Nataraja cult and so it is its original home. It originated as the dance of bliss to bestow divine grace on Vyaghrapada and Patanjali and the *devas,* in the presence of His Consort, Sivakamasundari. On this was super-imposed the Kali cult, according to which Siva humbled Kali here by enacting the *urdhva-tandava* form of dance originally associated with Tiru-Alangadu (near Arakkonam, in Tamil Nadu).

There are clinching arguments against the proposition that the Ananda Tandava concept of Nataraja at Cidambaram did not take shape before Parantaka I.

1) As we have already pointed out in Chapters Two and Three, Tirumular's *'Tirumandiram'* has been built up around the *Pancakrtya* concept and the Ananda Tandava Nataraja cult of Cidambaram. Verses 2722 to 2803 therein, commencing with *'Tiruk-kuttu darsanam'*, are an ecstatic portrayal of the dance of Nataraja in Ponnambalam. Verse 2722 is well-recognised for its pointed reference to 'Cidambaram'. Tirumular's period has also been determined as the fifth/sixth century A.D. As we have already pointed out in Chapter Eighteen, according to the literary evidence on Tirumular's life and his sacred mission as narrated in Sekkilar's *'Periya Puranam'*, and the internal evidence in *'Tirumandiram'* itself, Tirumular visited Cidambaram on his way from Kailasa (in Kashmira) to the South and spent some time in the worship of 'Tillai Adavallan', before proceeding to Tiruvavaduturai for what proved to be a momentous visit. It is therefore clear that Tirumular's visit to Cidambaram and his *darśan* of the Dancing Lord in the Golden Hall cannot be later than the sixth century A.D.

2) Appar and Sambandhar (of the *Devaram* Trio) have been placed, on the basis of reliable evidence, in the 7th century A.D. Appar is an older contemporary of Sambandhar. Both of them have gone into raptures over Tillai —— it was sacred soil for them —— and the Cosmic Dance of Nataraja in the Golden Hall of Tillai. Appar uses in his Devaram hymns at Cidambaram (Koyil) the expression *'Bhuyangan'* (a derivative from *Bhujanga-trasa*, a term which has been used to describe the Ananda Tandava form of Nataraja at Tillai).

(3) It should be obvious that Sambandhar and Appar — and Tirumular before them both —— could not have poured their hearts out in their famous hymns on 'Koyil' on a mere abstraction called the Ananda Tandava of Nataraja without the concept having been concretised into a shape or form which they could adore. The same argument would apply with even greater force in the case of Tirumular, as the Ninth *Tantram* of the 'Tirumandiram' and the description of the *Pancakrtyas* (ஐந் தொழில்கள்) amply establish beyond doubt. The

Nataraja cult and the Nataraja concept should have come into existence —— we reiterate this view in this context —— at least two or three centuries prior to the age of Appar and Sambandhar. Appar has sung eight hymns on Nataraja of the Cidambaram temple, which describe elaborately every limb and attribute of Nataraja, thereby establishing the presence of this cult-image in the seventh century A.D. The situation obtaining from the middle of the third century A.D. to the sixth century A.D. should be easy to reconstruct. In the days of Koc-cenganan, temples were constructed out of brick and timber. The history of the Pallavas has shown that, when the Pallava ruler, Mahendra Varman I, built the first stone temple (a cave-temple) towards the end of the 6th century A.D., it marked the transititon from the age of brick-and-timber temples to stone temples. The Cit Sabha and the Kanaka Sabha are essentially wooden structures, which in subsequent centuries were gilded by the Cola and Pandya rulers. Some scholars have held that the Cit Sabha and Kanaka Sabha are imitations of a Kerala style. But this assumption obscures the basic fact that, between the middle of the 3rd century A.D. and the 6th century A.D., temples in brick and timber were known as part of the indigenous style of temple architecture of Tamil Nadu, and it seems to me extremely probable that the Cit Saba and the Kanaka Sabha, along with the Nataraja shrine, came into being at Cidambaram (south of the then extant Mulasthana shrine) in precisely this period. The Nataraja cult and the Nataraja shrine at Cidambaram should have been well established when Appar and Sambandhar in the seventh century A.D., and Tirumular before them in the sixth century A.D., visited Tillai.

Considering that the Tiruvalangadu Plates of Rajendra I describe Parantaka I (A.D. 907-955) as a "bee at the lotus feet of Purantaka (Siva)", and that Parantaka I built "for Purari, the Lord of the Silver Mountain (of Kailasa), a golden house called the *Dabhra sabha*", and thus Parantaka I acquired the title of *Pon-veinda Perumal* —— one who covered with gold (the roof of the *Dabhra* or *Cit Sabha* of Cidambaram), it is clear that the shrine should have been in existence prior to the days of Parantaka I. These facts also tend to confirm our above view.

It is difficult, therefore, to accept the theory that this Ananda Tandava form in stone was created only in the period of Parantaka I, three or four centuries after the inauguration and coming into vogue of this cult at Cidambaram.

In the Pallava period, we have, on a pillar of a cave temple at Siyamangalam, the *Bhujangatrasa* form.

Gangal Pundan:

While on this subject, we would like to dispel another misconception relating to the depiction of Ganga on the *jatha* of Nataraja. It is held by some that it was a deliberate innovation introduced by Rajendra Cola I to mark his conquest of the Ganga region. As an expression of gratitude to his family deity, Nataraja of Cidambaram, he is stated to have ordered, after his grand victory and to commemorate it, the sculptors of his kingdom to adorn the Nataraja images, produced then and thereafter, with the figure of Ganga on the *jatha*. Hence, it is said, Nataraja became *Gangai-pundan* (He who wears the Ganga).

This novel theory is devoid of any foundation. We have already stated that, according to the Agamas and the Silpa-Sastras, the attachment of Ganga-bhattari was optional. Further, there is epigraphical evidence for the inclusion of Ganga-bhattari on the *jatha* of the bronze of Adavallan set up by Rajaraja I in his Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur: S.I.I., II, Inscription no.420. No doubt, Ganga is now absent from the bronze, but the original presence of the image is well-established. The Ganga image was a mere attachment and might have fallen off as a result of wear and tear in the course of the centuries of its existence.

To the Nataraja bronze at Punjai, Tanjavur district, a gift was made in the 22nd year of Rajaraja I. This bronze has Ganga on the *jatha*. Hence the theory of Gangai-pundan is untenable and has to be given up ('Bronzes of South India', p.258).

To the period of Aditya I, We would assign the following Natarajas:-

1. Okkur - SIB. Pl.22(a); BSI. Pls. 88-89, and p.141.
2. Sivapuram - SIB. Pl.84; P.R.S., Lalit Kala, No.5 & BSI, Pl.93.
3. Tandantottam - Lalit Kala, No.10, R.Nagaswamy; BSI, Pl.71.
4. Tiruvarangulam - SIB, Pl.16.
5. Kilakkadu - ECA I, Pl. 113.

(The abbreviations refer to the following books:
SIB: 'South Indian Bronzes';
BSI: 'Bronzes of South India'';
ECA I: 'Early Cola Art, Part I'')

The Nataraja bronzes in the Ananda Tandava pose attain their perfection in those created by Rajaraja I and Rajendra I. Auguste Rodin, one of the greatest sculptors of the modern age, has gone into ecstasies over the skill and achievement of the South Indian *sthapati* (architect) in the creation of this exalted theme. He describes in glowing terms every part of the divine form; and, on looking at the face of Siva, he exclaims, "In the elegance, there is grace; above the grace, there is modelling; all approach very much something which one may call sweet, and then the words fail us!"

In the artistic renaissance of today, the modern *sthapatis* have to remember that they are the heirs to such a rich legacy.

As the Nataraja cult of Cidambaram spread to all the Siva temples in South India, during the Cola period, with the patronage of the Cola rulers, an icon of Nataraja with His Consort, Sivakamasundari, found a place in the *prakaras* of these temples, in niches facing south. Thus the Nataraja concept acquired a distinctive primacy in the Siva temple set-up.

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CHAPTER 21

Other Great *Saiva Acaryas*

Sankara and *Advaita*:

In the domain of *Vedanta*, all the three major schools —— *Advaita* (monism), *Visishtadvaita* (qualified monism) and *Dvaita* (Dualism) —— had their origin in the South. The first and greatest name here is that of Sankara, one of the most distinguished seers of mankind and one who has profoundly inspired religious and philosophic thought for all ages and climes. 'A philosopher and a poet, a savant and a saint, a mystic and a religious reformer', as Dr.S. Radhakrishnan has described him, Sankara ranks among the most venerable thinkers of the world. It is remarkable how, in an all too brief life span of thirty-two years, Sankara achieved a unique record of travel, enquiry and philosophical exposition. To quote Dr. S. Radhakrishnan again, "the Advaitism of Sankara is a system of great speculative daring and logical subtlety. Its austere intellectualism, its remorseless logic which marches on indifferent to the hopes and beliefs of man, its relative freedom from theological obsessions, make it a great example of a purely philosophical scheme." ("Indian Philosophy", Chapter 8).

On the date of Sankara, there has been considerable divergence of opinion among scholars. Anandagiri, in his *Sankara Vijaya*, holds that Sankara was born at Cidambaram and lived between 44 B.C. and 12 B.C. This view, however, has not received much support.

Sankara is believed to have been born in Kaladi (North Travancore, now part of Kerala State) in A.D. 788 and passed away in A.D.820 at the age of 32. He belonged to the simple, learned, hard-working Nambudiri sect of *brahmanas* of Kerala.

Telang put Sankara down to the middle or the end of the 6th century A.D. R.G. Bhandarkar suggested that Sankara's year of birth would have been around A.D. 680. Max Mueller and MacDowell held the view that he was born in A.D. 788 and died in A.D.820. Professor A.B.Keith expressed the view that Sankara lived in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D. Many scholars have by now come to the view that it is safe to place Sankara in the late 8th century A.D. and early 9th century A.D.* It is generally agreed that he was born in A.D.788 and passed away in A.D. 820 after a brief life-span of thirty-two years.

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* One of the scholars has linked up the period of Sankara with that of Sundaramurti Nayanar and expressed the view that Sankara lived during A.D. 788 to 820, while Sundaramurti Nayanar lived in the days of Rajasimha Pallava, around A.D. 700, and that Sankara's time was not earlier than Sundarar's. C.V. Narayana Aiyar took the view that Sundarar lived for 18 years, some time between A.D. 710 and A.D. 735, consistently with the theory that Ceraman Perumal Nayanar reached Kailasa along with Sundarar after A.D.731. According to our study, Sundarar and Ceraman Perumal Nayanar together reached Kailasa, their final resting place, in A.D. 825. So we place Sundarar in the early part of the 9th century A.D., a view taken by S.R. Balasubrahmanyam also.

T.N. Ramachandran of Thanjavur, who has accomplished a marvellous translation of Sekkilar's *'Periya Puranam'* (1990), has expressed the view that Sundarar lived towards the close of the seventh century A.D. and the beginning of the eighth century A.D. (a view close to that taken by C.V. Narayana Aiyar in 1936). The relativity between Sundarar's period and Sankara's period could therefore continue to be a matter for further study and speculation.

Early in life, Sankara went to a Vedic school presided over by Govinda, pupil of Gaudapada. In all his work, Sankara subscribes himself as a pupil of Govinda, from whom he must have learnt the main principles of the Advaita system. He was a prodigy in Vedic learning and free intelligence and had mastered even as a youth the Vedas and allied subjects. As Dr.S. Radhakrishnan observed, "He was impressed with the mystery and importance of life, and had an early vision of the beauty of holiness. Before he learned the ways of the world, he rejected them and became a *sannyasin*. But he was no passionless recluse. The pure flame of truth burned within him."

Sankara wandered as a student and a teacher from place to place, engaging in discussions leaders of other schools of thought.

Sankara's greatest achievement in the field of speculation is the Advaita system, which he developed by means of commentaries on ancient texts. Sankara travelled extensively, from Badrinath in the Himalayas to Tiruccendur washed by the southern ocean, from Dvaraka in the west to Puri in the east. He established *mathas* in various parts of India, including Sringeri and Kanci, in order to continue the propagation of the Advaita philosophy. (He is also credited with having installed a *Sri Cakra* in the Kamakshi temple at Kanci).

When Sankara emerged on the Indian scene, conflicts between Hinduism and the non-Vedic creeds of Buddhism and Jainism had been, for some centuries, a cause for concern in South India. While Buddhism had begun to decline, Jainism still had a lingering but powerful hold on some sections. The Vedic rites were falling into neglect. The Saivite Nayanmar and Vaishnavite Alvars had been popularising the practice of *bhakti* —— devotion to God —— as a sure means to salvation. They had set in motion a religious revolution and a system of spiritual speculation by means of the new *bhakti* movement. The Pallavas had enriched the land with cave temples and structural temples in brick and stone. Hinduism had made great headway in South India, particularly in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Festivals and temple-worship connected with Puranic Hinduism spread all over South India. The Pallava sovereignty was supreme and Brahmanism was being transfigured into Hinduism. The surge of the emotional *bhakti* cult along with the impact of Sankara's Advaita Vedanta caused a sea-change in the situation and induced much-needed refinement in attitudes and methods in the practice of Saivism. The Colas of the Vijayalaya house had not yet come into the picture.

Sankara wrote commentaries on the principal Upanishads, the Gita and the Brahma Sutras, in which he expounded his Advaita view of philosophy, with the 'one purpose of helping the individual to the realisation of the identity of his soul with Brahman —— which is the means of liberation from *samsara*'. He accepted temple worship as a mode of elevating man and of refining his life. He composed hymns on the different gods of popular Hinduism and, through them, he emphasised the efficacy of devotion to personal gods. He advocated the *jnanamarga* as a means to the realisation of the individual's oneness with the Supreme. Though he is the Advaita-*sthapaka*, he is also the *Shanmata-Pratishthapaka*, that is, one who re-established the six sub-sects of Hinduism, each dedicated to one of its principal deities: Ganapatyam (faith in Ganapati), Kaumaram (in Kumara, Subrahmanya or Karttikeya), Vaishṇavam (in Vishnu), Sauram (in Surya), Saktam (in Sakti) and Saivam (in Siva). At the same time, Sankara cleansed these sects of all excrescences and evil practices. It was from Sankara's time that the worship of Sri Cakra and Devi and the Pancayatana (five deities: Siva, Sakti, Vishnu, Ganapati and Surya) form of worship in orthodox Hindu homes became popular. He tried to do away with the rivalry and the mutual antagonism among the various sects and to create a sense of harmony and goodwill among followers of different faiths.

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* The crystal (*sphatika*) *linga* in daily worship at the Nataraja temple is said to have been presented by Sankara himself, who is stated to have installed five *sphatika* lingas in different places: *mukti linga* at Badrinath in the Himalayas, *yara linga* at Nilakantha kshetra in Nepal, *moksha linga* at Cidambaram, *bhoga linga* at Sringeri (Karnataka State) and *yoga linga* at Kancipuram. As for the *sphatika linga* at Cidambaram, we have already referred to the view that it is as ancient as the Nataraja cult itself (Chapter Three).

Over the centuries, it has been established beyond doubt that the literary might and the philosophic depth of Sankara's works and teachings have accorded him a very high place among the master-minds of all ages.

Sankara and the Nayanmar:

Sankara was a striking combination of facility in philosophical disputations with zealous devotion. A few verses from Sankara's "*Saundaryalahari*" and "*Sivanandalahari*" bring out his vivid appreciation of the *bhakti* element that had stirred the souls of the Nayanmar.

Referring to the Kannappa Nayanar episode, *Sloka* 63 of "*Sivanandalahari*" says:

Mārgā vartita-pādukā Paśupatērangasya kūrcāyatē
Gandūshāmbunishēcanam Puraripōr-divyābhishēkāyatē
Kincid-bhakshita māmsa-śesha-kabalam navyōpahārāyatē
Bhaktih kim na karoti aho vanacaro bhaktāvatām sāyatē.

"The worn-out footwear (of Kannappa) became the holy grass placed on Your sacred head. The water that Kannappa discharged from his mouth to give you a holy bath is ablution to You, Who destroyed the Three Cities. The handful of meat that he served after savouring it became his devout food-offering to You. The hunter has become the foremost among your devotees. So, there is nothing that *bhakti* (devotion to God) cannot achieve."

Sankara admired Sambandhar too. Verse 75 of "*Saundaryalahari*" says:

Tava stanyam manye Dharaṇidharakanyē hrdayatah
Payah pārāvārah parivahati sārasvatamiva
Dayāvatyā dattam Draviḍaśiśuh āsvādya tava yat
Kavīnām prauḍhānāmajani kamanīyah kavayitā.

"Oh Parvati, to my mind, the milk of your breasts truly gushes forth torrentially from your heart out of compassion; when you fed the Dravida infant with it, he became foremost among the celebrated and loved poets."

As Tettiyur Subrahmanya Sastrigal has explained in his 1958 Edition of "*Saundaryalahari*", the 'Dravida infant' referred to here by Sankara is none other than Sambandhar of the *Devaram* Trio. The central emphasis of "*Sivanandalahari*" is on *bhakti* and the path of spiritual discipline. Many more instances can be cited of Sankara's adoration for the Nayanmar and their spirit of *bhakti*.

Sankara's "*Saundaryalahari*" is also noteworthy for its remarkable portrayal of the nine *rasas*. In *Sloka* 51, Sankara says:

Śivē śrngārārdrā taditarajanē kutsanaparā
Sarōshā Gangāyām Girisanayanē vismayavatī
Harāhibhyō bhīta sarasiruha saubhāgyajanani
Sakhīshu smerā tē mayi janani drshṭih sakaruṇā.

Oh Śivā (Parvati)! You are drenched in your love of Siva. You have only contempt for any other. You are angry with Ganga. You wonder at the (third) eye of Girisa (Siva). You display fear at the serpents worn by Hara, you infuse valour into the red colour of the lotuses. You smile in the company of your lady-companions. On me falls your compassionate eye, Oh Mother! [The *rasas* (moods) are, in order: *srngara* (love), *bhibhatsa* (disgust), *raudra* (anger), *vismaya* or *adbhuta* (wonder), *bhayanaka* (fear), *vira* (valour), *hasya* (mirth or joyousness), and *karuna* (compassion).]

Sankara thus refers in this *sloka* only to eight of the *rasas* (moods or emotions). '*Santa*' (tranquillity or serenity) is treated as a basically normal situation. *Vatsalya* (parental fondness) is not always treated as a separate *rasa*.

The reference is obviously to the Dancing Lord.

Meykandar*

Some of the Saiva Siddhanta savants have said, "The Vedas are the cow and its milk is the truthful *Agama*". Apart from the four "*Deva Santana Guruvars*" who preceded Meykandar, by tradition the first four leading lights of the Saiva Siddhanta creed which Meykandar crystallised are known as "*Pura Santana Guruvars*". Of these four, Meykandar, the principal architect of the Saiva Siddhanta system, is the first; his disciple, Arunandi (Sivan), is the second; the latter's disciple Maraijnana Sambandha Sivacarya is the third; and Umapati Sivacarya, one of the 'Tillai Three Thousand' Dikshitars, became a disciple of Marai-jnana Sambandhar and is reckoned as the fourth of the "*Pura Santana Guruvars*".**

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* My respected friend, Sekkilar Adi Podi T.N. Ramachandran of Tanjavur (Honorary Director, the International Institute of Saiva Siddhanta Research, Dharmapuram) has recorded in his book "Saiva Siddhantam", p.48, Vol.I (1984) that the Dharmapuram Adhinam has acquired the copyright of J.M. Nallaswami Pillai's works. I am grateful to the Dharmapuram Adhinam for permission to reproduce in the present book the text of Pillai's splendid translation in English, now nearly a century old, of Meykandar's "Siva Jnana Bodham", accorded through the courtesy of the Editor, Sri T.N. Ramachandran.

** Some scholars spell the name as '*Cantana-kuravars*'. My view is that it is derived from *guru* (teacher) and should be spelt as in the text. I have noted after writing up that the Rev. G.U.Pope also calls them Santana-gurus (lineage of teachers): this alone appears correct. Apparently, the plural '*Guravah*' of the Sanskrit word '*Guru*' has been used as '*Guravar*' in Tamil.

While the main doctrines of the Saiva Siddhanta school are embodied in the mystic hymns of Tirumular's *Tirumandiram* and the hymns of Appar, Sambandhar, Sundarar and Manikkavacakar, and other Nayanmar have been greatly influenced by the *Agamas* and the doctrines of Tirumular, it was left to Meykandar (a great teacher of the 13th century A.D.) to set the tone for the development of the Tamil Saiva Siddhanta philosophy based on the *Agamas*, in the 13th and 14th centuries A.D. A Vellala of the Pennadam area on the banks of the Vellaru river (Svetanadi), he received holy instruction from one Paranjoti Muni, who is believed to have been sent down from Kailasa specially for the purpose. The latter named the former Satya Prana Darsani (after his own *guru*) and so (to use the Tamil equivalent) the disciple became known as Meykandar.

What was imparted to Meykandar was "*Siva-jnana Bodham*" (= Lesson or Instruction in knowledge of Siva). Meykandar thus gave the world the first definite formulation of the philosophy of the Tamil Saiva Siddhanta in the shape of the work '*Siva-jnana Bodham*' —— a translation into Tamil in verse form of twelve Sanskrit *Sutras* from the *Raurava Agama*. (We have already referred in Chapter Nineteen to the basic concepts Meykandar had developed in Saiva Siddhanta philosophy —— the concepts of *pati*, *pasu* and *pasam*, and of the triple *malas* (impurities): *anava*, *maya* and *karma*). These twelve Tamil *Sutras* of '*Siva-jnana Bodham*' spell out the fundamentals of the doctrine. This marks the foundation of Saiva Siddhanta philosophy as it is currently understood.

We reproduce below the text in Tamil and the translation into English by J.M. Nallaswami Pillai (A.D.1864-1920), who was a distinguished exponent of Saiva Siddhanta literature and has to his credit English translations of many of the works. (Courtesy: Tiruppanandal Kasi Mutt Edition, 1958 and Dharmapuram Adhinam.)

திருவெண்ணெய்நல்லூர்

மெய்கண்டதேவர்

அருளிச்செய்த

சிவஞான போதச் சூத்திரமும்
ஆங்கில மொழி பெயர்ப்பும்*

காப்பு

கல்லால் நிழல்மலை, வில்லார் அருளிய
பொல்லார் இணைமலர், நல்லார் புனைவரே.

Invocation

The Good will crown their heads with the two Feet of Ganesa who was begotten by the Great Teacher, who sat under the Sacred Mountain Banyan tree and removed the doubts of the Great Nandi.

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* *திரு ஜே.எம். நல்லசாமிப்பிள்ளை, பி.ஏ.,பி.எல்., அவர்கள் மொழிபெயர்ப்பு.*

நூல்

முதற் சூத்திரம்
பதி உண்மைக்குப் பிரமாணம்

அவன்அவள் அதுஎனும் அவைமூ வினைமையின்
தோற்றிய திதியே ஒடுங்கிமலத் துளதாம்
அந்தம் ஆதி என்மனார் புலவர்.

As the (seen) universe, spoken of as he, she and it, undergoes three changes (origin, development and decay), this must be an entity created (by an efficient cause). This entity owing to its conjunction with *Anava Mala* has to emanate from Hara to whom it returns during *Samharam*. Hence, the learned say that Hara is the First Cause.

இரண்டாஞ் சூத்திரம்
பாச உண்மைக்குப் பிரமாணம்

அவையே தானே யாய்இரு வினையின்
போக்கு வரவு புரிய ஆணையின்
நீக்கம் இன்றி நிற்கும் அன்றே.

He is one with the souls (*Abheda*). He is different from them (*Bheda*). He is one and different from them (*Bheda-Abheda*). He stands in *Samavaya* union with His Jnana Sakti and causes the souls to undergo the processes of evolution (births) and return (*Samharam*) by including their good and bad acts (*Karma*).

மூன்றாஞ் சூத்திரம்
பசு உண்மைக்குப் பிரமாணம்

உளதுஇலது என்றலின் எனதுடல் என்றலின்
ஐம்புலன் ஒடுக்கம் அறிதலின் கண்படில்
உண்டிவினை இன்மையின் உணர்த்த உணர்தலின்
மாயா இயந்திர தனுவினுள் ஆன்மா.

It rejects every portion of the body as not being itself; it says 'my body'; it is conscious of dreams; it exists in sleep without feeling pleasure or pain or movements; it knows from others; this is the soul which exists in the body formed as a machine from *Maya*.

நான்காஞ் சூத்திரம்
பசுவின் பொது இலக்கணம்

அந்தக் கரணம் அவற்றின்ஒன் றன்றுஅவை
சந்தித்தது ஆன்மாச் சகசமலத் துணராது
அமைச்சரசு ஏய்ப்பநின்று அஞ்சவத் தைத்தே.

The soul is not one of the *Antahkaranas*. It is not conscious when it is in conjunction with *Anavamala*. It becomes conscious only when it meets the *Antahkarana*, just as a king understands through his ministers. The relation of the soul to the five *avasthas* is also similar.

ஐந்தாஞ் சூத்திரம்

பாச இலக்கணம்

விளம்பிய உள்ளத்து மெய்வாய் கண்மூக்கு
அளந்தறிந்து அறியா ஆங்கவை போலத்
தாம்தம் உணர்வின் தமியருள்
காந்தக் கண்ட பசாசத் தவையே.

The senses while perceiving the object cannot perceive themselves or the soul; and they are perceived by the soul. Similarly, the soul while perceiving cannot perceive itself (while thinking cannot think thought) and God. It is moved by the *Arul Sakti* of God, as the magnet moves the iron, while He Himself remains immoveable or unchangeable.

ஆறாஞ் சூத்திரம்

பதி இலக்கணம்

உணர்உரு அசத்தெனின் உணராது இன்மையின்
இருதிறன் அல்லது சிவசத் தாம்என
இரண்டு வகையின் இசைக்குமன் உலகே

That which is perceived by the senses is *Asat* (changeable). That which is not so perceived does not exist. God is neither the one nor the other, and hence called *Siva Sat* or *Cit Sat* by the wise; *Cit* or *Siva* when not understood by the human intelligence and *Sat* when perceived with divine wisdom.

ஏழாஞ் சூத்திரம்

பசுவின் சிறப்பு இலக்கணம்

யாவையும் சூனியம் சத்தெதிர் ஆகலின்
சத்தே அறியாது அசத்திலது அறியாது
இருதிறன் அறிவுளது இரண்டலா ஆன்மா.

In the presence of *Sat*, everything else (cosmos-*Asat*) is *Sunyam* (non-apparent). Hence *Sat* cannot perceive *Asat*. As *Asat* does not exist, it cannot perceive *Sat*. That which perceives both cannot be either of them. This is the soul (called *Satasat*).

எட்டாஞ் சூத்திரம்

ஞானம் உணரும் முறை

ஐம்புல வேடரின் அயர்ந்தனை வளர்ந்தெனத்
தம்முதல் குருவுமாய்த் தவத்தினில் உணர்த்தவிட்டு
அன்னியம் இன்மையின் அரன்கழல் செலுமே.

The Lord appearing as *Guru* to the soul which had advanced in *Tapas* (virtue and knowledge) instructs him that he has wasted himself by living among the savages of the five senses; and on this, the soul, understanding its real nature, leaves its former associates, and not being different from Him becomes united to His Feet.

ஒன்பதாஞ் சூத்திரம்

ஆன்ம சுத்தி

ஊனக்கண் பாசம் உணராப் பதியை
ஞானக் கண்ணினிற் சிந்தை நாடி
உராத்துனைத் தேர்த்தெனப் பாசம் ஒருவத்
தண்ணிழ லாம்பதிவிதி எண்ணும்அஞ் செழுத்தே.

The soul on perceiving in itself, with the eye of *Jnanam*, the Lord who cannot be perceived by the human intellect or senses, and on giving up the world (*Pasa*) by knowing it to be false as a mirage, will find its rest in the Lord. Let the soul contemplate *Sri Pancakshara* according to Law.

பத்தாஞ் சூத்திரம்

பாச நீக்கம்

அவனே தானே ஆகிய அந்நெறி
ஏகனாகி இறைபணி நிற்க
மலமாயை தன்னொடு வல்வினை இன்றே.

As the Lord becomes one with the soul in its human condition, so let the soul become one with Him and perceive all its actions to be His. Then will it lose all its *Mala*, *Maya* and *Karma*.

பதினோராஞ் சூத்திரம்

சிவப்பேறு

காணுங் கண்ணுக்குக் காட்டும் உளம்போல்
காணஉள் ளத்தைக் கண்டு காட்டலின்
அயரா அன்பின் அரன்கழல் செலுமே.

As the soul enables the eye to see and itself sees, so Hara enables the soul to know and itself knows. And this *Advaita* knowledge and undying Love will unite it to His Feet.

பன்னிரண்டாஞ் சூத்திரம்

சீவன் முத்தரின் தன்மை

செம்மலர் நோன்றாள் சேரல் ஒட்டா
அம்மலங் கழீஇ அன்பரொடு மரீஇ
மாலற நேயம் மலிந்தவர் வேடமும்
ஆலயந் தானும் அரன்எனத் தொழுமே.

Let the *Jivatma* after washing off its *Mala* which separates it from the strong Lotus Feet of the Lord and mixing in the society of *Bhaktas (Jivan Muktas)* whose souls abound with Love, having lost dark ignorance, contemplate their Forms and the Forms in the temples as His Form.

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Arunandi

Arunandi (also equivalently spelt Arulnandi) was the first and foremost of Meykandar's forty-nine disciples; his important work is "*Siva-jnana Siddhiyar* " —— "*Supakkam*" in *viruttam* verses and "*Para-pakkam*" (a critical discussion of the rival systems), also "*Irupa-irupadu*" (இருபா இருபஃது). He is looked upon as the second of the *parampara* of *Pura Santana Guruvars.*

Manavasagangadandar of Tiruvadigal

He also belonged to the 13th century A.D., and his best-known work, "*Unmai Vilakkam*" ("Explanation of the Truth"), is the simplest of the manuals on the Saiva Siddhanta doctrine, with a direct message, drawing on the essence of the *Agamas*. This work has 54 verses, which include passages on the *Nadanta* (*Pancakshara*) dance of Nataraja —— the five-fold functions of the Dancing Lord and the thirty-six *tattvas*.

"*Unmai Vilakkam*" is described as a portrayal of '*dasakaryam*' (ten functions: *Anma tattvam, Vidya tattvam, Suddha tattvam, Anavam, Kanmam, Siva rupam, Pancakshara Natanam, Anjeluttu* (five letters), *Adduvita mutti* and *Gurulinga Sangama* worship.)

Marai-jnana Sambandhar

The third of the Pura Santana Guruvars, Marai-jnana Sambandhar, whose *samadhi* is located at Singarattoppu, a north-western suburb of Cidambaram, is said to have authored "*Sivadharumottaram*", with over 1200 verses based on the *Agamas* and dealing with cosmology and other topics. Some minor works are also attributed to him.

Umapati Sivacarya (A.D. 1244-1320)

A notable savant dedicated to Nataraja, Umapati was one of the 'Three Thousand' Dikshitars (*Tillai Muvayiravar*). He was the son of Sambhu *alias* Nataraja Dikshitar and Gauri. He was well-versed in both Tamil and Sanskrit. He is the fourth of the line of spiritual *gurus* of the Saiva Siddhanta school of Meykanda Devar. He was won over to a life of asceticism by his *guru*, Marai-jnana Sambandhar, as we shall presently explain.

While Meykandar and Arunandi have not left behind any work in Sanskrit on Saiva Siddhanta (although they must have known the *Agamas* in Sanskrit), it may not be unreasonable to presume that they were not concerned too much with expositions in Sanskrit on the development of the Saiva doctrine. But, in Umapati Sivacarya, the third great Saiva writer in Tamil of this *parampara*, we have one who not merely knew both the traditions but has left valuable works in both Sanskrit and Tamil.

Of the fourteen Meykandar *Sastras* attributed to the four *acaryas* of Meykandar's tradition, six are works of the first three, while Umapati Sivacarya, the fourth of the *parampara*, wrote eight works —— hence their anthology is known as "*Siddhanta Ashtakam*". The prominenet ones among Umapati's works in Tamil are "*Kodikkavi*", a poem on the flag-staff (which is the eleventh of the fourteen works, composed by Umapati in A.D.1310 under dramatic circumstances) and "*Unmai-neri Vilakkam*", composed of six verses (which is the thirteenth work of the Meykandar series, written by Umapati in A.D.1312). "*Kodikkavi*" is looked upon as a work which explains the '*Pancakkara Pasuram*': and "*Unmaineri Vilakkam*" is regarded as a powerful commentary on

"*Dasakaryam*". These works of Umapati's are remarkable for their sheer clarity, felicity of expression and clear exposition of the tenets of Saiva Siddhanta. In an unembodied voice, it is said, Lord Nataraja had announced that He Himself should be counted as 'one of the Three Thousand of Tillai'. The circumstances under which Umapati, a Dikshitar (one of the close fraternity of the 'Tillai Three Thousand'), transformed himself into an exponent of Saiva Siddhanta, after his connection with them had been severed, make a remarkable story, as outlined below.

Maraijnana Sambandhar was engaged in teaching his disciples on the pial of his cottage at Tirukkalanceri (now Singarattoppu, a suburb of Cidambaram). After performing the noon *puja* at the temple, Umapati was returning home in a palanquin with all attendant paraphernalia. Maraijnana Sambandhar, who saw him pass, made a cryptic remark in the hearing of Umapati: "There goes one who is blind even by daylight". Umapati realised at once that it was the hour of his enlightenment and emancipation. Umapati got down from his palanquin, offered his prostrations to the teacher and followed him to the Sengundar colony, where Maraijnana Sambandhar, exhausted by hunger, drank handfuls of gruel served by the Sengundars. Umapati, who had by then recognised Maraijnana Sambandhar as his preceptor (*guru*), drank the residual gruel that dripped from Maraijnana Sambandhar's cupped palms. Thereafter, Umapati learnt from Maraijnana Sambandhar the Siddhanta tenets, the methods of *Siva-agama puja*, and *Mahesvara puja.* In the altered situation, the fraternity of Dikshitars, so the story goes, did not approve of Umapati entering the Kanaka Sabha and performing the temple rituals. So Umapati moved into a *matha* in a hamlet east of Cidambaram, Korravan-kudi (hallowed by association with Hiranyavarman) —— now Kottangudi (part of the present Annamalai University complex). He came to be known as Korravangudi Umapati.

The poem "*Kodikkavi*" (கொடிக்கவி) has an interesting history. When the *dhvajarohana* ceremony of the Nataraja temple during one *brahmotsavam* was due to be performed, it was the turn of Umapati (as one of the 'Tillai Three Thousand') to officiate at the ceremony and hoist the flag. The assembly of Dikshitars, however, nominated some other colleague to take over the ritual duties. The flag did not go up the flag-staff. An unembodied voice cried, "Call Umapati from Korravangudi and conduct the *dhvajarohanam*".

Umapati was called in and he sang "*Kodikkavi*" (*"Sri Pancakkara Pasuram")*. The flag went up the flag-staff, much to the relief of the Dikshitars and devotees.

Umapati Sivacarya's "*Kodikkavi*" brings out the essence of the Saiva Siddhanta philosophy – emphasizing the three elements, *pati, pasu* and *pasam*. '*Nama*' is *pasam*, 'Siva' is *pati* and '*ya*' is *pasu* (i.e., life, *atma*). The *Pancakshara* is thus the essence of the three elements —— *pati*, *pasu* and *pasam*. *Pranava*, made up of A, U and M, is an integrated representation of these three elements.

Apart from "*Kodikkavi*" and "*Unmai-neri-vilakkam*", Korravangudi Umapati Sivacarya is known for his authorship of many other Tamil works of rare merit. "*Koyil puranam*" (a history of Cidambaram on which we rely a great deal for our knowledge of the Cidambaram temple) has five *carukkams* (chapters) with 415 verses —— Vyaghrapada, Patanjali, Nataraja, Hiranyavarman and *Tiruvila* (festival) being the titles of the *carukkams*. It has a graphic description of the Lord's cosmic dance (*Ananda Tandava*) on the Tai pusam day in the presence of the 'Three Thousand sages', Patanjali and Vyaghrapada, and Sivakamasundari. His other works in Tamil are *"Siva*

Prakasam", "Sekkilar Puranam" ("Tiruttondar Purana-saram"), "Tiruvarutpayan", "Vira Venba", "Nenju vidu-dutu", "Sankaṛpa Nirakaranam" (composed in Saka 1235 or A.D. 1313), *"Tiruppatik-kovai"* and "*Tirumuraikanda Puranam*".

Umapati's Sanskrit works include *"Paushkaragama Bhashyam", "Sri Nataraja Sahasra-nama-Bhashyam," "Patanjali-Sutra-Bhashyam"*, and*"Sri Nataraja-dhvani-mantrastavam."*

From the point of view of the Nataraja cult, Umapati's best-known work is the *"Sri Kuncitanghristavam"* ("In praise of the bent or lifted foot"). It is a collection of 313 *slokas* in praise of Lord Nataraja. A companion volume of the present book will provide the Sanskrit text and transliteration and translation in English of this great work. His *samadhi* lies in a grove in Kottangudi village. Worship at this *samadhi* is now offered by a group of Vira Saivas.

Appayya Dikshitar (A.D. 1520-1592)

Painstaking research by the late Dr. N.Ramesan has conclusively established that Appayya Dikshitar had a life-span of seventy-two years; that he was born in A.D.1520 and attained *mukti* in A.D.1592. Despite claims that he was born at Cidambaram or *Virincipuram* (near Vellore), it is now clear from researches that he was born in Adayapalam village (near Arni) in North Arcot district, Tamil Nadu. Appayya Dikshitar was deemed the gift to his parents of Lord Nataraja of Cidambaram. His father, Rangaraja Dikshitar, did not have any progeny till he was forty years old. He received a divine command to go with his wife to Cidambaram and lead 'a life of penance and peace' there. The couple accordingly went and led a life of daily austerities (*tapascarya*) there for six years. An unembodied voice in Nataraja's *sannidhi* announced then that the couple would soon be blessed with two sons and a daughter. A golden cup of fruit juice, sanctified by Lord Nataraja's grace, was offered to Rangaraja Dikshitar's wife. Soon the first son arrived. He was named Vinayaka Subrahmanya, and later came to be known as Appayya. Thus, the link of Appayya Dikshitar with Cidambaram is as old as his birth. No wonder he sought (and attained) *mukti* in Cidambaram.

Described by learned men as *Sarvatantra Svatantra* and Mimamsaka Murdhanya, Appayya Dikshitar was a polymath. He hailed from a family of great *Siva-bhaktas,* who were distinguished scholars, well-versed in the *Sastras* and *Smrtis*, adherents of *Sama-veda,* and belonged to the Bharadvaja *gotra*.

The family of Appayya Dikshitar is held to be originally Telugu - speaking. They had migrated from the North.

During his life-span of seventy-two years, Appayya Dikshitar wrote one hundred and four works (चतुरधिकशतप्रबन्धनिर्वाहक:).

By A.D. 1582, he had already written one hundred of these works, taught hundreds of disciples, revived the Saiva cult and reinforced *Advaita*. Indeed he himself gave expression to his feeling, in A.D. 1582, that by then, his life's greatest mission had been accomplished.

Although Appayya Dikshitar was a great *Siva-bhakta* and wrote a number of *Saiva-sastra* works, he respected other sects and schools of thought. He has described Siva, Vishnu and Ambika as 'the three rubies': *Ratna-traya.* He firmly believed that all schools of thought ultimately led only to the supreme *Advaita* doctrine of Sankara. He made it repeatedly clear that he himself was a follower of *Advaita* alone. He is credited with having performed a *vajapeya* sacrifice at Kancipuram.

Appayya Dikshitar's life and activities were cast in the period of Rama Raya of the Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagar. Over a period of nearly fifty years, Appayya Dikshitar was also contemporary to the local Chieftains, Vira Narasimha, Chinna Timma (A.D. 1542-1568), Chinna Bomma (A.D. 1548-78), and Venkatapati (A.D. 1585-). He wrote two works in Venkatapati's period.

According to an epigraphical record, the temple of Kalakanthesvara at Adayapalam, the birth-place and ancestral abode of Appayya Dikshitar, was constructed in A.D. 1582 by Appayya Dikshitar himself. It mentions that the fame of Chinna Bomma of Vellore had spread far and wide, that Appayya Dikshitar lifted the "*Srikantha Bhashya*" out of its obscurity, re-established the Saiva cult, wrote the famous commentary "*Sivarkamanidipika*" —— which explains the *Siva-Advaita* philosophy of Srikantha -- and taught it to 500 learned men at Vellore, having procured a grant of gold and an *agraharam* for them from Chinna Bomma, that Chinna Bomma showered Appayya Dikshitar with gold (*kanakabhishekam*) on the completion of this commentary, that he raised the standing of Chinna Bomma as a ruler, and that he (Appayya Dikshitar) had completed over a hundred memorable works by A.D. 1582.

Even though Appayya Dikshitar was a great devotee of Siva and for the exercise of undiluted *bhakti* to Him, had Siva as the one Lord, as the Supreme Lord of his meditation and devotion, he made no difference in his writings between Siva and Vishnu. In his many poems, he emphasized that there was no real difference between Siva and Vishnu, and in any cultivated *bhakta*, there could be no room for any rancour against either form of divinity.

Appayya Dikshitar's catholicity of outlook is brought out in various situations. He was a great admirer of Sri Vedanta Desikar and wrote a rare commentary on "*Yadavabhyudaya*". His hymns in praise of Lord Varadaraja are well-known. In his "*Kuvalayananda*" —— a standard work on *Alankara-sastra* —— he invokes the blessings of 'Mukunda' at the commencement of the work.

When, at the instance of Doddacarya, Rama Raya of Vijayanagar restored the worship of Govindaraja in the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram, Appayya Dikshitar welcomed the event with all his heart and wrote his "*Hari-Hara Stuti*" in commemoration of it. By their alternating epithets, the verses deftly suggest the concept of *Hari-Hara abheda* (identity of Hari and Hara). In his famous "*Ratna-traya Pariksha*", Appayya Dikshitar conceded Brahmatva to Vishnu along with Isvara and Ambika. He quoted scriptures in support of his concept of the synthesis of Vishnu and Gauri (Ambika).

It appears rather unfortunate that such a distinguished career as Appayya Dikshitar's should have been cast in times which were plagued by sectarian controversies between some sections of Saivites and Vaishnavites. Appayya Dikshitar declared, with genuine regret, that he was obliged by circumstances to plunge into prolonged sectarian controversies, whereas, left to himself, he would have been content to remain a steady exponent of Advaitic philosophy all through his life. While he was deeply committed to Advaita and Saivism, he maintained that he was equally a devotee of Vishnu. (According to Dr. N.Ramesan, Appayya Dikshitar's maternal grandmother, the second wife of his grandfather, was a *Vaishnavite* lady.)

Even from the period of Acyuta Raya, sectarian disputes between Saivites and Vaishnavites had apparently manifested themselves. With Rama Raya (A.D. 1542-1565), there were signs of growing antagonism towards Saivism. Tatacarya, the great Vaishnavite teacher, who commanded the respect and patronage of Rama Raya, was in a position of power and authority for nearly forty years, to propagate Vaishnavism actively. Appayya Dikshitar was therefore locked in prolonged reaction to Tatacarya to safe-guard the interests of Saivism, which, he felt, was in danger of losing ground, prestige and authority. Even a concerted attempt at large-scale conversions of Saivites into Vaishnavism was noticed at the time, according to historians.

Chinna Bomma of Vellore (A.D.1548-1578) helped Appayya Dikshitar in the formidable task of putting Saivism back on a firm base. Throughout this campaign, Appayya Dikshitar had made it repeatedly clear that he saw no difference between Siva and Vishnu. He only pleaded for the removal of sectarian animosity and the restoration of the concept of co-existence of Siva and Vishnu. After a deep study of the *Smrtis, Puranas* and *Agamas*, Appayya Dikshitar wrote a number of works in praise of Siva, formulated various rites for the worship of Siva, strengthened the Saivite cult, and restored the confidence of the Saivites in the sanctity of their faith. (This atmosphere is reflected, too, in the history of the Nataraja and the Govindaraja shrines at Cidambaram during this period.)

Appayya Dikshitar's mission in life now became the reconciliation of the feuding groups, elimination of bigotry and promotion of mutual understanding and tolerance amongst sects. His profound spirituality is reflected in the 104 works which he authored and which mark him out as one of the greatest savants of the Advaita doctrine in the line of Sankara.

"*Prapannamrtam*" is the work of one Anantacarya, purporting to record the history of Sri-Vaishnavism and the lives of the Acaryas in South India. One Mahacarya *alias* Doddacarya of Sholinghur (Cola-simha-puram) sought the assistance of Rama Raya in reinstating Govindaraja at Tiruccitrakutam (Cidambaram) and restoration of the worship of Govindaraja in the Nataraja temple complex at Cidambaram, which had been abolished from the days of Kulottunga (Cola) II. This narrative says that Rama Raya and Tatacarya fulfilled the request of the Mahacarya "after defeating the Saivas of Cidambaram".

It is said that both the Mahacarya and Tatacarya wrote refutations of the arguments of Appayya Dikshitar, who was then living at Cidambaram, with his reputation well established.

It is known that Appayya Dikshitar extended his warm greetings on the event (of restoration of Govindaraja worship). There could be no question of his defeat in any disputations over the issue.

There is a traditional account of how Appayya Dikshitar's famous work "*Atmarpanastuti*" came to be written. Once Appayya Dikshitar was smitten by a desire to test the genuineness and maturity of his own devotion to Lord Siva. So he drank of the juice of the *datura* flower (which act leads to intoxication), and told his disciples to write down whatever words came out of his lips in that state of intoxication (when he would have no control over his consciousness or utterances). What would in the case of others have been prattle became Appayya Dikshitar's *stuti kavya*; these fifty moving verses are known as "*Atmarpanastuti*". The incident proved that Appayya Dikshitar's surrender was pure, total and sublime and pointed to his Advaitic state of oneness with Siva.

Yet another episode. While Appayya Dikshitar was returning home from one of his tours, the women of the locality who had collected near a community well to fetch water, commented: "Here comes the husband of Acchalamma". Appayya Dikshitar reacted immediately:

''अस्मिन् ग्रामे आच्छाला प्रसिद्धा।''

"In this village, the famous person (one who really counts) is Acchalamma." He had a sense of humour as well !

Almost the first major centre which Appayya Dikshitar visited in his first tour was Cidambaram. After a ceremonial bath in the Sivaganga tank, he had the *darsan* of both the Cit-Sabha Nayaka and Tillai Govindaraja and prayed to both, as he made no distinction between Hari and Hara. He performed the formal Pancakshari-japa before his *darsan* of Lord Nataraja.

The verse which (traditionally) describes the visit of Appayya Dikshitar to Cidambaram and his *darsan* of Nataraja reads (N.Ramesan's account, p.61):

संपत्तेरवटं कुटीकृतवटं विश्वावन लम्पटम्

दिक्कल्याणपटं सरित्पदसटं शान्तिस्त्रवन्तीतटम्।

धीरात्मप्रक्टं धनञ्जयभटं गोरप्रथाककटम्

चिन्माधुर्यघटं चिदम्बरनटं पश्याम्यपर्णाविटम्॥

"I have had the *darsan* of Lord Nataraja, Who is called Aparnavita or Parvatipati, Who gave Arjuna the Pasupata, Who dances at Cidambaram, Who is a boundless ocean of auspicious things, and Who gives *atmasakti* to all the *jnanis*."

His rapturous devotion to Nataraja is brought out most forcefully in the following *sloka*:

न परं पुरमस्ति पुण्डरीकात्
शिवगंगा सद्दशा न काऽपि सिन्धुः।
अपि हेमसभानिभा न गोष्ठी
नटराजादधिको न कोऽपि देवः॥

His soul-stirring *sloka* on the *Ardra abhisheka* of Nataraja in the Raja Sabha has been referred to in Chapter Twenty-five.

The following *sloka* brings out Appayya Dikshitar's equal devotion to Nataraja and Govindaraja. It is remarkable how such a devout worshipper of Nataraja was singularly free from bigotry, and his *"Hari-Hara abheda satakam"* is eloquent testimony to his breadth of outlook.

मारमणं उमारमणं फणधरतल्पं फणाधराकल्पं।

मुरमथनं पुरमथनं वन्दे बाणारिं कुसुमबाणारिम्॥

The meaning of the words is of interest:

वंदे	I Worship
मारमणं	Lakshmi's Consort, Vishnu
उमारमणं	Parvati's Consort, Siva
फणधरतल्पं	the One Who has the serpent for His bed
फणाधराकल्पं	the One Who wears the serpent as His ornament
मुरमथनं	the One Who killed Mura, the demon
पुरमथनं	the One Who burnt Tripura
बाणारिं	the enemy of Banasura
कुसुमबाणारिम्	the foe of Manmatha, whose arrows are flowers.

Among Appayya Dikshitar's other works are: *Sivaparatva Nirupanam, Sivarcana Candrika, Sivarcana Mani Deepika, Varadaraja Stavasavyakhyanau, Hari Hara Abheda Satakam, Durga Candra Kala stuti, Adityastavaratnam, Manasollasa-stuti* and *Atmarpana stuti.*

Appayya Dikshitar wished to spend his last days at Cidambaram. Staying in a village outside Cidambaram, he had daily *darsan* of Lord Nataraja and realised the state of *brahmananda*. His grand-nephew, Nilakantha Dikshitar, stayed with him. Till his last day, Appayya Dikshitar was able to perform *Sivapuja* and his daily rituals (*karmanushthana*). Running his 73rd year, and lying down on the *darbhasana* (bed of dry grass), awaiting his release, Appayya Dikshitar rolled out of his lips the following *sloka* to Nilakantha Dikshitar and other disciples assembled around him:

चिदंबरमिदं पुरं प्रथितमेव पुण्यस्थलम्
सुताश्च विनयोज्ज्वला: सुकृतयश्च काश्चित्कृता:।
वयांसि मम सप्ततेरुपरि नैव भोगे स्पृहा:
न किंचिदहमर्थये शिवपदं दिदृक्षे परम्॥

"This city of Cidambaram is famous as a very sacred place. My sons have good qualities — humility and devotion. I have done a few good deeds. I am more than seventy years old. I am not drawn to any kind of pleasure. I crave for nought. All that I look for is the holy feet of Siva (Nataraja)."

As he was praying so, Appayya Dikshitar appears to have had a mystic vision, in which he had a *darsan* of the lotus-feet of the Dancing Lord. immediately he broke out in ecstatic verse:

आभाति हाटकसभा नटपादपद्म–
ज्योतिर्मयो मनसि मे तरुणारुणोदयम्।

"The splendour of the lotus-feet of Kanaka-sabhapati (Lord Nataraja) flashes before me as if the sun has risen in the sky."

With these words on his lips, Appayya Dikshitar attained *samadhi* (eternal liberation).

Nilakantha Dikshitar completed the *sloka* with the following lines:

नूनं जरा–मरण–घोरपिशाचपूणी
संसारमोह रजनी विरतिं प्रयाता।

"(With this sunrise,) the dark night that is the illusory world infested with old age, death and other devilish phenomena has certainly come to an end."

In his *"Atmarpana Stuti"*, Appayya Dikshitar had prayed to the Lord that at the moment his mortal shackles were broken, his consciousness should be fully immersed in the '*dhyana* of Your lotus-feet'. Lord Nataraja granted him his wish.

Tradition has it that Appayya Dikshitar's *mukti* happened during the *pradosha-kala Diparadhana*. The Dikshitars were surprised to see Appayya Dikshitar walk up the *Pancakshara* steps and merge with the Lord in the *sanctum sanctorum!*

Vadalur Ramalinga Svamigal

This Tamil saint (A.D. 1823-74) was one of the great poet-saints of the Tamil land connected with Cidambaram. He was born, with the blessings of a *Siva yogin*, at Marudur, about ten miles north-west of Cidambaram. While young, he was taken by his parents to Cidambaram, where he enjoyed the divine grace of the Lord of Dance. The visit had a great influence on his later life. On the death of his father, his mother and elder brother took him to Madras, where he learnt Tamil in depth and, being a precocious child, lost no time in mastering the language. He composed songs in honour of Lord Kandavel (Muruga). Even as a student, he could make speeches of high quality, which would astonish listeners. He practised *yoga* and taught men the value of a highly spiritualised way of life. He preached equality among men and the virtue of *ahimsa* (especially, abstinence from meat), and believed in the elevation of the soul by practising *bhakti* and *yoga*. He was greatly attached to temples and was especially drawn to the Lord of Tillai, the embodiment of Divine Light (*Arut-Perum Jyoti*). After a short stay at Cidambaram, he left for Vadalur, near Neyveli, where he built a temple and an *ambalam* on the model of the Cit Sabha of Cidambaram, and lived in a hut close by. The miracles wrought by him attracted many devotees and he gathered a few faithful followers. The voluminous and soul-stirring outpourings of such a sensitive soul as Ramalinga Svamigal were collected and written down. One day, he went into *samadhi* in a hut which, according to his instructions, was to remain closed for a year. When the door was opened at the end of the stipulated period, the physical frame of Ramalinga Svamigal was not to be found. He had become one with the Lord. The Vadalur temple, where there is no image worship, and the feeding house where the poor and the hungry are helped, are what remain of that inspired saint and seer. Ramalinga Svamigal's way of life and his teachings embodied in his *Tiru Arutpa* are a guide to a higher and nobler way of life. His life and teachings will be an everlasting inspiration to Tamil culture.

Arumukha Navalar (A.D.1823-1879)

To a different order of excellence in the service of Saivism belongs Arumukha Navalar, who had his roots in the Jaffna area of Sri Lanka. Since he was engaged early on in his career in the teaching of the Bible in Tamil, he was deeply impressed by the zeal with which Christian missions propagated their faith, and felt the call to undertake a similar mission in the cause of Saivism and Tamil literature with their hoary traditions. He took up in earnest the propagation of Saivism, Saiva Siddhanta and the *Agama* texts. He was associated with the setting up of "*Saiva-prakasa Vidyasalas*" (schools for the propagation of Saivism) at a few centres. The call of Nataraja and Cidambaram proved irresistible, and, in A.D.1860, Arumukha Navalar made known his intention to set up an educational complex in Cidambaram, to acquire land for the purpose, to set up a *matha* there with facilities for *Siva-puja* and flower-gardens, to collect a band of devoted teachers and to select *oduvars* (reciters of Devaram hymns) to teach the Devaram and Tiruvacakam to students.

Arumukha Navalar's inspired contribution to the growth of Saivism and the educational activities at Cidambaram is gratefully remembered. His account of Appar is a lucid presentation of a great theme.

* * *

CHAPTER 22

Tiruvacakam and Tirukkovaiyar

'Tillai padi Tiruvacakattil' is a well-known Tamil saying. Although Manikkavacakar was born in the Pandya country and had close associations with Madurai, Tillai (Cidambaram) dominates roughly half *(padi)* of his great work, *'Tiruvacakam'.* This is the purport of the above saying. Manikkavacakar also attained *mukti* in the *sanctum sanctorum* of Tillai.

While Sambandhar's Devaram hymns form the first, second and third *Tirumurai's* of the Tamil Saivite canon, the fourth, fifth and sixth *Tirumurai's* comprise Appar's Devaram hymns, the seventh *Tirumurai* Sundaramurti Nayanar's hymns, and the two great works *'Tiruvacakam'* and *'Tirukkovaiyar'* of Manikkavacakar form the eighth *Tirumurai* of the Tamil Saivite canon and hold an honoured place among its Twelve *Tirumurai's ('Panniru tirumurai').*

The word *'Manikkavacakar'* means 'He whose utterances are rubies', the Sanskrit word for 'ruby' being *'manikya'.* *'Tiruvacakam'* means "Divine Utterance" or "Sacred Utterance".

Amongst the Tamils, there is a traditional saying: "He whose heart is not melted by the *Tiruvacakam* must be stone-hearted.":

"திருவாசகத்திற்குருகார் ஒருவாசகத்திற்குமுருகார்"

Composed in fifty-one cantos, *'Tiruvacakam'* comprehends the entire range of Saivite philosophy in splendid poetry, with unsurpassed mastery of detail. It unfolds the whole canvas of Manikkavacakar's credo and establishes him as a highly evolved soul notable for his total surrender to Siva as *'Ponnambalakkuttarasan"*, the Dancer of Tillai, "who tramples dense darkness down." It is remarkable that, of the fifty-one cantos that constitute *'Tiruvacakam'*, twenty-five were dedicated by Manikkavacakar at Tillai —— which fact establishes the enormous hold of Tillai on this worthy saint whose roots were in Tirupperunturai, his home for a fairly long period.

In the opening line itself, Manikkavacakar invokes *'Na ma si va ya'* —— the 'five letters'. The Rev. G.U.Pope said, almost a century ago, "The substance of the teaching of the sacred Five Letters is the Lord, the Flock and the Bond —— *Pati, Pasu* and *Pasam,"* —— the quintessence of the Saiva Siddhanta doctrine. Manikkavacakar's *'Tiruvacakam'* clearly brings out his tremendous zeal in espousing the Saiva Siddhanta system in the Tamil country; even the last verse of this great work, *'மும்மை மலம் அறுவித்து'*, bears testimony to his devotion to the Saiva Siddhanta tradition and his active propagation of that faith. Siva's many acts of renown,* Siva's gross and subtle forms, the operations of Siva, the Supreme Being, the appearance of the phenomenal Universe, Siva and Sakti, the wonder of *Bhakti Vairagyam* (detachment), the cognition of truth, the purification of the soul, the manifestation of joy, Divine compassion which overwhelms, mystic union, ecstasy, the over-flow of rapture, *Prapanca-Vairagyam* (Renunciation of the world), *'Tiruvembavai'*, the soul in rapture merging with Siva, the gracious 'energy' of Siva,** the sacred victory over Tripura-asuras, the purity of the *prapanca* (The Tillai Dancer cleanses us of our delusion), purification by the Lord's Grace, the 'fullness' of the soul, the Lord as companion, *Tirup-palli-elucci* (the ritual awakening from the sacred couch of the Lord with the morning hymns sung in the temple) — these constitute the impressive list of the contents of the first twenty cantos of *'Tiruvacakam'*. *

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* Siva cuts off the primal three-fold bond, He is the Nada Brahmam, the Celestial Dancer, Who showered Grace (*arul*) on Patanjali at the 'Tiger-town' (Puliyur).

** Parvati stays in His side, Ganga on His crest.

The twenty-first canto is devoted entirely to *"Ponnambalattarasu"* (The Lord of Tillai). The grammar of 'divine' enjoyment is the essence of the twenty-second canto. The infinity of *Sivanandam*, the merit of total surrender, desire for knowledge of self *(Atma)*, the grammar of mystic wonder and the way to liberation — these themes bring out the depth of Manikkavacakar's spiritual evolution and devotion to Siva, particularly as the 'Dancer in Tillai's Court'. The twenty-ninth canto, *"Arut-pattu"*, refers to deliverance from delusion *(Mahamaya)* by the grace of Sakti.

Manikkavacakar goes into a state of total ecstasy, when he composes the thirtieth canto, *"Kanda pattu"*: "My eyes have seen the Lord's mystic dance at Tillai," is the constant refrain of all these verses. ("தில்லை அம்பலத்தே கண்டேனே !") Then follow supplication, the searchings of the bruised heart, self-dedication, the rapture of *bhakti* to Siva, and the tenacity of his attachment to Siva.

The fortieth canto, *"Kula-p-pattu"*, sung at Tillai, is again impassioned praise of the 'Tillai Andan'. In *"Adbhutap-pattu"*, the forty-first canto, the saint recalls his mystic experiences at Tirupperunturai. The rapture of the pilgrim song in the forty-fifth canto commemorates the saint's first visit to Tillai, and, in mystic terms, sets forth the pilgrimage of the soul to union with Siva in Kailasa.

The forty-eighth canto refers to the soul's three-fold impurity (உள்ள மல மூன்று) and how it can be swept away.

In Manikkavacakar's peroration, in the last three cantos (nos. 49,50 and 51) of *'Tiruvacakam'*, he speaks of the cessation of life's experiences, the desire for the experience of Siva and His Grace, and the ineffable joy of salvation. To those who can follow the original in Tamil, this summary can only sound a prosaic precis of a poetic genius totally immersed in God-head.

Manikkavacakar completes his rapturous out-pourings in beautiful poetry of everlasting merit. "Oh Lord, Thou art fire, water, wind, earth and ether," sings the saint. The secret of the hold of Saivism in the Tamil country over the centuries is that the Saiva saints have always led the way by displayed devotion to Siva, humility and love of God, expressed with fervour in their songs and infusing their lives. Manikkavacakar ranks among the greatest of these Saiva saints.

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* *Nirguna Brahmam, Daharalayam, Cid-akasam, Cidambara Rahasyam* all mean the same thing. *Saguna Brahmam* or Nataraja is the form of *Sat-Cit-Ananda*. "Oh Lord, who has the form of the *mantra 'Namasivaya'*, Bhuyanga (which means the snake), I have no other refuge than you to lift me out of this worldly life, in which I am now drowned." - *Tiruc-catakam*, 248.

"தில்லைத் திருச் சிற்றம்பலவா போற்றி" "வீடு தந்தருளு போற்றி"

(= I hail Thee, of Tillai's sacred court) - ibid., 268 (= Hail, grant me Thy Home (*mukti*)!)-- ibid., 400

We now move on to the other precious work of Manikkavacakar, also in the Eighth *Tirumurai*, namely, *'Tirukkovaiyar'*. There was a divine command:

"பாவை பாடிய வாயால் கோவை பாடு"

"Your tongue which sang the Pavai (Tiruppavai in Tiruvacakam) should now sing Kovai (Tirukkovaiyar) too."

Manikkavacakar obeyed and sang the Tirukkovaiyar —— so goes the legend.

'Tirukkovalyar':

*'Tirukkovaiyar'** (also known as *'Tiruc-cirrambalak-kovaiyar'*) is a subjective (*ahapporul*) poem on the Lord of Tillai. It is a remarkable and extraordinary work of 400 verses in twenty-five chapters (*kilavis*), (கட்டளைக் கலித் துறைகள்) in which various phases of love are treated. Of the four objectives of human endeavour, *aram, porul, inbam* and *vidu* (*dharma, artha, kama* and *moksha), moksha* gets merged in *dharma*; and in Sangam literature, *inbam* (love) has always been regarded as *'ahapporul'*. The rest is regarded as *'purapporul'*. That which is not *'aham'* is *'puram'*. *'Aham'* means that which is internal, interior or subjective, and deals with the home and the heart and love in all its manifestations. *'Puram'* denotes external activity, the state of society, war, politics, government, patronage, etc.

The type of love that *aham* literature deals with covers pre-marital love (*kalavu*) as well as marital love (*karpu*), the assumption being that the logical consequence of pre-marital love is marital love. The phrase *kalavu* would mean clandestine love or stolen love, while *karpu* stands for chastity in marriage. The secrecy of *kalavu* is shared by the confidant of the hero and the confidante of the heroine. When society gets to know of the *kalavu* of a pair, it leads on to the ultimate phase of *karpu*. What is important is that this type of *srngara* does not admit of infidelity, aberration or misdemeanour.

We owe it to the poetic genius of Manikkavacakar and his unflagging devotion to the Dancing Lord of Tiruccirrambalam (Tillai) that, in a string of four-hundred verses in twenty-five chapters, the saint takes us along a colourful pageantry of what is usually called profane love; meeting of the lovers —— opportunities for which only a generous Providence (kindly Fate) could provide, their temporary separation, the confidant(e)'s role in bringing the lovers together again, the surge of true passion, the tribulations the lovers go through, the felicity of the married state and the hero's adventures in search of wealth, leading up to the ultimate union of the couple (which is *karpu*). What is most striking is that, in each of these four hundred verses, the layer of seemingly frank eroticism or profane love is gently over-laced with an esoteric meaning centering round Tillai Ambalam and the Cosmic Dancer. The subtlety with which the Lord of Puliyur is introduced into all the four-hundred verses is testimony to the saint's powerful poetic skill and concentration in projecting the Lord as the predominant element of the song. The verses bring out many of the familiar concepts centering round Siva as Nataraja. Some excerpts (in translation):

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* Professor K.A.Nilakanta Sastri observes:

"Tirukkovaiyar is derived from 'Kovai' which means stringing. This lilting composition treats successively the different stages in the development of the love of a young couple but suffused with an esoteric significance relating to the quest of the individual soul (Nayika, heroine) for union with the Absolute (Nayaka, hero). This work centres on Siva as Lord of Cidambaram."

> "The ocean of bliss (*Ananda*) dances at Cirrambalam."
>
> "The Lord Who abides in the *Ambalam* carries the cool crescent moon on His crown."
>
> "He slays a tusker and wears the hide."
>
> "Vishnu worshipped Him and obtained the *cakra*."
>
> "The Lord of the *Ambalam* drank of the deadliest poison, which blackened His neck, and saved the *devas*".

Manikkavacakar makes frequent references to the Ardhanarisvara aspect of Nataraja:

> "He abides in the Ambalam with His Consort (Sivakamasundari) incorporated in Him."
> "One half of the form is a beautiful woman, the other half a handsome man."
> "The Lord shares in His form His soft-eyed Consort."

Some other descriptions are:

> "Brahma and Vishnu could not locate the crown and the foot of the shaft of fire — Siva." (the Lingodbhava aspect)
> "The Supreme Lord of Tillai is desired by those who have renounced desire."
> "Nataraja is ruby-like (*Manikyam*)."
> "The Lord of Puliyur has matted hair, which is bright as gold, brilliant as ruby and lustrous as coral."
> "The Lord of Tiruccirrambalam decimated the three fortresses."*
> "The serpents are His ornaments."

The Manmatha episode figures in Verse 95.

Manikkavacakar uses the phrases *'Ten-Tillai'*, *'Ten-Puliyur'* in quite a few verses. Some Tamil scholars have expressed the view that these phrases do not imply the existence of a North Cidambaram (or North Tillai) — as opposed to 'South Tillai'. The Tamil word, "தென் தில்லை", ('Ten Tillai'), only means "Beautiful Tillai".

Referring to Cidambaram itself, the saint makes mention of its attractive mansions, its huge buildings ('reaching upto the sky') and of 'the walled and moated Tillai', descriptions which Sambandhar and Appar, too, had adopted in their hymns.**

In verse 115 of *'Tirukkovaiyar'*, the phrase *'pasam'* occurs ("The Lord of Tillai Ambalam breaks the fetters"), again in verse 124. When Manikkavacakar emerged on the scene, the Saiva Siddhanta concepts had apparently taken deep root in the Tamil country, though not expounded systematically. Not surprising therefore that many scholars hold the view that Manikkavacakar may well be regarded as the founder of the Saiva Siddhanta system in Tamil Nadu — long before Meykandar and his followers systematised it, a few centuries later. We have already pointed out that even Sambandhar, Appar and Sundarar show clear evidence of the impact of Tirumular's concepts in the 7th century A.D. itself.

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* The 'three fortresses' are in reality the three *gunas*: *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*.

** When we remember that the Colas too lavished their attention on Cidambaram, we wonder why there is, at this point of time, no evidence of any of these 'mansions' !

The Tamil term *'Kovai'* means a pattern of successive verses which string together a series of developments in *Ahapporul* (on a love-theme).

'Tirukkovaiyar' should be cherished for all time as much for Manikkavacakar's unsurpassed devotion to the Lord of Tillai Ambalam as for the lyrical beauty of his work in unfolding the drama of true love, its lure, its changing moods and its ultimate consummation in marital felicity.

In his remarkable translation of *Tirukkovaiyar* into English (1989), T.N. Ramachandran of Tanjavur takes the view that "a peerless pair of ardent lovers, whose devotion to Nataraja and His *Ambalam* at Cidambaram is unsurpassed, are the hero and the heroine of the poem." Judging by the detachment that the saint has maintained right through in weaving the story round the Lord of Puliyur, I am inclined to agree with the view of my revered friend, T.N. Ramachandran. An in-depth study of this great composition would doubtless be rewarding.

Exponents of *Bharata Natyam* would perhaps find ample scope for the portrayal of a wide range of *Nayika-Nayaka* themes from the four hundred verses of Manikkavacakar's *'Tirukkovaiyar'*.

Date of Manikkavacakar:

We have dealt with this matter in detail in Chapter Three. The Dharmapuram Adhinam edition (of 1968) of the Eighth *Tirumurai* takes the view — which my father and some other scholars and I have always taken — that Manikkavacakar should be ascribed to a period almost the same as Sambandhar and Appar and earlier than Sundarar. Apart from the jackal-horse episode, to which Appar refers in the Fourth *Tirumurai*, Manikkavacakar had a serious problem of disputation with the Buddhists, which could have been possible only in the 6th/7th century A.D., and, although Manikkavacakar's *'Kirtit-tiruvahaval'* refers to many incidents in which Siva's devotees are blessed by the Lord at many holy centres, Manikkavacakar makes no mention of Sambandhar's holy milk episode, nor to Appar's colic episode nor to Sundarar's transformation by the Lord. So the Dharmapuram Adhinam scholars of the 1968 edition have apparently arrived at the conclusion that Manikkavacakar preceded the Devaram Trio. I am inclined to repeat my agreement with this interpretation.

Only seventy temples are known to have been built in Koc-cenganan's period, and the number of temples in Tamil Nadu which Sambandhar and Appar visited and where they sang their hymns is nearly five hundred. This fact proves that in the short period between the 6th and 7th centuries A.D., there should have been a tremendous spurt of temple-building activity in the Tamil country.

Manikkavacakar's profuse application in his verses of the Saiva Siddhanta concepts clearly establishes his right to be regarded as one of the founders of the Saiva Siddhanta tradition as we know it to-day. That Appar and Sambandhar, too, show evidence of the influence of the Saiva Siddhanta doctrines in their compositions lends weight to our view that Manikkavacakar's period may not be put down as 'later than that of the Devaram Trio'.

In his edition of *'Tiruvacakam'* , the Rev. G.U.Pope refers to a 'Cola king being present' while Manikkavacakar held his disputations with the king of Ceylon and the Buddhists at Cidambaram and ultimately vanquished them in debate. It was the period of Pallava hegemony, and the Cola king under reference might have been a feeble successor of Koc-cenganan.

What Professor P. Sambamurti wrote years ago on Manikkavacakar is relevant to our study. He has also dealt with the question of Manikkavacakar's period. We reproduce his article below.

"The name Manickavachakar literally means, *'utterer of gems'*. This name was given to him because of the high spiritual content of his hymns. Tayumanavar said of his work, 'If one is not moved by *Tiruvachakam*, He is not going to be moved by any *Vachakam*.'

"திருவாசகத்திற்குருகார்
ஒருவாசகத்திற்குமுருகார்"

"Tiruvachakam is the collective name given to all his works, which include Tiruvembavai, Tirupalliyezhuchchi, and Kuyirpattu.

"His *Tirukkovaiyar* (also called *Tiruchchitrambalakkovaiyar*) is a poem on the theme of Madhura bhakti. God Siva is the Nayaka in this poem.

Date:

"There is a controversy regarding the date of Manickavachakar. On the basis of the popular saying: *'Tevaram, Tiruvachakam'*, some of the scholars assign him to the 10th century, i.e., a date posterior to that of the *Tevaram*. But the musical evidences establish that he must have lived before the 7th century A.D.

"Firstly, the Tiruvachakam is even now only *recited*. If it was composed after the period of the *Tevaram*, the songs should have been set to *pans* (பண்கள்) and sung to rhythmic music, since the sahityas of the *Tiruvachakam* are metrical in their construction.

"Secondly, the *Tiruvachakam* is sung only in the Mohana raga, one of the very old ragas. The Mohana raga is equated to the mantra, Namasivaya, which is constituted of five syllables, and Mohana is a pentatonic scale. The notes of the Mohana raga are the first five notes to be derived in the cycle of fifths, i.e. *shadja-panchama bhava* or *kural-ili krama*.

"Thirdly, we only talk of Tiruvachakam, and not of Tiruvachaka *pans*.

"Fourthly, none of the hymns of the *Tevaram* is sung in Mohana raga. The authors of the *Tevaram*, out of their excessive reverence for Manickavachakar, refrained from using the raga of the *Tiruvachakam* in their hymns. But Senturutti (Madhyamavati raga), and Pazhamtakka ragam (Suddha saveri raga) which are the rishaba and panchama murchanas of Mohana raga are used in the *Tevaram*.

"Fifthly, Manickavachakar refers to the *yazh* in his *Tirupalliyezhuchchi*. But the *yazh* ceased to be a concert instrument by the 10th century A.D.

"It may be pointed out in this connection that, in the Tiruvarur padikam of Appar (*padilam pootattinalum*; பாடிளம் பூதத்தினாலும் (பண் - காந்தாரம்) *pan : gandharam*), there is a reference to jackals being converted into horses, in the second stanza:-

"நரியைக் குதிரை செய்வானும்"

"In modern times, some of the hymns of the *Tiruvachakam* like *Muttineri ariyada* and the *Kuyir pattu* are set to ragas and sung. The former is sung in Arabhi raga and the latter in Kambhoji raga.

"In the song *Muttineri*, he says how Lord Siva took him into His own fold."

Tiruvisaippa:

Close on the heels of Manikkavavacakar's *'Tiruvacakam'* and *'Tirukkovaiyar'*, which form the Eighth *Tirumurai* of the Saivite canon, comes*'Tiruvisaippa'* of the Ninth *Tirumurai*, in the twenty-eight *Tiruppadigams* of which fifteen relate to Tillai (Cidambaram). Gandaraditya recalls the *Koyil puranam* story: when, acting on the command of Vyaghrapada, Hiranyavarman brought to Tillai from the Ganga-Yamuna *doab* (*Antarvedi*) the Three Thousand, he found on arrival at Tillai that one of the 'Three Thousand' was missing. "Do not grieve, I am (the missing) one of them," cried out the unembodied voice of the Lord of Tillai. This assurance comforted the bewildered congregation at Tillai.

* * *

CHAPTER 23

Dikshitars and Temple Administration

"தில்லைப் பெண் எல்லை தாண்டாது" is an old adage in Tamil. "A Tillai girl never crosses its boundary". The reference is obviously to the girls of the Dikshitar community, the "Three Thousand of Tillai", a group of *brahmana* priests peculiar to Tillai (Cidambaram). The tradition is that the Dikshitars (*Tillai-Val Andanar's*) and other service-personnel of the Nataraja temple, viz., the *Mey-k-kavalar's* (security men), *Tiru-malai-katti's* (those who are by tradition florists and garland-makers for the Lord's decoration and worship), and *Oduvar's* (devotees who recite the Devaram hymns as part of the rituals of the Lord's worship) do not enter into matrimonial alliances for their daughters outside the limits of Cidambaram. Even to-day, Cidambaram town has a Malai-katti street and a Meykkaval Street, which fact reflects the spirit of the managerial structure that existed then. The Dikshitars live mostly on the East and South Car Streets. Some of them own houses; others rent them out. Some of the less affluent among them now live in small habitations in the North Sannidhi street — an indication of the economic stresses of our times. In respect of the 'Podu Dikshitars' (*Tillai Val Andanar's* or *Tillai Muvayiravar*) — the corporate body of Dikshitars, to whom the Sabhanayakar temple belongs and who administer the temple, the tradition that they do not give their girls in marriage even to other sections of *brahmanas* and do not allow their women to 'leave' Cidambaram is rigidly enforced to this day. Hence the proverb quoted at the outset.

There can be no doubt that the description *"Tillai Val Andanar"* and *"Tillai Muvaiyiravar"* referred to in early Tamil literature on Tillai (Cidambaram) can only apply to the section of *brahmana's* called by the familiar name 'Dikshitar's', who are exclusively in charge of and dedicated to the management of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram. Even in the normal sense the word *'dikshita'* would apply to any well-versed *brahmana* engaged in a *diksha* (consecration for religious ceremonies), "initiated" into religious ceremonies, or "one who makes oblations"— who is learned in Vedic lore and has to his credit a number of *yajna's* (sacrifices). The Dikshitars of Cidambaram, as they are now known, are a special class of priests attached to the Nataraja temple, who have been described in early *purana's* and hymns of the Tamil Saivite saints as *'Tillai Muvayiravar'* or *'Tillai Val Andanar'* (the "Three Thousand of Tillai".)

The legendary story, as known from *'Cidambara Mahatmyam'* (part of *'Skanda Purana'*), has it that the 'Three Thousand' Dikshitar's were taken by Brahma to officiate at a sacrificial spot, and, when they returned to Tillai, one of them was found missing in the count. Lord Nataraja proclaimed unseen that none was missing and that He Himself had been one of them. These traditional accounts indicate that the Dikshitar's have been an integral part of the Cidambaram Nataraja temple from its very inception. Tamil literature confirms the antiquity of the Dikshitar's. In the earliest Devaram hymns, one of the Saivite saint-poets says, "I am the servant and devotee of the *Tillai Muvayiravar*". Sambandhar has sung in rapture on the *'Tillai Val Andanar'*. Nambi Andar Nambi refers to the *'Tillai Val Andanar'* in his *Tirut-tondar-tiruvantadi* . Sekkilar, too, in his *'Periya Puranam'*, makes it clear that the *'Tillai Val Andanar'* were proficient in the *Sastras* and their only commitment was devotion and service to Nataraja of Cidambaram. These references in early Tamil literature confirm that the Dikshitar's have been intimately associated with the temple management even before the period of the Devaram hymns. The story of Kurruva Nayanar clearly proclaims how the Dikshitar's told this Chief that they would perform the coronation rites only in honour of Cola kings and not any other. That some of the *'Tillai Val Andanar'* were ranked among the great Nayanmar is proof of the honour and respect that the Saivite tradition has all along accorded to the *Dikshitar* community. It is clear that references to the *Andanar's* (*brahmana's*) of Cidambaram in the Devaram age were only to the members of the Dikshitar community. The Kurruva Nayanar Puranam in *Periya Puranam* describes the brahmanas of Tillai as 'இருமை மரபும் தூயவர்' (Vedic and Agamas — formless and with form).*

An interesting and perhaps unique feature of the Nataraja temple is its system of management. One has only to witness the daily pattern of worship and the manner of conducting the colourful temple festivals to realise how efficient, well-organised and well-co-ordinated the system of management has been over the centuries, and continues to be. Such a well-set tradition could not have been evolved in a day. What is even more gratifying is that successive generations of Dikshitar's have imbibed this great tradition most heartily and lived up to this system of temple management with its built-in checks.

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* Dr. B.G.L. Swamy, in his book, "Cidambaram and Nataraja —— Problems and Rationalization", published in 1979, has expressed the view that the question of how and when the present day Dikshitar's regained the ownership of the Nataraja temple is one of the ticklish aspects in the history of the Nataraja temple; that the earlier arrangements of management should have been different; that, after the serious disruption in the working and worship at the temple during the 17th and 18th centuries A.D., the absence of the Dikshitar's from Cidambaram and the occupation of the temple premises by non-Hindus called for 'elaborate purificatory rituals both for themselves and the temple' prior to reoccupation; that this should have involved a series of *'diksha'* ceremonies, and that, after undergoing these rituals, the priests involved acquired the name Dikshitar's, a name which continues to the present day. The episode of Umapati Sivacarya's separation from the Dikshitar clan and his adoption of the Saiva Siddhanta school does not prove any point in relation to the antiquity of the Dikshitar clan at Cidambaram. Apart from his thesis that Cidambaram adopted the *Pratyabhijna* type of Kashmir Saivism (we have questioned this postulate elsewhere, adducing our reasons), Dr.Swamy has also advanced the conclusion that the ancestors of the present-day Dikshitar's of Cidambaram were originally from Kashmir, and that, when the small group of their ancestors initially settled down at Cidambaram, they must have lost social contacts with their kin in Kashmir; and that there has been no increase in the population because of lack of further migration from Kashmir, and so the Dikshitar's are forced to make matrimonial alliances amongst themselves at Cidambaram itself. The literary evidence is clear that the Dikshitar's hailed from Antarvedi in the Ganga-Yamuna *doab* and settled down permanently at Cidambaram. The great Nayanmar have sung the praises of the "Tillai Three Thousand" in their Tamil hymns of the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. and later periods. According to Dr.Swamy, the *Pratyabhijna* school established itself at Cidambaram only in the 10th century A.D. —— a proposition on which we have commented in detail elsewhere in various contexts. Even when the Nataraja and Sivakamasundari icons 'went into exile' in the 17th and 18th Centuries A.D., many of the Dikshitar's stayed back in Cidambaram. It is also reiterated that the Tillai Three Thousand have a firm place in the reckoning of Hiranya Varman and Koc-cenganan, Appar, Sambandhar and Sekkilar, apart from Umapati Sivacarya himself being one of the Tillai Three Thousand. In the face of this overwhelming evidence, we are unable to accept Dr.Swamy's reasoning and conclusions.

Unlike other South Indian temples, the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram has no landed property or any other endowments and does not receive any *'Mohini'* or *'Tasdik'* allowance at present, and is controlled by the Dikshitar's. Though some inscriptions of the Cola and Vijayanagar periods speak of instances of grants of land, of property or other endowments by those Hindu rulers who were deeply drawn to Nataraja of Cidambaram, such endowments were made to a limited extent, in the very early periods, in the name of Lord Nataraja, but in later periods, they were made only in the name of the various functionaries of the temple. And, even if in the earlier stages, some of the executive staff and devotees of Nataraja might have been associated with the *dikshitar's* in the management of the temple, it is possible that the Mysore and Carnatic wars and the political turmoil that followed disturbed their association with the management, and the lands and properties assigned over the centuries by rulers of the various dynasties were taken over by the invaders; and the Dikshitar's who, all along, had the unquestioned right to the ownership of the Nataraja temple and the right to conduct the ceremonial rites with respect to Nataraja's worship, continued to be the owners and the 'management' of the temple. The Dikshitars' absolute control of the temple and its management is a fact sanctified by history.

The Dikshitar's of Cidambaram are an exclusive and endogamous community. They have no occupation other than temple service and no means of livelihood other than emoluments of such service: and no one else has the right to conduct the rites of worship of Nataraja.* The Dikshitar's have been the hereditary trustees of the temple with complete control on its affairs and management. The Dikshitar's, like some of the castes of Malabar (Kerala), keep their hair knotted on one side of the head. (See the Illustrations.)

The Sanskrit *sloka* that refers to the strength (in the various *yuga's*: aeons) of the Dikshitar community will be of interest:

त्रिसाहस्रं द्विसाहस्रं साहस्रं द्विशतं तथा।
सन्ति तिल्लवने विप्राः क्रमात् कृतयुगादिषु।।

At present, the number of Dikshitar families is limited; it is estimated to be around 285. The Dikshitar's at present are limited to four *gotras* (lineages among *brahmanas* particularly), and convention demands that the marriage of a boy and a girl belonging to the same *gotra* is not permissible. The four *gotras* are: *Ravikhshanya gotra, Kaundinya gotra, Srivatsa gotra* and *Visvamitra gotra*. So the choice of a marriage partner has to be from one of the other three *gotras*. This situation has led to a sharp decline in the population of the Dikshitar community. As one of the leaders of the community put it to me, rather humorously, nature has evolved its own way of controlling the Dikshitar population without any conscious effort at limiting the size of the Dikshitar families, in these days when the emphasis is on controlling the population explosion. The entire Dikshitar community numbers about one thousand now, including unmarried boys and girls.

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* In recent years, the stress of economic conditions and an urge to seek wider opportunities have led some of the more academic-minded Dikshitar's to pursue research at the near-by Annamalai University —— with excellent results. There is no compromise however, in their basic commitment to the Nataraja temple and their residence in Cidambaram. Occasional tours to keep themselves in touch with their clients, and pilgrimages to holy centres like Kanchipuram, Satara, Varanasi and Ramesvaram are of course common. The late Mahamahopadhyaya S. Dandapanisvami Dikshitar set the trend by accepting the Principalship of the Sanskrit College founded in Cidambaram in the 1920's by Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar —— which was absorbed in 1929 in the Annamalai University.

As soon as he marries, every young Dikshitar becomes, as of right, a trustee and*'arcaka'* (one who offers ritual worship to the deities) of the temple; and his trustee-ship is inalienable.

Worship in the Nataraja temple is conducted in what is known as the *'Vaidika puja'* pattern, as laid down by Patanjali. It resembles the rituals of domestic worship and not the *Agama* form.

A Dikshitar is entitled to perform *puja's* and *kattalai arcana's* (offer of worship on behalf of his clientele to the deities) only after he has received the necessary initiation into the *puja* procedures. Marriages take place early in life; the custom has the sanction of ages; and only married males have a voice in the management of the affairs of the temple. Also, the Dikshitar male must be married before he can get a share of the perquisites — what the temple can offer for his subsistence and that of his family. A widower is not allowed to perform the rituals at the temple.

In regard to domestic ceremonies in the Dikshitar families like marriages and other functions where the customary rituals have to be performed, these priestly duties are assigned to a group of four families of *Coliya brahmanas* from the village Madar Velur (near Sirkali).

The expenses for the temple *puja's* at the Nataraja temple are met partly by contributions by the Dikshitar's themselves from their funds (these days, meagre in most cases, owing to the current high costs) and by collection of subscriptions from their clients and, in the major part, by periodical benefactions of numerous devotees. Every Dikshitar, even when assured of a steady clientele, takes great pains to secure more client-contracts (*kattalai's* as they are called). The Dikshitar's offer their out-of-town clients hospitality in their own homes in some cases and take care of their offering of worship at the temple during festivals and special events, and thus build up cordial relationships with their clients and their relations over successive generations. The help, monetary or in kind, given by a devotee for conducting the affairs of the temple in accordance with the prescribed rituals, is called a *kattalai.* The expenses of the six daily *puja's*, of the various festivities connected with the *Brahmotsavam* twice a year for Nataraja, and of the festivals for the other deities are met out of some standing *kattalai's* by leading philanthropists, the late Pachaiyappa Mudaliar's Trust, the Saivite *mathas* whose devotion to Nataraja is unsurpassed, the Chettinad family and others of the Nagarathar community, whose benefactions to the Nataraja temple during the 19th and 20th centuries have been enormous and generous, and contributions from individual devotees on special occasions. Another source of perquisites for the Dikshitar's is the *'Pavadai'* ritual: heaps of rice cooked in sugar-candy and plain rice are spread out on a board as offerings to Nataraja in the Kanaka Sabha — an inspiring sight. Many devotees invoke the Lord's blessings by financing such *pavadai's*.

The Dikshitar's are a well-knit, compact, religious community who operate on democratic lines. The only source of income of the Dikshitar's is that derived from the general offerings in the temple, and, by long usage, such offerings are the property of all the trustees and constitute the recognised major source of livelihood of the Dikshitar's. This usage, obtaining from time immemorial, was also recognised long ago in a historic judgement delivered by Justices Muthuswami Ayyar and Sheppard.

The gifts and offerings to the temple are divided among the Dikshitar's. The right of collecting these is given to a batch of twenty among them, who are on duty in the temple for a cycle of twenty days; they have the charge of the keys, the five shrines and the jewels. The right of management goes the round of all the trustees in any given year, in this manner. The five shrines are those of Nataraja, Sivakama Sundari, Sri Mulasthana, Deva Sabha and the Pandya Nayakam.

Edgar Thurston, in his well-known series, 'Castes and Tribes of Southern India' (published in A.D.1909), has a very informative paragraph on the Dikshitar's of Cidambaram, reflecting, of course, the conditions obtaining then. He quotes extensively from W.Francis, Editor of the Gazetteer of the South Arcot district. An extract from W.Francis's observations will be of interest.

> "Theoretically, all the married males of the Dikshitar's have a voice in the management of the temple and a share in its perquisites; at present there are some 250 of such shares. They go round the southern districts soliciting alms* and offerings for themselves. Each one has his own particular clientele, and, in return for the alms received, he makes, on his return, offerings at the shrine in the name of his benefactors and sends them now and again holy ashes** or an invitation to a festival.
>
> "Twenty of the Dikshitar's are always on duty in the temple, all the males of the community (except unmarried boys and widowers)*** doing the work by turns lasting 20 days each, until each one has been the round of all the different shrines. The twenty divide themselves into five parties of four each, each of which is on duty for four days at one of the five shrines at which daily *puja* is made, sleeps there at night and becomes the owner of the routine offerings of food made at it. Large presents of food made to the temple as a whole are divided among all the Dikshitar's. The right to other oblations is sold by auction every twenty days to one of the Dikshitar's at a meeting of the community. These periodical meetings take place in the Deva Sabha. The large silver lamp from Nataraja's shrine is brought and placed there by a *pandaram* and (to avoid even the appearance of any deviation from the principle of absolute equality of all Dikshitar's in the management of the temple) the *pandaram* acts as president of the meeting and proposals are made impersonally through him."

So much for what W.Francis had to say long, long ago.

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* Not a happy phrase to use. The Dikshitar's build up their contacts and clientele by such tours and keep in constant touch with them.

** *Vibhuti* (sacred ash) and *kumkum* (vermilion) as *prasadam* (sanctified offering blessed by the deities) are sent regularly to the clients after every *arcana* (worship) performed for the benefit of the clients.

*** अपत्नी-s (widowers) among the Dikshitar's are forbidden from performing rituals in the temple.

The jewels of the Nataraja temple include some which have been presented by various *raja's* (rulers). The respective temples have lists of the jewels, details of presentation by the *raja's* and the places where they are kept in custody. Among them is a jewel called *Nalan Padakkam*. Tippu Sultan is reported to have offered a golden chain to Lord Nataraja. The jewels are kept safely in a box in each of the shrines and the keys of the boxes are in the custody of a group of Dikshitar's nominated for this purpose, in accordance with the rotation system.

The Dikshitars' methods of administration are entirely democratic in character. Every Dikshitar has a vote and a voice in the conduct of the affairs of the temple. All questions affecting the management of the temple are decided at periodical meetings of the community, in the Deva Sabha, by the vote of the majority. There are elaborate rules of procedure, checks and counter-checks in order to prevent any mismanagement or mis-appropriation. Provision for veto exists. Jewellery in daily or ceremonial use at festivals is properly guarded and accounted for at every stage. A select group of Dikshitar's is entrusted with the joint custody of jewels and the organisational details of festivals like Ani Tirumanjanam and Ardra Darsanam. The Dikshitar's are understandably jealous of their great inheritance —— Nataraja and the temple —— and they unite as a body to make sure that the traditions and practices are rigidly observed and that there is no departure from the practices sanctified by time and the procedures laid down by their ancestors. This structure has endured over the centuries —— a tribute to the wisdom, the strength of character and the enlightened leadership of the Dikshitar community. Their sense of organization is remarkable but unobtrusive; and it has been their constant endeavour to prevent any aberrations in procedures because their zeal for the proper management of the temple is an overriding factor.

There have been quite a few threats from time to time, challenging the rights of the Dikshitar's to the ownership, control and management of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram, and the subject has figured in quite a few proceedings before law courts. By far the most comprehensive judgement on the subject, upholding the rights of the Dikshitars, was that of Justices Satyanarayana Rao and Rajagopalan reported at pages 557-606 of the Madras Law Journal Reports, 1952. (Marimuttu Dikshitar representing the *Podu* Dikshitar's of Sri Sabha Nayakar (Nataraja) temple at Cidambaram versus the State of Madras). As we consider that it would be useful for future reference, we are reproducing the full text of this judgement as an Appendix to this chapter.

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Appendix to Chapter 23

In the High Court of Judicature at Madras

Present: Mr Justice Satyanarayana Rao and Mr Justice Rajagopalan.

Writ Petitions Nos. 379 and 380 of 1951

Marimuthu Dikshitar representing the Podhu Deekshithars
of Sri Sabhanayagar Temple, Chidambaram,
South Arcot District. **Petitioner**

v.

The State of Madras represented by the Secretary to Government,
Rural Welfare Department, Madras and another. **Respondents.**

Judgment:-- These two petitions relate to the temple at Chidambaram in South Arcot District and were filed for the issue of a writ of *certiorari* or direction or order in the nature of such a writ of *certiorari* against the first respondent, the State of Madras, calling for the records relating to the Notification No. G.O.Ms. 894, Rural Welfare dated 28th August, 1951, published in the Fort St.George Gazette on 4th September, 1951, in the matter of Sri Sabhanayagar Temple, Chidambaram and quashing the said proceedings or in the alternative to issue a writ of mandamus or direction or orders in the nature of such a writ of mandamus directing them to rescind the said notification. The second respondent in the petitions as originally filed was the Hindu Religious Endowments Board, Madras. When the Madras Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Act (Act XIX of 1951) came into force on 30th September 1951, the petitioners obtained leave to amend the petitions by substituting the Commissioner, Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments in place of the Board and also included a prayer for the issue of a writ of mandamus or an order in the nature of such a writ directing the respondents to forbear from taking further proceedings under Act XIX of 1951 and from giving effect to the order of the second respondent dated 31st August, 1951. Leave was granted for the amendment as there was no objection.

The temple at Chidambaram, *Chit* and *Ambalam* (the atmosphere of wisdom), is a public temple of great antiquity sacred to Saivites all over India. According to the South Arcot Manual of the year 1878 the area occupied by the temple is about 39 acres in the centre of the town. Of the five Lingams of Siva corresponding to the Panchabhutas: earth, water, light, air and akasa (ether), the Lingam in this temple is Akasa Lingam. In fact, no Lingam exists but a curtain is hung before a wall on which some Beejaksharas were written and when people go to worship the curtain is withdrawn to see the 'Lingam'. Offerings are made before the curtain. This is generally known as *Chidambara Rahasyam,* the secret of Chidambaram. The Manual at page 401 refers to a legend going back to the fifth Manu, one of whose sons Swetha Varma was a leper and refused to rule over the country, the Kingdom of Gouda allotted to him by his father. Leaving his kingdom, he set on foot on a pilgrimage and came to Conjeevaram where he met a hunter who informed him that there was a famous Rishi nearby with tiger's paws who lived in a jungle near a 'Kovil' where an invisible deity dwelt. Near the Kovil there was also a pool. Swetha Varma out of inquisitiveness met the Rishi who was called Vyagrapada. With his divine foresight the Rishi came to know of the arrival of Swetha Varma and asked him to bathe in the pool. Thereupon, the dreadful disease vanished and his skin obtained a golden hue. In consequence he was known thereafter as Hiranya Varna.

The Dikshidars who live near by are Brahmins having some peculiar customs of their own and the pagoda is practically treated as their property. They claim a divine origin for themselves and the story is that

Brahma took them from Tillai (Chidambaram) to perform Yagnam near Benares where they stayed till they were invited by Hiranya Varna to Chidambaram at the suggestion of the deity at Chidambaram. Thillai Muvayirathar or the three thousand men of Thillai known as the Dikshidars arrived at Chidambaram and to their amazement and distress, it was discovered that their number was less by one. Thereafter the Akasha Vani or the voice of the sky announced that he was the God himself that was missing i.e., Sabha Nayagar which is the present name of the presiding deity in the temple. Professor Wilson in his glossary says that the Dikshidars are really a branch of the Kanouj Brahmins whose abode is the modern Allahabad.

This temple has many peculiar features which are not common to the other temples in India. The management of the temple all along vested in the Dikshitars of whom there were 253 families at the time of the Manual now reduced to 250. Every married male member of the sect has an equal voice and control in the management of the temple. The right of management does not go by succession, but is acquired by birth and marriage so much so every boy born and married becomes entitled to share the privileges and perquisites incidental to the management which is terminable only at his death. This is an inducement to early marriage of boys even at the age of 5. It is a close community as they do not marry from any outside families but only from among themselves. Hence the proverb noticed in Thurston, Vol.I, Castes and Tribes, page 338, that a 'Thillai girl never crosses the boundary line'. The management is by turns. They are the Dharmakarthas as well as the Archakas of the temple. They framed rules for the management of the temple, for the custody of the properties particularly the jewels even as early as 1849 and a printed copy of that has been filed as an exhibit in these proceedings. They are generally on duty in the pagoda 20 at a time, and each batch of 20 stays on duty for 20 days. Though every married male is entitled to take part in the management, till he attains 25 he is not considered to be qualified for performing the principal rituals in the shrine when he is initiated in a ceremony called *Diksha*. The temple has five Sabhas or halls called the Chitt Sabha, the Kanaka Sabha, the Deva Sabha, the Nirutta Sabha and the Raja Sabha. There are also the Amman Koil and the Moolasthanam besides a Vishnu Koil and a Pillaiar Koil. The Chitt Sabha is the seat of the presiding deity, Sabhanayaka or Nataraja, and unless service is first held in it according to usage, it cannot be held in any other shrine.

The temple has very little property of its own and the system of providing the necessary material for the various abishekams, archanas and naivedyams during the seven kalams and for the Brahmotsavam and other Utsavams is somewhat peculiar. The worship in this temple is according to vedic rites and not in accordance with agama sastras as in other temples. The expenses of conducting the seven kalotsavams is provided by *podu* Kattalaidars or common Kattalaidars who instead of money, supply the articles necessary for the abhishekam, archana and naivedyam, etc. The seven kalams are: milk *naivedya* between 6 and 7 A.M. at the principal shrine; *kalasandhi* between 8 and 9 A.M; *Irandam Kalam* between 10 and 11 AM; *Uchi Kalam* 12 noon; *Sayaraksha* 6 PM; night *Iraandam Kalam* 8 PM and *Arthajamam* 10 PM. At all the six kalams except the first, abhishekam is done to the Spatika Lingam called Chandramouliswara. Abhishekam to the Marakatha Murthi otherwise known as Rathnasabapathi is done only at Irandam Kalam between 10 and 11 AM. No Abhishekams are done to the principal deity, Nataraja Murthi and Sivakamiamman except on special occasions. For all these the *Podu* Kattalaidars provide the materials. There are also the Utsava Kattalaidars whose duty it is to meet the cost of the Utsavams. Besides these the Dikshidars undertake on behalf of religious minded people, to perform an archana or abhishekam on stated days when cooked food is offered in the name of the devotee. The Dikshitar receives for this purpose a sum of money annually. He sends Veebhudi prasadam to the devotees, the food offering being taken by him. The *Podu* Dikshitars have nothing to do with this.

It is the individual right of the Dikshitar who carries on the worship on behalf of the devotees. These are individual kattalais. There is yet another kind of kattalai for performing an archana, mainly on Janmanakshatram days or any special days according to the choice of the devotee. Every Dikshidar has got his own clients for this purpose and he carries out the duties in return for which he obtains periodical payments from his clients. With this also the *Podu* Dikshidars have nothing to do. The only property owned by the temple besides the premises of the temple is *Thiruvilakku Manyam.* These manyams were originally of the extent of about 200 acres distributed in various villages and consisted of wet and dry lands and also topes. Of these, lands of the extent of 100 acres have been resumed by the Government and a beriz deduction of Rs.330-10-4 is given out of which the *Podu* Dikshidars receive only Rs.94-14-0 on behalf of the Devasthanam and the balance is paid to other persons. For over a period of 75 years these lands, it is common ground, have been in the possession of tenants from whom collection of melwaram is made on behalf of the temple by the *Podu* Dikshidars either directly or by leasing the right to collect among themselves to the highest bidder.

The Dikshidars have no other emoluments and they combine in themselves the functions of a trustee as well as an archaka. They have no inams and they have to devote their time exclusively to look after the affairs of the temple and carry on the worship in it by an internal arrangement made by them over a century ago as evidenced by the rules which have been framed by them and which are in vogue even at the present day. They are prohibited from taking up any other avocation and therefore they must necessarily depend for their livelihood consisting of as many as 250 families of 1500 members on what they receive at the temple either as Dakshina or as offerings of food known as pavadai and other offerings made to the deity. They are bound up with the temple and service to God is the only source of their livelihood. These in brief are the usages of the temple obtaining for several centuries. The materials can be gathered from the District Manual at page 400, the decision of this Court in *Natesa v. Ganapati* and Thurston's 'Castes and Tribes', Vol.I, page 238 and from the affidavits filed in the case.

When the Hindu Religious Endowments Act of 1923 (Act I of 1925) came into force, on behalf of the Dikshidars a memorial was submitted to His Excellency the Governor in Council, Fort St. George, in which they referred to the history of the temple and its endowments and the usages obtaining in it. They requested the Government to grant exemption to the temple from the operation of the Act by virtue of the power conferred on the Local Government under section 2 of the said Act. This request of the petitioners was granted by the Government in G.O.No.3750 L&M dated 28th August 1926, which states that the Government are pleased to exempt the Sri Sabha Nayakar Temple at Chidambaram from the operation of all the provisions of the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act (Act I of 1925) except sections 38, 57, 58, 59, 64, 65, 66, 69 and 70. Section 38 dealt with hereditary trustees: section 57 with submission of budgets and annual accounts, sections 58 and 59 related to schemes: sections 64, 65 and 66 to finance and contributions and sections 69 and 70 to the removal of a trustee and costs.

In 1931 some of the worshippers moved the Board to frame a scheme and the Board started proceedings to frame a scheme in O.A. No.644 of 1931, but owing to some technical defects the proceedings were dropped. On 2nd February 1932, the Board took up the matter *suo moto* in O.A. No.73 of 1932 and settled a scheme on 8th May 1933. The Dikshidars instituted O.S.No.16 of 1933 in the District Court, South Arcot, questioning the scheme. The District Judge confirmed the scheme with certain modifications by the decree dated 9th September 1936. There was an appeal to this Court in A.S.No.306 of 1936 and this Court agreed with the District Judge and confirmed the scheme with a slight modification. The judgement of this Court is dated

3rd April 1939 and is reported as *Ponnuman Dikshidar v. H.R.E.Board, Madras.* * The scheme was directed to be enforced from 1st June 1939.

The main features of the scheme as modified by the District Court are:-- The trusteeship is vested in the *Podu* Dikshidars, the active management being vested in a committee of whom six were to be elected by the *Podu* Dikshidars from among themselves and three to be chosen from among the *Podu* Dikshidars by turn or *murai*. The six trustees elected should not stand for re-election for a period of five years from the termination of their office. The Managing Committee was enjoined to appoint a manager subject to the approval of the Board on a salary basis. The Managing Committee was enjoined to establish *hundials* for the deposit of voluntary and compulsory offerings and also to fix the rates for the performance of archana and special worship. Their duties are defined under the scheme. They are required to lease out temple property invariably by public auction. They are bound to maintain accounts and the Board was authorised to appoint one or more of the worshippers as honorary trustees who shall attend to the inspection of the accounts, ascertain whether the kattalais are being performed regularly and bring to the notice of the Managing Committee any irregularities in such matters. The committee was required to prepare a list of jewels and submit a copy of the same to the Board. The vacant sites belonging to the temple, it was directed, should be utilised for putting up temporary sheds during the time of festival.

During the pendency of the suit and before judgment of the District Court was pronounced on 28th August 1936, the exemption granted in 1926 was annulled. The Board attempted to notify the temple by proceedings initiated under Chapter VI-A of the earlier Act on 1st May 1936. As a result of the observations in the judgment of the High Court, these proceedings were however dropped on the 20th March 1940. The High Court then observed:

> "It seems to us very undesirable that the Board should have taken any steps in regard to the notification of this temple. The procedure in regard to notification ought not to be lightly resorted to unless and until there is such serious mismanagement of a temple as would justify an ouster of the trustees in charge of a temple from their office. The scheme was framed in 1933 and proceedings relating to its notification were pending in the District Court and the scheme had not been given any fair trial. It could not possibly be said that the scheme was not worked satisfactorily by the trustees and that therefore in the interests of proper administration of the temple it was necessary for the Board to take the drastic step of having the temple notified. We trust and hope that the Board would drop all proceedings in the matter and allow the scheme as modified by us to be given a fair trial and would give the trustees a fair opportunity to carry on the administration in accordance with the scheme."

Again in 1946 the Board seems to have revived the idea of starting proceedings under Chapter VI-A but they were again dropped on 11th August 1947. In 1950 proceedings under Chapter VI-A which terminated in the notifications now challenged were initiated by the Board and the Board after hearing the objections of the petitioners decided on 21st March, 1951, to notify the temple as they were satisfied that a case for such a step was made out. There was an appeal as provided under the Act to the full Board and it was disposed of by order of the Board dated 11th July 1951. This was immediately followed by the notification by a further order of the Board dated 31st August 1951, appointing an executive officer. The Government approved the proposed action of the Board and issued a notification in the *Fort St. George Gazette,* on 28th August, 1951.

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* (1939) 2 M.L.J. 11

The notification is attacked both on constitutional grounds and also on the merits. The same articles as were relied on in C.M.P. No.2591 of 1951 (*Shirur mutt* case)* were also relied on in this case.

As we have considered the Articles of the Constitution elaborately in C.M.P. No.2591 of 1951** it is needless to repeat the reasoning and the conclusions reached by us in that case. They are equally applicable in this case. The idol, it is now well established, is a juristic person capable of taking and holding property. The right to possession and management, however, of the property endowed to the idol is in a manager or Dharmakartha or Shebait and the manager represents the idol in all transactions and suits. Usually the Dharmakartha has no beneficial interest and the property is not vested in him. The authority of the manager is analogous to that of a guardian of an infant heir and his liability in respect of his management is analogous to that of a trustee. We have held in C.M.P.No.2591 of 1951 that if the Dharmakartha or the head of a Mutt has a beneficial interest in the property and its income, such rights are 'property' within the meaning of Article 19(1) (f) of the Constitution. It is not disputed that the *Podu* Dikshidars in whom the Management of the temple is vested are both the managers and the archakas and they have a substantial beneficial interest in the income. It was observed in *Natesa v. Ganapathi* *** that the Dikshidars hold both the offices in the institution and the net income of the temple which is derived from general offerings is their recognised means of livelihood - *see* at page 104. The only remuneration for the services rendered by the archakas is the right to share in the joint income and to enjoy the proceeds of the income from individual kattalais which each Dikshidar derives. The income of Rs.800 from the Tiruvilakkumanyam is utilised for the lighting in the temple and if there is any surplus, it is distributed among the Dikshidars. Except the Tiruvilakkumanyam the temple does not own any other properties from which it derives income and which is received by the Dikshidars. 250 families of about 1500 members have to be fed and maintained from out of the earning made by the Dikshitars from the temple. The Dikshitars therefore, are collectively and individually entitled to the beneficial interests in the offerings made to the God and in the collections made for the archanas and the other aradhanas. Some of the collections are the joint property of the communities of *Podu* Dikshitars while the others are their individual income. In the light of what has been said in C.M.P.No.2591 of 1951**** and in view of the authorities examined therein, it follows that the Dikshitars who are the citizens of India have individual proprietary rights and the question is whether the notification takes away or abridges any of their proprietary rights and whether such notification is an unreasonable restriction on their right to acquire, hold and dispose of property.

Looking at from the point of view, whether the *Podu* Dikshidars are a denomination, and whether their right as a denomination is to any extent infringed within the meaning of Article 26 it seems to us that it is a clear case, in which it can safely be said that the *Podu* Dikshidars who are Smartha Brahmins, form and constitute a religious denomination or in any event, a section thereof. They are even a closed body, because no other Smartha Brahmin who is not a Dikshitar is entitled to participate in the administration or in the worship or in the services to God. It is their exclusive and sole privilege which has been recognised and established for over several centuries. The notification seriously interferes with their rights to manage the affairs in matters of religion to own and acquire moveable and immoveable property, and even to administer such property in accordance with law. A law which substantially deprives the religious denomination of its right to administer the property of the denomination leaving only a scintilla of the right in the denomination cannot be justified and upheld as an exercise of the power to regulate the administration of the institution. Nor is it a reasonable restriction within the meaning of the Article 19(5) of the Constitution. The procedure to notify a temple under the earlier and the new Acts is undoubtedly a drastic innovation, which encroaches upon the rights of the Dikshitars to manage the property belonging to the denomination. It completely supersedes the machinery of management by the Dikshitars established and regulated from time to time by rules framed by the denomination in 1849 and reprinted in 1900 which have been filed and exhibited in the litigation in which the scheme was questioned. They are also filed as exhibits in this case. The rules cover every detail of the administration of the temple by the *Podu* Dikshitars and it is really surprising how more than a century ago they could have thought of framing detailed rules regarding the administration by them with a view to make it more effective. The notification procedure, as has been pointed out by this Court often, should be resorted to only when there has been gross mismanagement in the administration and machinery provided for its management has broken down. This was the situation before the Constitution came into force. A deprivation of the right to manage by the Dikshitars and vesting it in an executive officer appointed by the Government and the new Act making the administration a Governmental Department is a serious inroad upon the rights of the Dikshitars. The Board under the earlier Act when satisfied by its own enquiry that there was mismanagement could exercise the power not-withstanding that the religious institution was governed by a scheme settled by Court or by the Board even. The power to finally decide the advisability of notifying an institution is vested exclusively in the Board. No doubt, there is a right of appeal to the Full Board provided under the earlier Act, and under the new Act even that illusory right of appeal has been abolished. There is no right of suit permitted to question the action of the Board either under the earlier Act or under the provisions of the new Act. The Commissioner's decision is communicated to the Government under the new Act and the Government publishes the notification declaring the institution to be subject to the provisions of Chapter VI. The right of appeal to the Board under the earlier Act and the vesting of the exclusive jurisdiction without any remedy in the Commissioner and the Government to take the serious step of replacing the administration by the Dikshitars by an executive officer, without a power of judicial review of any sort, is to say the least, unreasonable and unjust. It is a well established principle that a person cannot be a judge in his own cause. This is a principle recognised by the jurisprudence of all civilised nations. Even in England where the substitution of administrative justice has now become a common feature, this principle has been adopted and applied. Robson in his book on Justice and Administrative Law summarises the position at page 56 as follows:

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* (1952), M.L.J. 557

** (1952), M.L.J. 557

*** (1891) I.L.R.14 Mad.103

**** (1952) M.L.J. 557

"Underlying this condition that the judge must be free from certain obvious and crude forms of interest in the case which he is called upon to decide, is the fundamental principle that a man cannot be judge in his own cause. Nor can he be both accuser and judge. 'If there is on a tribunal any one who is an accuser, and who, although he is accuser, acts also as judge,' said Charles, J., 'his presence on that tribunal is fatal to its jurisdiction.' It is of no importance that had he been absent the decision would have been the same. His mere presence vitiates the decision. 'The object of the rule', the late Lord Atkin more recently remarked, 'is not merely that the scales be held even; it is also that they may not appear to be inclined.' This is one of the most deeply rooted ideas in all systems of justice. So essential is it to English legal notions that it has been suggested that not even an Act of Parliament would make a man judge in his own cause and that a Statute would be void if it attempted to do so. Whether that is or is not sound constitutional law is not likely to be put to the test. In modern times the tendency has been rather in the other direction; and there are several recent measures on the statute book in which Parliament has applied the common law rule to whole departments of State. For example, where a local authority proposed to acquire land compulsorily for housing purposes, and the taking of it was resisted by the owner, the Minister of Health was required by statute to appoint 'an impartial person, not in the employment of any Government department' to inquire whether the land was suitable and whether it could be acquired without undue detriment to the owners and adjoining land owners."

The learned author also gives other examples where this principle has been applied. If that is the position in England where there is no written constitution recognising fundamental rights and the power of Parliament to enact a law is supreme and is subject to no limitations, it cannot be said that where the legislative power should be exercised subject to limitations recognised and embodied in the Constitution, the limitations of the nature contained in Chapter VI of the new Act and Chapter VI-A of the earlier Act cannot but be held to infringe the very fundamental principle of jurisprudence that no man should be a judge in his own cause, and is therefore unreasonable and unjust. One has to only peruse the provisions of the notification dated 31st August 1951 to convince himself that the *Podu* Dikshitars' rights have been unjustly abridged and unreasonably restricted. The executive officer appointed under the notification is given the power and control over the properties and the servants of the temple and is vested with the right to conduct the festivals and other religious rites and rituals, of course according to custom and usage. He is authorised to establish *hundials* for the collection of the voluntary and other offerings in the temple. He is given the right of suspending, removing or dismissing the servants of the temple and is empowered to receive all the incomes of the Devasthanam and make all disbursements on its behalf, which must be brought into account. This provision shuts out to the Dikshitars the only source of their livelihood. No remuneration is provided even for the services which they render in the temple, the only saving clause being that the trustees shall be entitled to receive the customary personal honours which they have been receiving till now from the Devasthanam. The clause is vague and does not in any manner and to any extent clearly and definitely state or save the surplus income and the other individual income which they have been and ought to have been receiving as the only remuneration for the services rendered by them. It will reduce them, if the income is taken away by the executive officer, to starvation and the 250 families consisting of 1,500 members whom their religious usage renders unfit to pursue any other profession or avocation are doomed to starvation and eternal perdition. Under the guise of the power vested in the Legislature, a law which permits such deprivation cannot indeed be said to be either reasonable restriction on the power to acquire, hold and dispose of property under Article 19 (i) (f) or a valid exercise of a power intended solely for the regulation of the administration of the properties of the temple. An abrogation of a right by a law is not a regulation by it. It is annihilation and not regulation. The provision therefore, relating to the notification and the notification actually issued are opposed to the fundamental rights granted to the individual and guaranteed by the Constitution under Article 19 (i) (f) and to the denomination under Article 26 and therefore cannot be upheld.

The right to contribution under section 76 of the new Act has been held by us in C.M.P. No.2591 of 1951* as unconstitutional as it is opposed to Article 27.

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* (1952) M.L.J.557

The notification, in our opinion is also bad on the merits. The order of the Board in the first instance deciding to notify the temple and the order of the Full Board on appeal proceeded on grounds which cannot be justified. There is already a scheme framed by the Board and finalised by the Court. It came into force on 1st June 1939. The scheme, it is said, did not help in putting an end to the mismanagement by the Dikshitars and certain provisions of the scheme have not been given effect to, notwithstanding the directions of the Board. It is also stated among the reasons that a register of jewels was not maintained and was not made available for the inspection of the officers of the Board; that the temple was in a bad state of repair; that the Dikshitars did not take steps to enforce the Podu Kattalais; that no steps were taken to recover the possession of the Tiruvilakkumanyam lands, that chit system for archanas was not introduced; that the vacant sites of the temple were not leased out for the sheds; that the electrical lighting arrangements in the temple were insufficient and of a temporary nature; that the drains around the temple and inside the shrines were not kept in a sanitary condition; that the D.C.B. was not maintained, and so on, which are enumerated *seriatim* in the annexure to the Board's Order, dated 21st March, 1951. These objections were answered by the Dikshitars. The Full Board and the Board which considered the matter in the first instance agreed in concluding that there were acts of mismanagement established which necessitated a notification of the temple. The appellate order concedes that except the Tiruvilakkumanyam lands, there was no other property which was endowed for the performance of kattalai or services in the temple and the Kattalaidars, meaning the Podu Kattalaidars, were not shown to have created any endowments and that therefore they do not come under the definition of specific endowments. At the very early stage of the enquiry, the Dikshitars requested the Board to issue notice to the Kattalaidars as they were necessary parties to the enquiry as the question relating to Kattalaidars was also raised. This request was not granted for the reason that the Kattalaidars have not created any endowments and that there are therefore no specific endowments. There is no complaint at any stage that the Kattalaidars defaulted in providing the materials for the carrying on of the worship at the seven *kalams* and the *utsavams* of the temple. The temple not having owned any lands except the Tiruvilakkumanyam there is no income received by *Podu* Dikshitars from any property. In view of the finding of the Full Board the entire reasoning of the first order of the Board regarding Kattalais seems to us as not justified.

Nor is there necessity to keep elaborate accounts of the income as the kattalaidars do not pay any amount into the hands of the Dikshitars but they themselves provide the necessary material at the time of each worship or aradhana. This is a fundamental fact peculiar to this temple and if this is borne in mind, the foundation for most of the charges falls to the ground, e.g. How are the Dikshitars to get large amounts required for the repairs to the temple? They cannot be expected to starve themselves and carry out the repairs which require a large outlay. It is not as if the Dikshitars were not alive to the necessity of putting the temple in proper repair. The income from the Tiruvilakkumanyam was only Rs.800 and on this basis it was that the Board was levying contribution and therefore that may be taken as the correct income. That would be wholly insufficient to contribute anything for the repairs of the temple. By the efforts of Dikshitars, a Sabha known as Tirumathil Tiruppani Sabha was constituted for the collection of subscriptions and donations for the repairs of the temple. It is through their efforts that they were able to find a benefactor to renovate the Pandyanaicken temple in 1948. The first and second Prakarams of the temple were renovated by the benefactions of Nattukottai chettiars. It is to such benefactors that the Dikshitars and the temple must look for the major repairs and for renovation whereever necessary. There are no other means of getting large income to the temple and to encroach upon what the Dikshitars receive for the *archanas* and worship and which is utilised by them for their sustenance and to require them to contribute from out of it large sums for the repairs and renovations of the temple seems to us wholly unjust. The introduction of the system of *archana* chits and the *hundies* for collections has been a source of trouble between the Dikshitars and the Board ever since the scheme was framed. No doubt the scheme directed the establishment of the *hundials* and the introduction of the chit system. But the scheme was not clear as to between whom and in what proportion should these collections be divided. Time and again the Dikshitars pointed out this difficulty whenever the Board insisted upon the introduction of the *hundials* and the chit system. It must be remembered that this is not a temple like the Tirupati or Palani Temple where in fulfilment of vows taken by the worshippers, money or other offerings are made in the *hundials*. The scheme referred to voluntary and compulsory offerings for the *hundials*. If however any amount is paid into the hands of *Podu* Dikshitars alone it was brought into account in cases where it is earmarked as a gift to the God. But where the payment is only for the services rendered by the Dikshitars either for the Archana or Aradhana, they themselves were appropriating it as that was the only emolument which they are entitled to for the services.

On 28th March 1940, and again in 1946, the Dikshitars sent up memorials to the Board regarding the *hundials* and the introduction of the chit system; but the Board did not then and even up to this date decide to whom the collections should go. The apprehension of the Dikshitars that they will be deprived of their source of living was not unreasonable and unjust. The Board's orders themselves disclose that the income received by them in the temple is the sole source of their livelihood. In 1947 when an attempt was made to initiate notification proceedings on these very grounds, they were immediately dropped when representations were made as stated by the Dikshitars in the affidavit to the then Chief Minister, Sri O.P. Ramaswami Reddiar. Between 1940 and 1945 no directions were given by the Board in this behalf. They left this question in a nebulous state without deciding one way or the other and this is now made the chief ground for the issue of a notification. It was open to the Board to have moved the Court for a modification of the scheme or for themselves to have decided on the complaint made by the Dikshitars from time to time.

Another ground which was strongly relied upon relates to the Tiruvilakkumanyam. It was originally 200 acres, of which 100 acres were resumed by the Government and a *beriz* deduction was given, out of which a portion was being paid to the temple. The remaining extent is only 100 acres. This is borne out by the orders of the Board itself. The lands were in the possession of tenants from whom collections were being made by the Dikshitars. Though the title deeds to these lands which are distributed in several villages stand in the name of the deity, it is not known whether the grant consists of *melwaram* and *kudiwaram* or of *melwaram* alone. For over 75 years the tenants have been in undisturbed possession of the lands. They have been paying *melwaram* on the land to the temple. It is therefore not an unreasonable inference to draw that the grant consisted only of *melwaram* and that the tenants had the *kudiwaram* interest in the lands and the right to recover possession might have been barred. It has been represented to us in the course of the arguments that in fact the *Podu* Dikshitars consulted a lawyer who gave the opinion that it would be a sheer waste of money to institute suits for the recovery of possession of lands. This fact, it was stated, was represented to the Board and it is alleged in the affidavit filed before us and was not seriously denied. The criticism therefore by the full Board in their order on appeal that the *Podu* Dikshitars persisted in refusing to take action for recovery of possession and they did not even obtain legal opinion on the advisability of recovering possession of the property and the lands seems to us to be unwarranted. It is needless to state that in those circumstances it would have been wholly inadvisable to have launched the temple in an unnecessary and costly litigation when there is very little chance of success.

Regarding the jewels, there seems to be a misconception on the part of the Board when they state in the appellate order:

"Admittedly no jewel register is maintained and facilities were not given to the officers of the Board to verify and check the jewels with the list given in the section 38 register."

This charge, in our opinion, is not well-founded. A jewel register in triplicate was submitted to the Board by the Dikshitars in 1949. The jewels were got weighed and checked under the personal supervision of the biggest bullion merchants in Chidambaram. Jewels were in fact inspected by the officers of the Board. The Dikshitars in their affidavit stated that they gave full lists in 1940 soon after the scheme came into force and in 1946 a list of all the additional jewels received was also given together with a box. The jewels were again weighed and valued and a fuller list was prepared and given to the Board on 30th July 1949. The lists are in books which have been produced before us by the Board and we are fully satisfied that not only the lists were complete and exhaustive but that they were also checked by the Assistant Commissioner on 21st October, 1950. We are unable to notice any discrepancies. The *selvanam* box contains unusable and broken articles such as gold pieces, gems, etc. It is not usually opened, but about 35 or 40 years ago, out of the materials in the box a *makara kantikai* valued at Rs.75,000 was got made. A list was made of the other broken and unusable jewels and it was given to the Board on 26th September 1946. This is all borne out by the register which has been produced before us. The charge therefore seems to us to proceed without an appreciation of the true facts. The rules book maintained by the Dikshitars regulates the management of the temple affairs, secular and spiritual, and contains specific rules framed as early as 1849 regarding the jewels. Of these, Rule 12 says:

"Two complete lists should be prepared of all the jewels, vessels, clothes and other movable property in the temple, out of which one should be kept in the safe-room called Asthanthiram of the temple and the other should be in the custody of the turnholders who do *pooja*".

This rule also has got several clauses providing for safe custody; they also lay down varying grades of punishments for loss of jewels by theft or negligence. The 10th Rule in 1849 book is to the following effect:

"Special jewels worn by the deity on occasions of Brahmotsavam, i.e., in June and December of each year are provided for in this rule. A meeting of all the Dikshitars is to be convened and the keys have to be produced by key holders and in presence of the entire *Podu* Dikshitars two lists are to be prepared, one signed by the *Utsava Moraikar* should be kept in the safe room and the other should be kept by the *Karyakar*."

This rule also has got several clauses providing for safe custody and also how loss owing to theft or negligence is to be punished. When the temple was renovated between 1885 and 1892 the safe-room was considerably altered and strengthened and the 1900 rules make provision for safe custody of the jewels. Groups of ten Dikshitars have to be in charge of these special jewels for six months ending with the Tamil months of Ani and Margazhi (now, the number is twenty). They get their right by rotation according to the *morai* list; each is provided with a different lock and key and the Asthana room is locked with all the locks. Whenever occasion arises for taking out the jewels such as Brahmotsavam or to enable a distinguished visitor to see them, a special meeting of all the Poduvars is convened and the Asthana Moraikars are directed to assemble at a particular hour with their keys to open the safe room, take out the jewels and after the purpose is over, put them back again. All this has to be done in the presence of the Poduvars. There were also elaborate rules for handing over and taking over charge from one set of turn holders to the other after the months of Ani and Margazhi. The system devised by the Dikshitars is undoubtedly a very safe system making it almost impossible for the jewels to be lost and no one could have devised a better system than that. The elaborate discussion therefore by the Board in the first order and the conclusion of the appellate Board regarding the jewels seems to us unwarranted. There is therefore very little justification for the charge which has been taken as a serious ground for the issue of the notification.

The appellate order refers that indiscriminate payments were exacted from worshippers by the Dikshitars as remuneration for *archanas*. The only evidence is that Re.1-4-0 a month is charged for *archana* and this cannot be said to be indiscriminate or exorbitant. By introducing the chit system and *hundi* collections under the guise of regulating the worship it really commercialises worship in the temple. It is common knowledge that in most of the temples, it is almost impossible for a man to get *darsan* if he is not able to pay the required amount. The value of the worship and the spiritual significance are lost when it is treated as a saleable commodity which should be controlled and exploited for the purpose of earning income for a temple.

These are the reasons on which the appellate order was based. It is unnecessary to deal with the grounds elaborately as we are satisfied that the order on which the notification was issued is without any foundation and proceeded on a total misconception of the facts.

These are the facts appearing on the record and it is somewhat surprising that the Board should have taken the serious step as has been held by this Court, of notifying this temple, which procedure ought not to be lightly resorted to unless and until there is such serious mismanagement of a temple as would justify an ouster of the trustee in charge of a temple from his office. In such circumstances it is open to us to issue a writ to quash an order which proceeds on grounds which are so perverse as to amount to a non-exercise of the jurisdiction entrusted to it. The notification therefore must be quashed even on the merits.

In C.M.P. No.2591 of 1951* we have enumerated the sections of the impugned new Act which are *ultra vires* the State Legislature in so far as they are made applicable to Mutts and Matathipathies and to the religious denominations for which those Mutts exist. In the case of Sri Sabhanayakar Temple at Chidambaram with which we are concerned in this petition, it should be clear from what we have stated earlier in this judgment, that the position of Dikshitars, labelled trustees of this temple, is virtually analogous to that of a Matathipathi of a Mutt, except that the *Podu* Dikshitars of this temple, functioning as trustees, will not have the same dominion over the income of the properties of the temple which the Matathipathi enjoys in relation to the income from the Mutt and its properties. Therefore the sections which we held *ultra vires* in relation to Mutts and Matathipathis will also be *ultra vires* the State Legislature in relation to Sri Sabhanayagar Temple, Chidambaram, and the Podu Dikshitars who have the right to administer the affairs and the properties of the temple. As we have already pointed out, even more than the case of the Srivalli Brahmins, it can be asserted that the Dikshitars of Chidambaram form a religious denomination within the meaning of Article 26 of the Constitution.

The rule *nisi* must be made absolute.

The petitioner is entitled to his costs in the petition. Advocate's Fee Rs. 250.

We certify under Article 132 of the Constitution that it is a fit case for appeal to the Supreme Court.

K.S. Notification quashed.

Courtesy:- The Madras Law Journal Reports 1952. (13th December 1951).

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* 1952 1 M.L.J. 557

CHAPTER 24

Some Varying Perceptions

During 1980-81, when my father, the late S.R.Balasubrahmanyam was lying ill, he received, with the compliments of the author, a copy of the book, "Cidambaram and Nataraja —— Problems and Rationalization", by Dr.B.G.L.Swamy (published in 1979). I read out the book to my father and discussed the various issues raised by Dr.Swamy on the Cidambaram temple; both of us felt that many of Dr.Swamy's perceptions needed rejoinder; but, as my father was feeble in health, he could not undertake this work at once or later. Dr.Swamy, too, passed away a few years later.

It seems appropriate to note and offer brief comments on at least some of Dr.Swamy's points recorded in his book in order that the perspective is made clear to the extent we can, for future studies. We wish to make an important point before we take up specific issues for comment.

The history of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram has to be based necessarily not only on the available epigraphical evidence but also on the rich literary material and the traditional legends associated with the temple, rightly acclaimed as "the most celebrated of South Indian shrines". Some scholars are inclined to the view that the *ula's* and other court-poems are "heavily laced with generalised panegyric and conventional virtues of royal patronage", and they may not prove reliable as historical material. This comment cannot be (wholly) true of the Cidambaram temple because the literary accounts of Cidambaram form a massive and an integral part of the Saivite tradition spread over several centuries, right from the dawn of the Christian era (and going back even earlier), and are as much useful material for historical reasoning and conclusions as the epigraphs themselves. Few temples in South India have such a rich literary tradition as the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram. There are many aspects of the local history which are unknown to epigraphy, for the simple reason that epigraphy came into the picture much later ! If we debunk the literary material on Cidambaram as not suitable for historical evaluation, the entire edifice of Saivism in South India collapses —— a position we cannot obviously accept. We have therefore to depend on the rich and abundant literary material as well as epigraphical material on Tillai and draw consistent and sustainable conclusions.

We now take up some of the points made by Dr.Swamy. The page numbers given in brackets below relate to his book under reference.

1. He says (p.9) that the temple (at Cidambaram) is the "only Siva temple which lacks a consecrated *linga*, where an anthropomorphic icon (that of Nataraja) enjoys the full status of the chief deity for public worship." We would like to point out that the Mulasthana shrine, with its consecrated *linga*, is the most ancient shrine in the temple complex and is still under worship; as we have repeatedly stated in this book, Nataraja became the major attraction with the advent of the Nataraja cult; but the presence of a consecrated *linga* here cannot be gainsaid. Further the 'rahasya' is also referred to as the 'akasa-linga'.

2. Dr.Swamy interprets (pp.16-17) the name 'Cidambaram' as a Sanskrit-based derivation: *cit + ambaram*, with *Cidakasa* as equivalent. (This is in agreement with, for instance, what S.R.Balasubrahmanyam wrote as early as in 1943). Dr.Swamy also points out that the "first three

samayacarya's" used *'ambalam'* in Tamil as equivalent to *'ambaram'*, while the latter-day mystic saint-poet, Ramalingasvami, used the (original) term *'ambaram'* itself in Tamil. Dr.Swamy comments that "the change-over from *'ambaram'* to *'ambalam'* in Tamil imported the meanings: court/hall/temple etc; these are clearly indigenous super-impositions lacking a historical basis". He also dismisses as unlikely any connection with the Kerala usage of *'ambalam'* in the sense of 'temple'. (We state these views of his without comment, as of some interest).

3. The *sthala-vrksha* (or *vana*) concept is well-established. It does not appear correct to say (p.18) that it was not "in vogue before the 16th/17th/18th centuries." (Vide Chapter One and C.V.Narayana Ayyar's elucidation given there.)

4. The term *'Tillai Muvayiravar'* (discussed on pp.21-25), referred to in the Devaram hymns and in *'Periya Puranam'*, clearly applies to the Dikshitars of Cidambaram (and their present-day descendants). They are a separate clan, and all the earlier references meant only this clan. A Dikshitar is permitted to perform the temple rituals only after specified initiation (*diksha*) and after he is married.

5. Referring to the Cit Sabha/Kanaka Sabha, Dr. Swamy says, "The distance from the uppermost *Pancakshara* step to the image of Nataraja is so short that the worshipping priest standing on the step can reach the icon by stretching his arm"(p.31).

By no stretch of the imagination is this possible. For seventy-two years now, I have offered worship to Nataraja and Sivakamasundari from the wings of the *Pancakshara* steps; the officiating priest offers the major camphor *arati* from the first leg of the Cit Sabha where he steps into the Cit Sabha from the *pancakshara* steps.

The first bay of the Cit Sabha is separated from the second by a few pillars. The second bay has a width of at least ten feet where the Dikshitars move about for performing the *arcana's*. The *Pranava Pitha*, which accommodates the icons of Nataraja, Sivakamasundari, Ratnasabhapati and Candramaulisvara (*Sphatika linga*) is located beyond the second bay. The Rahasya is to the proper right of the Nataraja icon, in almost the same (east-west) alignment.

Dr.Swamy's suspicion of the presence of a "concealed chamber" in the Cit Sabha behind the Nataraja icon (pp.31-32) is not justified. According to my enquiries, there is only a *Pranava Prakara*, to which we have referred in an earlier chapter. (Such a *Pranava Prakara* has been provided recently in the Uttara Cidambaram temple at Satara (in Maharashtra), too, in accordance with the wishes of His Holiness Sri Mahasvamigal of Kanci Kamakoti Pitham — I understand from reliable sources.)

6. Dr.Swamy has hinted (p.33) that the different levels of the stone basements of the two *Sabhas* suggest a 'temporal gap between them'. This fact rather provides an excellent view of the Lord owing to the resulting elevation. The *Pancakshara* steps linking the two *Sabhas* have had a sanctity of their own from the dawn of the history of Cidambaram. (As for the entrances being only on the east and the west of the Kanaka Sabha (p.33), refer to Chapters Nine and Eleven.)

7. The present Kanaka Sabha cannot be deemed to be "an addition made during the first half of the 13th century" (p.34). We have already explained what should have happened to the *mukha-mantapa* built by Kulottunga III (pp.32,34).

8. Dr.Swamy writes that "There is no historical basis for the story" of the recovery of the Devaram hymns during the period of Rajaraja I (p.37). Our Chapter Fourteen answers the point; the literary evidence and history cannot be disregarded.

9. To say (pp.37-38) that there is no basis for the belief that *'Koyil'* — in the context of the Devaram Trio—meant only Cidambaram is to repudiate the sanctity of the Devaram hymns themselves, the testimony of the *Tirumurai's* and the Saivite tradition. Dr.Swamy's assumption that there is no 'consecrated' *linga* at Cidambaram and therefore the Nayanmar gave it the non-committal name *'Koyil'* (p.38) is obviously untenable. Significantly enough, most of the *Tirumurai's* open with the hymns of *Koyil*. The Mulasthana shrine cannot be written off. Dr.Swamy contradicts himself when he concedes the existence of a Mulasthana shrine with a *garbha-grha* facing east and "in line with the East Gopuram".

10. As for the identity of Perambalam and Edirambalam, the ground has been covered already. We do not accept Dr. Swamy's view that Edirambalam cannot be "identified with any of the existing buildings in the temple-complex" (pp.37-45; also see our Chapter Nine).

11. Dr.Swamy's point that, in Naralokavira's reference to a 'Mulasthana', he had the Nataraja shrine in view and not the Tirumulanatha shrine, is influenced by, and a follow-up of, Dr.Swamy's earlier point that Cidambaram is a case of "an exceptionable absence of a consecrated deity." (p.42).

12. The suggestions that the Mulasthana shrine did not come into existence earlier than the thirteenth century A.D.(p.41) and that the two *koshtas* (on its walls) of Dakshinamurti and Ganesa were an afterthought (p.43) cannot stand. The Inscriptions are clear.

13. The suggestion (p.44) that, since the Mulasthana shrine and the East Gopuram are associated with Kopperunjinga, the latter could have constructed both of them in the 13th century A.D. cannot stand (see our Chapters Five and Nine). Likewise, the argument that the consecrated shrine and other paraphernalia are evidently later superimpositions, and that they have not been completely absorbed into the Nataraja cult even today, cannot be accepted, for the Nataraja concept itself symbolises an *akasa linga*.

14. Dr.Swamy rejects the literary evidence that Govindaraja "took His position" of reclining on Adi Sesha as couch to obtain a close and constant view of the Ananda Tandava of Nataraja; he feels that the Govindaraja shrine (before the Aravidu dynasty days) would have been somewhere in the Tillai area, but not in its present location (p.49); but he is prepared to give credence to the *'Tirukkovaiyar'* version that Govindaraja was keen to obtain an uninterrupted view of the Dancing Lord. In view of a passage in the 'Kuncitanghristavam', Dr.Swamy argues, the image of Govindaraja would have been in the reverse position from the present one at the time, and the shrine itself was then facing west. If the Vishnu shrine did not exist earlier at its present site as Dr.Swamy has suggested, why blame Kulottunga II as having disturbed the Govindaraja and other idols and thrown them into the sea? (pp.46-54)

15. Krishna Deva Raya made no reference to the Govindaraja shrine when he built the upper portions of the North Gopuram, merely because Govindaraja worship at Cidambaram was not restored till the period of Acyuta Deva Raya (p.50).

16. Dr.Swamy mentions then that (in Acyuta Deva Raya's time) "it was for the first time that the Govindaraja shrine came into existence within the Nataraja temple-complex in the same topographical relationship as it bears to-day." (p.51). It was only a reconsecration of the Govindaraja shrine at the old location that took place then. The subsequent complications, additions and alterations have been explained in Chapters Nine and Ten. The later Vijayanagara kings extended ample support to the Govindaraja shrine and its satellite shrines.

17. The suggestion that the Cit Sabha itself was the original *Tiruccitrakutam* (p.54) is untenable, given the historical and literary evidence.

18. It is incorrect to say (p.55) that "All authors agree that the Cit Sabha is the oldest part of the temple-complex". S.R.Balasubrahmanyam, who pioneered the scientific research on the Cidambaram temple from A.D. 1920, concluded and maintained throughout his long life that the Mulasthana is the oldest shrine in the temple-complex. We adhere to this interpretation. Dr. Swamy's stand on this point is obviously inconsistent.

19. It is wrong to suggest that the Vishnu shrine existed at the present location of the Sivakamasundari shrine and that Kulottunga II dismantled the Vishnu shrine to allow his plans of expansion for the Amman shrine(p. 57).

20. The West Gopuram is the oldest of the four Gopurams, work on which was commenced by Vikrama Cola and completed by his son, Kulottunga II. So the question of Rajaraja II completing the West Gopuram does not arise. Dr. Harle merely concedes the view of earlier researchers, particularly of S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, that the West Gopuram is the oldest of the four at Cidambaram (p.57).

21. Dr.Swamy observes (p.59): "The Cit Sabha has retained the south-facing frontage from the very beginning. The position of Nandi, *bali-pitha* and the southern gopura are in direct line with the Cit Sabha; along this line lies also the Nrtta Sabha. The placement of this last structure in a position exactly opposite the Cit Sabha and facing it, as a sort of dedication to the Lord of Dance, implies that there should have been no structures in the frontage of either of these Sabhas. This situation leads to the inference that the two successive *prakara* walls surrounding the Cit Sabha and Kanaka Sabha covered the western and northern sides and perhaps a part of the eastern side, but not the southern side. There is nothing either in epigraphy or in literature to oppose this inference." We have covered this point already in Chapters Four and Nine.

22. In his attempt at 'rationalisation', Dr.Swamy suggests that before the Vaishnavite structures were erected at the south-west corner of the first and second *prakara's*, there should have been a passage on the western side of the Nrtta Sabha. He is encouraged in this view by the existence of an improvised entrance to the east of the Nrtta Sabha for the transport of building materials. Dr.Swamy considers that these two passages should have served as direct approaches to the Cit Sabha (p.65). The visitor can reach the Cit Sabha from the south from either the left or the right side of the Nrtta Sabha. (See para 21 above.)

'Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai', the second wall of enclosure, was an integral unit and was built after the Nrtta Sabha had been constructed during the period of Kulottunga I. Since Kopperunjinga (A.D.1243-1278) built the South Gopuram, there is the force of logic of the chronology of events in the present set-up. 'Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai' is flush with the Nrtta Sabha on the southern side. Obviously, the Colas would not have exposed the temple-complex on the southern side to problems of insecurity. We have commented on this aspect in Chapters Four, Nine and Ten.

23. Dr.Swamy's observations (p.62) in regard to the developments of the Govindaraja and connected shrines after the period of Acyuta Raya are generally in conformity with known historical facts. The idea that Krishnappa Nayaka would have thought of expanding the Govindaraja shrine to the point of cutting off the frontage of the Nataraja shrine and masking the Nrtta Sabha from Nataraja's view is untenable; such an act would have met with stiff opposition. Even the expansion of the Tayar shrine at the south-west corner of the second *prakara* should have taken place round about this period. The vicissitudes of this period have been explained in Chapters Nine and Ten.

24. Dr.Swamy writes: "I suspect that prior to the erection of the Govindaraja shrine (16th century A.D. according to him), there should have been an entrance into the Cit Sabha enclosure through the western wall of the innermost (first) *prakara*, similar to the one on the eastern side." (p.65).

Our response is simple. The Govindaraja shrine had existed at the same place at least from the 8th century A.D. There can be no question of an entrance to the Cit Sabha from the western wall of the first *prakara*. The structure is very compact in this area.

25. Dr.Swamy is of the view (p.70, footnote) "that the date of the Nayanmar, Sambandhar and Appar, as belonging to the 7th century A.D. has to be abandoned". He has fixed their age as the 10th century A.D. Apart from our own earlier remarks, the publication *'Tevaram'*, Vol.I : '*Nana Campantar*' (1984) by the French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry has dealt exhaustively with this question. Further comments are needless.

26. Dr.Swamy refers to the Mckenzie Manuscripts, which state that from A.D. 1608 to 1678 (a period of 70 years), during the rule of the Nabob of Cuddappah, "all things at this place (the Nataraja temple) were involved in trouble....; and there was no public exercise, at this place, of the Saiva religion". Dr. Swamy rightly concludes that "there appear to be two periods of interlude in the history of the Nataraja temple —— one in the 17th and the other in the 18th century A.D.", but feels: "whether there were two periods of intermission, one in the 17th and the other in the 18th century A.D., is a matter that should be left open for future investigations."(pp.79,80)

We have dealt with this question in depth in Chapter Eight and confirmed with necessary historical data that there were two such unfortunate periods of intermission, one in the 17th and the other in the 18th century A.D.

27. Dr.Swamy's main thesis is that an empty space behind the Nataraja *sthana* has been walled off at some point of time, that it must have served as the *samadhi-sthana* (the trance/resting place) for those who practised *yoga*; and that when, after the above two intermissions, extensive repairs and renovations to the temple were undertaken (Dr.Swamy guesses), the entrance to this basement chamber in the Cit Sabha should have been sealed off(!) and the 'lost' aspect of the yogic cult was replaced by a symbol called *'Cidambara Rahasya'* on a portion of this wall. He

adds that the installed *'Rahasya'* was a "confused amalgam of diverse secret contexts (e.g., *daharakasa*)". He suggests that "an extended but rather involving (*sic*) concept of an *akasa linga* was evolved later to obscure the real significance of the basement chamber" and that "*daharopasana* and other rituals to the *rahasya* have nothing to do with the *'Yogic sadhana'* with which the name was associated to begin with," and that 'Tilla' was essentially *'yoga-sthana'* (p.81).

We have indications that not all, but only some, of the Dikshitars moved out of Cidambaram when the icons of Nataraja and Sivakamasundari had to be shifted from Cidambaram in the 17th and 18th centuries on considerations of security. The *akasa* and *rahasya* traditions of Cidambaram are as old as Tillai. (See our foot-note in Chapter Twenty-three.)

A 'Pranava Prakara' is known to exist in the Cit Sabha. This theory, of a dark chamber behind the *Pranava pitha*, is not tenable, nor are the arguments of Dr.Swamy in this regard acceptable.

28. Dr.Swamy writes that, during the Cola period, a Puranic type of the Pasupata cult of Saivism was dominating the Tamil country, and the Golaki school of Saivism (a dualistic school, which was opposed to the non-dualistic Kashmir system of Pratyabhijna Darsana —— the secret of self 're-cognition') had begun to strike root in the Tamil country from the 11th century A.D., and the Golaki school had accepted Nataraja —— the icon of Ananda Tandava —— as their deity. Many *matha's* and *guhai's* belonging to diverse sects of Saivism came up at Cidambaram, offering food and shelter to Saivite devotees (pp.82-83). Dr.Swamy also notes the Vedic atmosphere that simultaneously pervaded Cidambaram (p.84) and that various Saivite sects are seen (from the 10th century texts) to have flourished in the Tamil country.

As statements of facts, these may be true. But we are unable to accept Dr.Swamy's view (p.89) that "in this climate, a small group of followers of the Pratyabhijna school of Saivism settled down at Cidambaram." He proceeds to observe: "The principal object of meditation of the *Pratyabhijna* followers was the *Ananda Tandava* icon expressing the *Panca-krtya* and *Pancakshara* aspect, while the corresponding aspect of the worship in the local environment was the aniconic *Siva linga*.... The Pratyabhijna thoughts were at a speculative level, while the Pasupata tenets dominated the ritualistic plane." Dr.Swamy also claims that the Pratyabhijna followers attracted the attention of the Cola rulers, who were themselves Saivites of a different persuasion. "The icon of *Ananda Tandava* that was installed in the monastery (*tilla*) was an object of their private meditation but never an image meant to be worshipped in public." (p.90)

Dr.Swamy adds (p.90): "The visible form given to the *Pancakrtya motif* was the strongest point of the Pratyabhijna school." The placement of the *Ananda Tandava* icon "superimposed the status of a temple over a monastic institution." (p.91). "By the 13th century, the Pratyabijnists had already lost much of their exclusiveness owing to the impact of the indigenous Saiva cult."(p.92). Dr.Swamy assumes that the Dikshitars were of the Pratyabhijna school and (their ancestors) had come to Cidambaram from Kashmir.

Dr.Swamy also raises the question whether the blue-print for the *Ananda Tandava* form was prepared in Kashmir itself —— the birth place of this school of Saivism in the 9th century A.D.—— by the *Pratyabhijna* school of philosophy when they evolved the *Panca-krtya* cult. He takes the view that the installation of the *Ananda Tandava* form at Cidambaram cannot be earlier than the time of the origin of this school in Kashmir in the middle of the 9th century A.D; the southward immigration of the *Pratyabhijna* doctrine signifies the movement of the *Panca-krtya* motif. Dr.Swamy comes to the conclusion that the Nataraja cult could not be prior to the days of Parantaka I, and that the Nataraja form of Siva continued to be confined to Cidambaram till the period of Rajaraja I, and its incorporation in other temples in the Cola country followed from the early 11th century A.D. onwards (p.102).

"The architectural features of the '*tilla*' (Tillai in Tamil)," says Dr.Swamy, "were such that it seemed as a '*naishthika-sthana*' for the followers of the *Pratyabhijna darsana*; it was never meant to be a temple, that is, a *mulasthana* or *garbhagrha* in the technical sense." With "a raised stone basement with a superstructure of perishable materials", it now "houses the *Ananda Tandava* icon." (p.113).

K.V.Soundararajan, too, writing in his book, "The Art of South India —— Tamil Nadu and Kerala", published earlier, in 1978, struck a note very similar to that of Dr.Swamy.

"... to evolve *Panca-krtya* and its mystic symbol, the *Ananda Tandava*, one of the several forms of dance of Siva, producing the most satisfying and harmonious synthesis of the essence of Hindu religious heritage on the Saiva side. The appropriate socio-political context for this occurred in the impact that the Pratyabhijna school of Kashmir Saivism had on the Tamil ethos. For the former, the *Ananda Tandava* has the very essence of the *Panca-krtya* cycle of the universe. Such a school of thought, whose votaries came to live in the area close to Cidambaram, gave the fillip to the concept integrating itself into the Tamil ritual matrix. While, however, the Pratyabhijna's were iconoclasts and believed only in meditation, the Tamil religious ethos, which revelled in *utsavabhavas* and other bronze images, saw, in the *Panca-krtya* concept of *Ananda Tandava*, a perfect formal balance if translated into an image. The main creation, therefore, took place during the time of Parantaka, before whose time we do not have any authentic *Ananda Tandava* Nataraja figure."

Let us now take up these points made by Dr.Swamy and K.V.Soundara Rajan for a quick examination. There are quite a few fallacies in their presentation of the matter. The basic structure of Kashmir Saivism was already known by the 2nd century A.D., and Tirumular, who himself hailed from Kashmir and came to the Tamil country and spread its tenets through his *'Tirumandiram'*, belonged to the sixth century A.D. This basic work on Saivism had already outlined the *Panca krtya* concept and portrayed the Ananda Tandava Nataraja concept in Tirumular's mystic poetry. As we have already made clear in earlier chapters, Tirumular, Appar and Sambandhar had a concrete appreciation of the *Ananda Tandava* form of the Nataraja cult, by the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. The Devaram hymns proclaim it. So, we do not have to 'wait' till the middle of the 9th century A.D. to trace whether the Pratyabhijna school from Kashmir influenced Tillai in respect of the Nataraja cult. Abhinavagupta and Kshemaraja, who spread the concepts of Pratyabhijna, belonged to the tenth century A.D.

Obviously, we cannot accept the premise that the Nataraja cult, the evolution of the *Ananda Tandava* form in the Tamil country and the concept of *Panca krtya* took concrete shape only by the middle of the 9th century A.D., after a group of votaries of the Pratyabhijna school of Kashmir Saivism moved from Kashmir to Cidambaram. If this were to be correct, why did they pick out Cidambaram for their settlement, and not spread themselves out over the entire Tamil country? We can see no answer to this question. The original Dikshitar's belonged to the Antarvedi (the Ganga-Yamuna *doab*) and not to Kashmir. Now, they are a purely localised community at Cidambaram.

The Pratyabhijna literature of the 10th century A.D. spells out the various aspects of *Panca-krtya*, amplifying what Tirumular himself had said nearly four centuries earlier and which had by then established itself firmly in Tamil Nadu in the shape of the *Ananda Tandava* form of Nataraja which is essentially an indigenous name and not borrowed from Kashmir.

We have already made it clear that the credit for the evolution of the *Ananda Tandava* form of the Nataraja cult should go to Cidambaram, and so it is its original home. The theory that the *Ananda Tandava* form in stone was created only in the period of Parantaka I (three or four centuries after the inauguration and practice of the cult at Cidambaram) cannot be sustained, as explained in Chapter Twenty. It is wrong of Dr. Swamy to suggest that because of Rajaraja I's affiliation to a certain Saivite sect, "he had shown a nonchalant attitude towards the increasing popularity of Nataraja". It is an 'unkind cut'. Epigraphy and the Cidambaram literature, too, make the position clear.

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Note on *Pratyabhijna* and *Panca-krtya*:

(a) *Prati + abhi + jna = Pratyabhijna*

'*Prati*' means 'contrary': though known, now appearing as forgotten, through delusion.

'*abhi*' means 'facing': i.e., close at hand.

'*jna*' means illumination or knowledge.

So, '*Pratyabhijna*' means 're-cognition of the (real) Self'.

(b) *Panca-krtya* (the five acts of Siva):

1) *Srshti* - Letting go; casting out of oneself.

2) *Sthiti* - maintenance (of the world process).

3) *Samhara* - withdrawal or re-absorption by Siva.

('Destruction', according to this school, is only a metaphorical and secondary sense of '*samhara*', not its primary sense.)

4) *Vilaya* or *pidhana* (*tirodhana*): Concealment of the real nature of the Self.

5) *Anugraha* : Grace.

These five *krtyas* imply that Siva lets the universe go out of Himself, imparts existence to it, and withdraws it unto Himself, only to let it appear again. The cycle is called *kalpa*. There is no 'final' end to the world process. The cosmic process is repeated from eternity to eternity.

Courtesy: '*Pratyabhijnahrdyam*' by Jaideva Singh (1987).

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SECTION III

The Cultural Scene

CHAPTER 25

Festivals of the Nataraja Temple

Cidambaram is invariably described as '*Bhuloka Kailasam*' (Kailasa on earth). It is a city of many festivals celebrated round the year.

Mahabhishekam:

Mahabhishekam (the great holy bathing) of the deities, Nataraja and Sivakamasundari, is conducted six times in a year, on certain specified dates.

The '*Kamikagama*' lays down the schedule:

कामिकागमम् – नृत्तमूर्त्यभिषेकं च शृणुष्वैकाग्रमानसा। प्रधानन्तिथि ऋक्षं च द्विधा च परिकीर्तितम्। आर्द्रा चापि धनुर्मासे माघे चापि चतुर्दशी। चैत्रे च श्रावणे चैव मिथुने चोत्तरे तथा। सिंहे चतुर्दशी चैव कन्याचैव चतुर्दशी। एवमेव प्रकारेण ह्यभिषेकं षडैव तु। शुक्लपक्षे विशेषेण उदयव्याप्तिकं परम्। उत्सवान्ते च तीर्थे च नृत्तमूर्त्यभिषेचने। संक्रमेणापिदोषं च न कर्तव्यं कदाचन।

Month	Festival day	Venue
Dhanus (*Margali*)	Ardra (star)	1000-Pillared *mantapa*
Masi	*Sukla paksha caturdasi*	Kanaka Sabha
Cittirai	*Tiruvonam* (star)	Kanaka Sabha
Ani	*Uttaram* (star)	1000-Pillared *mantapa*
Avani	*Sukla paksha Caturdasi*	Kanaka Sabha
Purattasi	"	Kanaka Sabha

The *Venba* which lays down the schedule will be of interest:

சித்திரையில் ஓணமுதல் சீராளி உத்தரமாம்
சத்ததனு ஆதிரையும் சார்வாகும் – பத்தி
மாசியரி கன்னிமருவு சதுர்த்தசி மன்றும்
ஈசர் அபிடேக தினமாம்.

Of these six, two are part of the two *Brahmotsavam's* (great festivals), *Ani Tirumanjanam* and *Ardra Darsanam*, in the Tamil months of *Ani* and *Margali*, and these *Mahabhishekam's* are performed in the Raja Sabha (1000-Pillared *mantapa*) before sun-rise. The remaining four are performed on this schedule, in the Kanaka Sabha.*

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* For details of the various temple rituals during the major festivals of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram, refer to the two volumes of "Sri Cidambara Kshetra Sarvasvam" (1977 and 1982) by Sri Soma Sethu Dikshitar of Cidambaram. These two volumes are based upon "Cit Sabhesotsava Sutram" by Bhagavan Patanjali.

Ani Tirumanjanam and Ardra Darsanam

These two form part of the most important and colourful festivals of the year namely, the two *Brahmotsavam's* of the Nataraja temple. *Ani Tirumanjanam* is scheduled on the *Uttara* star day in the Tamil month *Ani*, and *Ardra Darsanam* on the *Tiruvadirai* (*Ardra* star) day in the Tamil month *Margali*.

Ani Tirumanjanam

Reckoning ten days ahead of this day, the festival opens with the *dhvajarohana* (the hoisting of the holy flag) on the flag-staff in front of the Nataraja shrine in the second *prakara*. Certain preliminary rituals like Vighnesvara *puja*, *Anujnai*, *Vastu santi* and *Rakshabandhana* are performed on the two days preceding the *dhvajarohana* day, on which day the eleven-day festival formally begins. In the *dhvajarohana puja*, *avahanam* is conducted to all the *Devatas*, the deities of the 'eight directions', Brahma and *Akasa* who are thereby invoked; the ten *Balipithas* are consecrated, and the *sandhi* rituals are performed, seeking the Lord's grace for a successful celebration of the festival.

From the evening of the first day of the festival to the morning of the eighth day, the *utsavamurti's* (processional deities), which are the *Panca-murti's* (the five deities): Somaskanda, Sivananda Nayaki (Sivakamasundari), Subrahmanya, Vinayaka and Candesvara, are taken out in procession (twice daily) over the four car streets of Cidambaram, in gold and silver-plated *mancam's* (compact canopies supported by four tastefully fabricated pillars, which are sized to accommodate the decorated icons) and, in the night processions, various 'vehicles', appropriate to the deities, with gold or silver casements, are used to carry the deities. This pattern is rigidly followed. They are: *Candra-prabha*, the orb of the Moon, in silver casing (on the second day), *Surya prabha*, the orb of the Sun, in gold casing (on the third day), *Bhuta vahana*, in silver casing (on the fourth day), *Rshabha* (the sacred bull) *vahana* in silver casing (on the fifth day), the elephant *vahana* in silver casing (on the sixth day) and the *Kailasa vahana* in golden casing (on the seventh day). The departure of the processional deities from the *Alankara Mantapa* in the second *prakara*, the passage through the *yaga-sala*, where *puja's* and *homa's* are performed on all the festival days, and the ascent over the twenty-one steps, and the emergence through the *Titti vasal* and East Sannidhi street, is marked by colourful festivities and rapturous *nagasvaram* music. On the evening of the eighth day, Bhikshatanar, charmingly decorated, is taken out in what is termed a 'golden *ratham*' (car), amidst thunderous calls, from the devotees around, of "*Bhikshatanarukku piccai, piccai*" ("Alms to the Begging Lord, please".)

The *Rathotsava* (the car-festival) on the ninth day, and Ani Tirumanjanam and the grand *darsan* of Nataraja and Sivakamasundari as they emerge from the 1000-Pillared *mantapa* on the tenth day, of the festival constitute the highlight of the eleven-day festival. On the preceding afternoon, the icons of Nataraja and Sivakamasundari are prepared for the car-festival and brilliantly decorated, making selective use of the precious jewellery collection of the temple, and the icons are covered with a laced shawl except for the exposure of the face for public view, and the *kala-puja's* performed. In the early hours of the car-festival day, the ritual of *yatra dana* (prayerful offering at the commencement of the journey) signals the departure of Nataraja and Sivakamasundari from the Cit Sabha/Kanaka Sabha. The forward and backward movements of Nataraja and

Sivakamasundari, alternately in quick succession, as they pass through the first and second *prakaras* and on to the East Sannidhi Street to the *Ter-adi* (the flight of steps over which the deities are shifted onto the decorated cars) stir up intense emotional fervour among the thousands of devotees who throng the entire temple premises and assemble in large numbers all along the passage ways. The music thrills, and the incense refreshes and leaves us in a state of "godly abandon". A display of unalloyed devotion to the Cosmic Dancer and His Consort is fully brought out by this fascinating spectacle. The emotionally charged crowds move on with but one single thought — of Nataraja and His Consort.

As the cars move on along the four car streets, thousands of devotees vie with one another to pick up the thick ropes and pull the cars. Cocoanuts are broken and lighted camphor is waved by thousands of house-holders on the route, the fronts of their homes profusely decorated with *rangoli*. Hundreds of garlands, of flower- and fruit- baskets and varieties of silken wear are sent up to the *Dikshitar's* "accompanying" the deities on the cars on the move, for repeated decoration of the Lord and His Consort. It is a gorgeous spectacle every moment of the day's march.

A close glimpse of Nataraja and Sivakamasundari is possible only on two days of each of the two *Brahmotsavams* — which means, on four days in a year. The decorations on the rear of the icons of Nataraja and Sivakamasundari, bring out the rare dignity and charm of the icons and the lovely jewellery. Apparently, the concept of the car-festival itself in South Indian temples was conceived at the dawn of our civilization to provide an opportunity to the "untouchables" of earlier periods to obtain a close view of the Lord and His Consort as they were denied the facility of worship within the temple or shrine itself — a blot on our practices, which has since been removed. Gopalakrishna Bharati has a significant *caranam* in his well-known composition beginning with: *"Vali maraittu irukkude"*: *"teradiyil ninru darisittalum podum, kovil vara mattene"* ("I shall be content with Your worship at the car base, I do not aspire to enter the temple.") All the same, irrespective of such considerations, the car-festival gives thousands of devotees a much-prized chance to feel the thrill of a close view of their Lord and His Consort. It is a heart-warming experience.

By about 11 A.M., the five cars move up to the junction of the West and North Car Streets, where they are parked till about 4 P.M. for public *darsan*. There is a colony of fishermen close by, and, by a long-established tradition, the fishermen community justifiably regard Sivakamasundari as a daughter of their fraternity — as Minakshi is in Madurai in the Pandya territory. ('Sokkan' is Minakshi's Consort in Madurai. The following verse from the canto *"Koyil"* in Tirumaligai Devar's *"Tiruvisaippa"* in the Ninth *Tirumurai* (of the Saivite canon) uses the word '*Sokkan*' to describe Nataraja. '*Sokkan*' also means 'the (bewitchingly) beautiful'):*

அக்கனி புலித்தோலாடை மேல் ஆட
    ஆடப்பொன்னம்பலத்தாடும் சொக்கனே !

---

* The use of 'Sokkan' in this context has an even wider significance. 'Sokkan' is a term used to describe Siva performing the one hundred and eight Nrtta Karanas mentioned in Bharata's 'Natya Sastra'. Nataraja is therefore to be regarded as 'Sokkan' accompanied by dancing *Bhuta-ganas*.

Just as Minakshi in Madurai is looked upon as a fisherman's daughter, so is Sivakamasundari in Cidambaram. To the fishermen and fisherwomen of Cidambaram, Nataraja is the 'son-in-law' of their community, to whom, as well as to their daughter Sivakami, all honours are done on the happy occasion of the Rathotsava, when They are right at their door to bless them.

The fishermen and their women-folk organise a colourful procession from their colony, to the accompaniment of *Nagasvaram* music; they carry garlands and flowers, fruits in abundance, cocoanuts and silken garments for Sivakamasundari and Nataraja. They are lifted up to the *pitha* of the (main) car, and the deities are bedecked with the flowers, garlands and the new silken clothes brought by them. Camphor is lit to propitiate the divine couple, and, after distribution of '*prasadam*' to the assembled fraternity of fishermen, the signal is given for the onward movement of the cars along the North and East Car Streets. Late in the evening, the cars reach the *Ter-adi* (the car base which is the starting point) near the East Sannidhi Street.

A moving story that has been heard from the veterans of an earlier generation proves how deeply the Dikshitar's are committed to Nataraja and would even risk their lives to save their chosen God from trouble! Once, in the first decade of this century (the precise year cannot be readily recalled), there were heavy rains during the Margali festival; the road near the junction of the West and North Car Streets had become marshy and soft; the *ratha* ran aground. Efforts to pull it out of the morass failed. The Nataraja icon, usually fastened to a swing, had tilted heavily to one side. Charged by an intense desire to protect the deity from damage, the Dikshitar who was seated on the car near the icon pressed and clung with his chest and arms tenaciously close to the Lord to prevent any untoward happening in that state of suspension on the swing. The aureola had apparently hurt the *Dikshitar's* chest and he was bleeding profusely. Immediately he was rescued out of the car and rushed to a hospital for urgent medical attention. It was possible only the next morning to pull out the wheels of the *ratha* from the morass, and soon the car reached the *'Ter-adi'* (the base) and the Lord and His Consort were carried away to the 1000-Pillared *mantapa* for the Ardra Darsanam festival. Round about 10 A.M., the good news that the cars had reached their destination safely was conveyed to the Dikshitar in the hospital, in a gesture of thanks-giving to him and to allay his fears about the safety of the *ratha* and the deity. His reaction was characteristic of his unsurpassed devotion: "I was only waiting for the good news." Within a few seconds of saying so, the Dikshitar passed away. He managed to keep himself alive only long enough to get the assurance that the Lord was safe!

Along with Nataraja and Sivakamasundari, Vinayaka, Subrahmanya and Candesvara are also taken out in individual cars around the four car streets on the *rathotsava* day.

Late in the evening, the *'kattalai'* offerings are carried to the cars, to the accompaniment of *Nagasvaram* music and the *ubhayadar's*. *Naivedyam* (offerings) and camphor-worship over, Nataraja and Sivakamasundari are moved out of the cars in a colourful procession to the front portion of the 1000-Pillared *mantapa* for the *eka-kala laksharcana* and *naivedyam*, followed by *'mantrakshatai'* and *diparadhana*. The *vilva-puja* is a delight for the eye and the soul.

Ani Tirumanjanam is celebrated on the tenth day of the Nataraja festival (*'Uttiram'*='Uttara' star). As soon as the *laksharcana* is over, Nataraja and Sivakamasundari are divested of the sumptuous ornaments and the large collection of silks, garlands and flowers; and preparations are made overnight for their holy and ceremonial bathing *(mahabhishekam)* from about 3 A.M. the next morning, which is completed usually before sunrise. Potfuls of milk, tender-cocoanut water, honey and sandalwood paste, among many other items offered for it, make the *mahabhishekam* an ideal occasion for meditation on the Supreme Being; the beauty of the contours of the two icons is brought out before the devotee's eye, in striking contrast to the colourful and ornate view of the decorated deities on the *Rathotsava* day. The *abhishekam* is rounded off with a profuse application of *vibhuti* (the sacred ash so dear to Siva). Lighted camphor is then waved before the Dancing Lord and His Consort, after which the curtain is rung down. The deities are then moved out of public view to the innermost *mantapa* in the 1000-Pillared Hall for *'Tiru abharana alankaram'* (the decoration of the Lord and His Consort with golden ornaments of rare charm, studded with gems, diamonds and emeralds, including a diamond-studded crown, many of which are used only on those great festival occasions); the aureola lends itself remarkably to decoration with any number of silken scarves laced with gold, rich garlands of different hues and flowers. Thousands of devotees throng the 1000-Pillared Hall for the Ananda Nataraja *darsan* as the Lord and His Consort emerge in a music-enriched procession from the 1000-Pillared Hall towards their permanent home, the *Jnana-akasa Sri Cit Sabha*, the *sanctum sanctorum*. But before They leave the 1000-Pillared Hall, the *panca-murti's* are taken in perambulation along the four car streets, and only on their return to base do Nataraja and Sivakamasundari commence their return journey to the Cit Sabha from the 1000-pillared Hall. The *Rahasya-puja* is also performed at the Cit Sabha round about 10 A.M.

As soon as the Lord and His Consort reach the Cit Sabha (*Cit Sabha pravesa*), *diparadhana* is offered, and, from that evening till the next day, the same ornate decoration of the Lord and His Consort, now housed in the Cit Sabha, is still to be seen, for the sake of devotees who could not obtain a closer look at the Ani Tirumanjanam procession from the 1000-Pillared Hall.

On the night of the Ani Tirumanjanam day, the *dhvaja-avarohanam* (the ceremonial lowering of the festival flag from the flag-staff opposite the Nataraja shrine) takes place. The two *ghatas* (pots) of holy water, consecrated at the *yaga sala* from the commencement of the festival, are used for *prokshana* (sprinkling of the sanctified water on Nataraja and Sivakamasundari) and for the *abhisheka* of the *Sphatika-linga*, Candramaulisvara.

On the night of the eleventh day, the festival is rounded off with a *'Muttu-p-pallakku'* for the *Panca-murti's*; tastefully decorated palanquins carry the *utsava-murti's* around the temple along the four car streets.

Ardra Darsanam:

Of the two *Brahmotsavam's* of the Nataraja temple, *Ardra Darsanam* is particularly important for the Cit Sabha. Ten days ahead of the day of the Tiruvadirai star in the Tamil month of Margali, the festival flag is hoisted (*dhvajarohanam*). The pattern of the ten-day *Ardra Darsanam* festival is the same as that of the Ani Tirumanjanam festival —— with this difference, that, in the Ardra festival, Saint Manikkavacakar is accorded a special status in the rituals of worship during the festival period. In the *Saya-raksha diparadhana* (around 6 P.M.) of Nataraja, a decorated icon of Saint Manikkavacakar is brought in procession and stationed before the Lord, behind the recumbent Nandi, in the Kanaka Sabha; all the twenty-odd verses from Manikkavacakar's *'Tiruvembavai'* are sung by the *Oduvar's*, and *diparadhana* offered to Lord Nataraja. Likewise, Manikkavacakar is taken out in procession in the morning on the ten days of the *Ardra* festival; and when the *Ardra Darsanam* is over, *diparadhana* is offered to Manikkavacakar also. The protocol includes a *Vidayatti* (leave-taking) festival for Manikkavacakar also, after it is performed for Nataraja.

According to historical and traditional evidence, it is clear that these two *Brahmotsavam's* of the Nataraja temple (*Ani Tirumanjanam* and *Ardra Darsanam*) are ancient. Some scholars have invoked Kopperunjinga's name to establish that these two festivals have been celebrated even before Kopperunjinga's period. No.223, Vol.IV of *Epigraphia Indica* (A.R. No.118 of 1888) makes pointed references to *'Margali-t-Tiruvadirai-t-tirunal'* and *'Tiru-Ani-t-tirunal'*. It proves that these two important festivals of the Nataraja temple were under observance even earlier, at least as early as during the period of Rajendra Cola I.

Masi festival

The inscription of Naralokavira to which we have referred in Chapter Four mentions that this Chief had built a road leading to, and a *mantapa* on, the sea-shore ("மாசிக் கடலாடி வீற்றிருக்க மண்டபமும்") (near Killai). It points to the Masi festival when the Lord (as Somaskanda) was taken in procession from Cidambaram to Killai (nearly three miles away) on the sea-coast. Rajendra I's inscription too refers to the Masi festival. Perhaps it was abandoned later for reasons of security while in transit.

Tai-p-pusam

The *Tai-p-pusam* festival has a tremendously important place in the tradition of Nataraja's *Ananda Tandava* in Cidambaram. For it was on the *Pusam* day in the Tamil month of *Tai* (mid-January to mid-February) that, in response to the wishes of the *Deva's* and *rishi's*, Sivakamasundari Herself, Brahma, Bhringi, Nandi, Narada, Vyaghrapada and Patanjali, Nataraja manifested His Cosmic Dance (*Ananda Tandava*) at Tillai and granted their further prayer that He continue this mystic dance for ever at Cidambaram.

There is a ten-day celebration prior to the *Tai-p-pusam* day; and on that auspicious day, icons of Patanjali, Vyaghrapada and Jaimini are taken round in procession, and after sanctified water (*tirtha*) is sprinkled on them at the Sivaganga tank, *diparadhana* is performed to Lord Nataraja. This celebration is marked by a '*pavadai*' of curd-rice, where nearly fifteen bags of rice are cooked as offering to the Lord. (There is inscriptional evidence —— ARE 106 of 1936 —— of the period of Kopperunjinga, relating to an order of Solakon, for a gift of land to meet the expenses of a '*tiruppavadai*' during the *Tai-p-pusam* festival and for the maintenance of a flower-garden to supply flowers to the Lord.) At night, there is a procession of the *Panca Murti's*.

Maha Sivaratri at the Nataraja shrine

During the Maha Sivaratri festival in the Tamil month of Masi (mid-February to mid-March), four *kala-puja's* and a *laksharcana* are performed on the *Sivaratri* (night) besides the prescribed *kala-puja's* for the day; after the third *kala-puja* in the night has been completed, an image of Somaskanda on *rshabha-vahana* goes round the four car streets, and, on completion of this ambulation, the fourth *kala-puja*, which is the *Ardha-jama-puja*, is performed to Nataraja. The *abhishekams* to Candramaulisvara on Sivaratri day endow the entire atmosphere with an even greater measure of sanctity.

Sivakamasundari shrine

The Tirukkamakkottam shrine, of Sivakamasundari, has a ten-day festival in the Tamil month *Aippasi* (October-November). On the ninth day of the festival, a *rathotsava* (car festival) is celebrated; on the tenth day is *Rtusnanotsava* (festival of 'puberty-bath'), which falls on *Aippasi Pusam.* The literature of the age refers to *'Tiruppudiyadu vila'*, when new garments are presented to Goddess Sivakami. It may be a corruption of *'Tiruppudavai-idu-vila'* — perhaps a reference to the gift of new clothes to a girl who has attained puberty, given after a purificatory bath.

On the tenth day of the festival, certain rituals connected with the Goddess's marriage with Nataraja are performed; on the eleventh day of the festival, which is observed as the marriage (*Tirukkalyana Utsava*) day, the Amman is deemed to perform a penance (praying for the hand of the Lord), and, after being taken in a procession, moves to the main temple, where the holy wed-lock with Nataraja is performed.

Sivakamasundari is looked upon as the '*Yajna sakti*' of Lord Siva, and is depicted as the Consort of the *Para-Brahmam* known as *Cidambara Rahasyam* (the Sacred Secret) in the Cit Sabha. Adi Sankara refers to Her in '*Saundarya Lahari*' as '*Para Brahma Mahishi*'.

Pandya Nayakam shrine

A ten-day festival for Subrahmanya of the Pandya Nayakam shrine with His Consorts Valli and Deivayanai (Devasena), in the Tamil month *Panguni* with the *uttaram* star as the focus, is the highlight of the festivities at this shrine.

Pradosham at the Nataraja shrine

It is the traditional belief that Nataraja dances in the space between the horns of Nandi on the evening of *Trayodasi* (13th day of the fortnight). Worship of Nataraja and Nandi in this auspicious hour dispels sin.

The significance of Ardra Darsanam:

On the holy day of Ardra in Margali, *kali* (a sweet pudding) is offered to Sri Ananda Nataraja and Sivakama Sundari as part of the *vrata* (ritual), and the day is an occasion for general rejoicing throughout the (Saivite) Tamil country. It is believed that Patanjali and Vyaghrapada observed this *vrata*, obtained a glimpse of Nataraja's *Ananda Tandava*, and attained *moksha.*

The spirit of the Ardra festival is best brought out by Appayya Dikshitar's well-known *sloka*, which he composed in a trance, while witnessing the Ardra *abhishekam* of Nataraja, in the early hours before dawn:

मौलौ गंगाशशांकौ करचरणतले कोमलांगा भुजंगा:
वामे भागे दयार्द्रा हिमगिरितनया चन्दनं सर्वगात्रे।
इत्थं शीतम् प्रभूतं तव कनकसभानाथ सोढुं क्व शक्ति:
चित्ते निर्वेदतप्ते यदि भवति न ते नित्यवासो मदीये।।

Addressing Nataraja, Appayya Dikshitar says:

> "On Your forehead, You have the Ganga and the crescent of the Moon. By themselves, they are so cool. In Your hands and around Your feet, You have serpents entwined, cool to the touch. Thirdly, You have in half Your body the daughter of Himavan, the Lord of Snow. Everything around You makes You cool."
>
> "As if these factors are not enough, behold what happens on the Ardra Darsanam day in Cidambaram! In the cold early hours before sunrise on that day, pots of cool sandal paste are poured profusely over Your body during the *abhishekam*..."
>
> (*'Ardra'* means wet, and it also symbolises the star, *Ardra*.)

Amazed at this combination of cool factors, Appayya Dikshitar asks the Lord: "What is the secret of Your strength which stands all this accretion of cold?" but he does not pause for an answer. He finds it in the *Nartana* posture of Ananda Nataraja himself. The Lord is everywhere, and within oneself. Appayya Dikshitar says: "You exist everywhere, even within my heart. You may reside in my heart even for just one fleeting moment, but do you know the condition of my heart? It is so heated up with the problems of life that whatever cold elements are poured on it, the heat of the system would not abate." In the final sentence of the *sloka*, Appayya Dikshitar says: "My *citta* is in a constant state of agitation because of sorrow, tumult and needless mental torture. There burns within me the consuming fire of worry, sorrow and distress."

The essence of the *sloka* is that the tumult and the heat embodied in the hearts of the devotees can be quenched only by Isvara. Because the Lord lives in our hearts, we can quench the heat only by such *abhisheka* to the Lord in expiation of *aparadhas* (wrong actions). If we enshrine the Lord in our hearts as the godly force 'that quenches the fires within', our soul will have its salvation. This is the essence of the philosophy of the Ardra Darsanam.

His Holiness Sri Saṅkaracarya (Mahasvamigal Sri Candrasekharendra Sarasvati VII of Sri Kanci Kamakoti Pitham) brings out the meaning of the *sloka* in these striking words:

> 'The cold has gone' means that the fear in our heart has disappeared. We should shed fear. The only force that can eliminate fear is Isvara. He is the only force who can drive away the cold. When the whole atmosphere is wet and cold in the early hours of the Ardra day, we assemble all the cold elements like sandal paste and offer *abhisheka* and worship to Lord Nataraja, and when we offer Him worship with cold materials, we are only enshrining in our hearts the "cooled" Lord and even if we spend a minute in contemplation of the Supreme, the heat and the tumult within will vanish and we shall attain *ananda*.

A typical festival bulletin (utsava-patrika)

In order to appreciate the current pattern of the celebration of the eleven-day Nataraja festivals Ani Tirumanjanam and Ardra Darsanam, the system of *kattalai's*, which is peculiar to the Nataraja temple and which, for centuries, has supported this temple in organising its manifold activities, the essence of the democratic set-up among the Dikshitar community, and the excellent standards of discipline and coordination they maintain in carrying out the *kattalai's* and in conducting these festivals without a hitch, a sample *utsava-patrika* (festival programme sheet) is reproduced below (for considerations of space, only the main portions have been shown here. shorn of the decorative part of the invitation):

பொது தீக்ஷிதர்கள்

ஸ்ரீ ஸபாநாயகர் கோயில், சிதம்பரம், 608001.

உத்ஸவாசார்யார்

ச.சே. சபாநடேச தீக்ஷிதர் (என்கிற)

S.S. சிவகுமார் தீக்ஷிதர் B.Com.

ஸ்ரீ ஸபா நாயகர் கோயில் கமிட்டி மெம்பர்கள்

ஸெகரெட்ரி	வைஸ்—ஸெகரெட்ரி
தி. தெய்வ சிகாமணி தீக்ஷிதர்	ந.தி. சுப்பிரமணிய தீக்ஷிதர்
ந. மஹாதேவ தீக்ஷிதர்	ரா.வெ. நடராஜரத்தின தீக்ஷிதர்
த.நி. தங்கரத்ன தீக்ஷிதர்	சா. குஞ்சிதஸபாநாத தீக்ஷிதர்
து.ந. செல்வரத்ன தீக்ஷிதர்	நீ.பா. நிர்த்தராஜ தீக்ஷிதர்
ச.சி. நடராஜ தீக்ஷிதர்	

சிதம்பரம் ஸ்ரீசிவகாமசுந்தரி அம்பாள் ஸமேத ஸ்ரீமந் ஆனந்த நடராஜ மூர்த்தியின் ஆனித்திருமஞ்சன மஹோத்ஸவப் பத்திரிகை

உத்ஸவங்கள் (3.7.94 – 15.7.94)		வாஹன விபரங்கள்
3.7.94	இரவு	விக்னேஸ்வர பூஜை, ஸ்ரீ நடராஜர் அனுக்ஞை, வாஸ்துசாந்தி
4.7.94	இரவு	மிருத்ஸங்க்ரகணம், ரக்ஷாபந்தனம், துவஜபட பூஜை
5.7.94	பகல்	காலை 6.00 மணிக்கு மேல் 6.45 மணிக்குள் மிதுன லக்னத்தில் துவஜாரோஹணம் உள் வெளிப் பிராகாரம் வலம் வருதல்
1	இரவு	பஞ்சமூர்த்தி தங்கம், வெள்ளி மஞ்சங்களில் வீதிவலம், திக்பந்தனம்
6.7.94	பகல்	பஞ்சமூர்த்தி வீதிவலம்
2	இரவு	வெள்ளி சந்திரபிரபை, அன்னம், மயில், மூஷிகம், ரிஷபம்
7.7.94	பகல்	பஞ்சமூர்த்தி வீதிவலம்
3	இரவு	தங்க ஸூர்யபிரபை, அன்னம், மயில், மூஷிகம், ரிஷபம்
8.7.94	பகல்	பஞ்சமூர்த்தி வீதிவலம்
4	இரவு	வெள்ளி பூதவாகனம், அன்னம், மயில், மூஷிகம், ரிஷபம்
9.7.94	பகல்	பஞ்சமூர்த்தி வீதிவலம்
5	இரவு	வெள்ளி ரிஷபம், தெருவடச்சான் (சப்பரம்)
10.7.94	பகல்	பஞ்சமூர்த்தி வீதிவலம்
6	இரவு	வெள்ளி யானை வாஹனம், அன்னம், மயில், மூஷிகம், ரிஷபம்

உத்ஸவங்கள் (3.7.94 – 15.7.94)		வாஹன விபரங்கள்
11.7.94	பகல்	பஞ்சமூர்த்தி வீதிவலம்
7	இரவு	தங்க கைலாஸ வாஹனம், வெள்ளி ரிஷபம், ரிஷபம், மூஷிகம், ரிஷபம்
12.7.94	பகல்	பஞ்சமூர்த்தி வீதிவலம்
8	இரவு	தங்கரதத்தில் பிக்ஷாடனர் வெட்டுங்குதிரை வாஹனக்காட்சி
13.7.94	காலை	அதிகாலை 6.00 மணிக்கு மேல் 6.15 மணிக்குள் மிதுன லக்னத்தில் சித்ஸபா யாத்திராதானம் ஸ்ரீ விநாயகர் தேர் உற்சவம் ஸ்ரீ சுப்பிரமணியர் தேர் உற்சவம் சண்டிகேஸ்வரர் தேர் உற்சவம்
9	இரவு	8 மணிக்கு ஆயிரக்கால் முன்முகப்பு மண்டபத்தில் ஏககால லக்ஷார்ச்சனை
14.7.94	காலை	4 மணி முதல் 6 மணி வரை ஆயிரக்கால் முன்முகப்பு மண்டபத்தில் ஸ்ரீ சிவகாமசுந்தரி அம்பாளுக்கும் ஸ்ரீமந்நடராஜமூர்த்திக்கும் மஹாபிஷேகம்
10	பகல்	6.00 மணி முதல் 10.00 மணி வரை திருவாபரண அலங்காரம் 10.00 மணிக்கு சித்ஸபையில் ரகஸ்ய பூஜை. 10 மணிக்கு பஞ்சமூர்த்தி வீதியுலா காட்சி (தீர்த்தவாரி). 10 மணி முதல் 12 மணி வரை ஆயிரக்கால் மண்டபத்தில் அர்ச்சனைகள், 12 மணிக்கு மேல் ஆனித்திருமஞ்சன மஹா தெரிசன ஞானாகாச சித்ஸபா பிரவேச தெரிசனம்
15.7.94	இரவு	துவஜ அவரோஹணம்
11	இரவு	பஞ்சமூர்த்தி முத்துப்பல்லக்கு வீதியுலாக் காட்சி

தேதி	திருநாள்	உபயதாரர்கள்	கட்டளை தீக்ஷிதர்கள்
3.7.94		சிதம்பரம் தெற்குத்தெரு பரம்பரை நாட்டாண்மை டிரஸ்டி திரு கு. தில்லைகோவிந்த முதலியார்	ஸ்ரீ மு. வேங்கடேச தீக்ஷிதர்
4.7.94		ஷை	ஷை
5.7.94	1	ஷை	ஷை
6.7.94	2	மேலத்தெரு பரம்பரை நாட்டாண்மை சிதம்பரம் சைவ வேளாளர்கள் சமூகம் சு. பொன்னம்பலம் பிள்ளை சத்திரடிரஸ்ட்	ஸ்ரீ ராஜா ஸோம கோபாலசாமி தீக்ஷிதர்
7.7.94	3	தெற்கு வாணியத்தெரு வாணிய பொதுவாளர்கள் தலைவர் N. மணி செட்டியார்	ராஜா ஸோம கல்யாண சபேச தீக்ஷிதர்
8.7.94	4	பச்சையப்பா அறக்கட்டளை டிரஸ்ட்	பொது தீக்ஷிதர்கள்
9.7.94	5	ஷை	ஷை
10.7.94	6	ஷை	ஷை
11.7.94	7	வெ.சா. சத்திரத்தார்	அ.சா. அப்பாத்துரை தீக்ஷிதர்

தேதி	திருநாள்	உபயதாரர்கள்	கட்டளை தீக்ஷிதர்கள்
12.7.94	*8*	(சென்னை) நாகை விசாலாட்சி அம்மாள் எஸ்டேட் டிரஸ்ட் T. சந்தானகிருஷ்ணன்	புலவர் ஸ்ரீ நா. ஆனந்த குஞ்சிதபாத தீக்ஷிதர்
13.7.94	*9*	யாத்ராதானம் காத்திருப்பு திரு S. சுப்பிரமணிய பிள்ளை, பச்சையப்பா அறக்கட்டளை டிரஸ்ட்	ஸ்ரீ வெ. சந்திரமௌலீஸ்வர தீக்ஷிதர் பொது தீக்ஷிதர்கள்
		சி.ரா. சிவகாமசுந்தர தீக்ஷிதர் வெ.சா. சத்திரத்தூர் ராஜாசர் இரவு ஆடேர் திரு R. கனகசபை பிள்ளை & பிரதர்ஸ்	சி.ரா. சிவகாமசுந்தர தீக்ஷிதர் அ.சா. அப்பாதுரை தீக்ஷிதர் பொது தீக்ஷிதர்கள் லக்ஷார்ச்சனை
14.7.94	*10*	திரு S.S.A. விஸ்வநாதன் செட்டியார் திரு S.S.A. தசரத செட்டியார் குமாரர் திரு கோபாலகிருஷ்ணன் காத்திருப்பு திரு S. சுப்பிரமணிய பிள்ளை பச்சையப்பா அறக்கட்டளை டிரஸ்ட்	ஸ்ரீ ஞா.ரா. எக்ஞேஸ்வர தீக்ஷிதர் வெ. சந்திரமௌலீஸ்வர தீக்ஷிதர் பொது தீக்ஷிதர்கள்
15.7.94	*11*	கொத்தமங்கலம் செட்டியார் வகையறா	ஸ்ரீ ரெ.ச. ராஜாமணி தீக்ஷிதர்

குறிப்பு:– தினசரி பஞ்சமூர்த்தி வீதிவலப் புறப்பாட்டில் வேதபாராயணமும் திருமுறை பாராயணமும், பத்து தினங்களிலும் விசேஷ நாதஸ்வர கச்சேரிகளும் நடைபெறும். ஷே மஹோத்ஸவங்களுக்குப் பக்திமான்கள் அனைவரும் வந்து தரிசித்து ஸ்ரீ நடராஜமூர்த்தியின் கிருபாகடாக்ஷத்தினாலே ஸர்வாபீஷ்ட சித்திகளை அடைய விரும்புகிறோம்.

சிதம்பரம் ஸ்ரீ நடராஜர் கோயில் என்கிற ஸ்ரீ ஸபாநாயகர் கோவில் பொதுதீக்ஷிதர்கள்

Nataraja kattalai's

A word may be said here on the tradition of *kattalai's* at Cidambaram for the Nataraja shrine. The prince among the benefactors was Pachaiyappa Mudaliar, who promoted the temple facilities and educational opportunities at Kancipuram and Cidambaram. Born in A.D. 1754, Pachaiyapa was a '*dubash*' (linguistic interpreter) by profession and, before his death in A.D. 1794, his sister and mother-in-law Suppammal took over the renovation of the East Gopuram —— a task in which Pachaiyappa had shown keen interest and which he did not live long enough to complete. In accordance with the will that Pachaiyappa left behind him, many of the holy centres between Varanasi and Ramesvaram were the recipients of his benefactions. The Pachaiyappa Trust takes care of the "*pandakkal muhurtam*" —— the auspicious erection of the (canopy-support) poles for the festivals; the expenses on the fourth, fifth and sixth days of the *Ani* and *Margali* festivals; the expenses incurred in the car festival while the cars are run on the four Car Streets; about forty ornaments of gold, diamonds, and other precious stones; the expenses for the Candramaulisvara *abhishekam*, the sixteen-*upacara diparadhana* in the *sayarakshai* (evening *kala-puja*) of Nataraja and the remuneration for the *Oduvars* who recite the Devaram before the Lord. It was left to the Dikshitar's to prove the existence of such a will of Pachaiyappa's, and, after the lapse of some years, these benefactions have been implemented to this day at Cidambaram.

The assistance offered by the three Saivite *Mathas* at Dharmapuram, Tiruvavaduturai and Tiruppanandal (in the Tanjavur district) is also notable. The Nagarattar community have also played a conspicuous part in the running of the Nataraja temple through their many charities. The *kattalai's* are of course operated by the *Dikshitar's* whom the benefactors nominate.

The ten-day festival of the Nataraja temple in the Tamil months, Ani and Margali, has attracted the fancy of many foreigners, too. Witness the following account (Oswald I. Couldrey in his book, "*South Indian Hours*", published in 1924):

"Those were festival times at Cidambaram and every morning the five gods went in procession through the streets nearest the temple. Wreathed and almost hidden in garlands of yellow flowers, the brazen images were carried in carved and gilded arks or thrones upon the shoulders of the temple servants...There were curious flags, and a music of old-world instruments, and chanting choirs;...Brahmins from all parts had come together on this occasion to minister to pilgrims and to share the bounty of the Dikshitars. Increasing numbers of them walked in procession, hand in hand, singing response, and receiving alms of rice, which one of the Dikshitars distributed, walking up and down the lines...The veterans sang their Sanskrit antiphonal with a vigour and sharpness of enunciation, an exactitude of mutual register, and an absolute perfection of unison. They chanted like one stentorian throat and gave me a new notion of the power of words and music, properly wedded, to set each other off. The line of the bachelors, growing boys, which followed after, was a garland of innocent beauty in itself and, by comparison, appeared angelic.

"I spent a week in Cidambaram, loitering ...and became familiar with the life of the place and learnt the ritual of festival..."

His description of the car festival is equally interesting:

"The cars stood in a line before the eastern gopuram, bared of their huge caps of thatch and ready to be decorated. They were, if I mistake not, five in number, enough to accommodate all the persons of Siva's household, and one over. 'The chariot of the paternal deity' was new, and the height of the wooden hull alone must have been nearly twenty feet. The car was, as usual, octagonal in shape and overhung; and though inferior to some of the older cars in design and ornament, it was by no means unworthy to be placed among them. The former car of the God which stood beside it and was perhaps to devolve on His Consort, was not so large, but far superior in boldness and beauty of design and ornamental fancy. It stood like a museum on wheels, a moveable abridgement of Dravidian sacred art, not only learnedly representing all the persons and legends of the Saiva mythology but displaying in exquisite miniature upon corbel, bracket, panel and moulding, nearly all those decorative devices and canonical figures, the model shrines and lotus bells, and mounted atlantes and ramping beasts and curious columns, and florid scrolls, that together constitute the very style and language of those epics in stone, the temples of the South. The other three cars were neither so large nor so elaborate as these, but, seen anywhere else, would have well deserved admiration and study."

The pattern of rituals of the two Brahmotsavam's, the two major festivals in the Tamil months of Ani and Margali, included dance-recitals by *devadasi's*, when the deities are taken out in procession. With the abolition of the *devadasi* group, this ritual has gone out of vogue. Nrtta(dance) has all along been regarded as one of the sixteen offerings (Shodasopacara) to the Lord. In Cidambaram this tradition is now dead. The dance recital on the seventh day of the festival, which was performed even during the first half of the century, has since been given up. In the spheres of Nagasvaram and Bharata Natyam, the continuity in the tradition is important and cannot the allowed to suffer. This great tradition has been preserved for centuries by certain sections of our society who have been totally dedicated to these two arts from generation to generation. While, in recent years, some outstanding exponents in both these spheres have been thrown up and a good deal of sophistication has been attempted in the process, these social changes should not lead to a situation that would cause a set-back to the core of the tradition for want of continuity. The festival tradition of Cidambaram will certainly endure.

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CHAPTER 26

Music and Dance traditions of the Nataraja temple

Music

கொட்ட மேக மழும் குழலாளொடு
கூடினாய் எருதேறினாய் நுதற்
பட்டமே புனைவாய் இசை பாடுவ பாரிடமா
நட்டமே நவில்வாய் மறையோர் தில்லை
நல்லவர் பிரியாத சிற்றம்பலம்
இட்டமா உறைவாய் இவை மேவிய தென்னை கொலோ. ------ **Sambandhar, *Padigam* 259**

Nataraja, the King of Dancers, is Himself the God of Cidambaram (*Koyil*). No wonder Sambandhar has borne testimony in this *padigam* to the atmosphere of music and dance that pervaded Cidambaram.

Koyil gets the pride of place in all the Devaram hymns of the Trio, not to speak of Manikkavacakar. The traditions of Cidambaram in respect of music and dance can be traced back to very early times. The Devaram hymns speak also of songs being sung before Siva both in Tamil and in Sanskrit.

Apart from its great literary and religious background, few temples in South India have such a rich musical tradition as Cidambaram. Over the centuries Nataraja has inspired devotional music of exceptionally high quality and some of the grandest forms of art have evolved around Nataraja. Bharata Natyam has very close affinity to the Nataraja cult. The Devaram and many literary works in Tamil, and the wealth of poetic literature that has been inspired by Cidambaram and Nataraja, are a remarkable proof of the hold of Nataraja and His cult on a succession of devotees over the ages. The impact on the classical tradition in Carnatic music has been equally strong and notable.

Muttusvami Dikshitar (A.D.1776-1835)

Muttusvami Dikshitar* is an honoured name in the Carnatic music tradition, hailed as one of its great 'Trinity'. It is on record that Cidambaram is among the many sacred places he visited in the course of his countrywide pilgrimages. In the holy precincts of the Cit Sabha, he went into musical ecstasy, to the delight of the assembled multitudes there.

Muttusvami Dikshitar composed a song each on the (five) *panca-bhuta kshetras,* whose *linga's* represent the five elements: *Prthivi-linga* at Kancipuram (*"Cintaya ma"* in the *raga* Bhairavi) : *Apa-linga* at Jambukesvaram (Tiruvanaikka) ("Jambupate mam pahi" in the *raga* Yamuna Kalyani); *Tejo-linga* at Tiruvannamalai ("Arunacala natham smarami" in the *raga* Saranga); *Vayu-linga* at Kalahasti ("Sri Kalahastisa" in the *raga* Huseni); and *Akasa-linga* at Cidambaram ("Ananda Natana-prakasam Cit Sabhesam" in the *raga* Kedaram).

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* As is well-known, Muttusvami Dikshitar adopts the *mudra*, 'Guruguha' in most of his compositions. A few are known to be without it.

The last of these is only one of the many compositions which Muttusvami Dikshitar was inspired to sing at Cidambaram. We reproduce its text below:

Text of "*Ananda Natana Prakasam*"
Raga : Kedaram; *Tala* : Misra Capu

पल्लवि आनन्दनटनप्रकाशं चित्सभेशं आश्रयामि शिवकामवल्लीशं (आ)

अनुपल्लवि भानुकोटिकोटिसङ्काशं भक्तिमुक्तिप्रददहराकाशं
दीनजनसंरक्षणचणं दिव्यपतञ्जलिव्याघ्रपाददर्शितकुञ्चिताब्ज चरणं (आ)

चरणं शीतांशुगङ्गाधरं नीलकन्धरं श्रीकेदारादिक्षेत्राधारं
भूतेशं शार्दूलचर्माम्बरं चिदम्बरं
भूसुरत्रिसहस्रमुनीश्वरं विश्वेश्वरम्
नवनीतहृदयं सदय गुरुगुहतातमाद्यं वेदवेद्यं
वीतरागिणं अप्रमेयाद्वैतप्रतिपाद्यं
सङ्गीतवाद्यविनोदताण्डव जातबहुतर्भेदचोद्यं

In this song, Dikshitar says:

'Among the five *linga* kshetras, Cidambaram represents the akasa *linga*. Nataraja, radiant in the Cit Sabha in the company of His Consort, Sivakamavalli, has the effulgence of crores of suns. This *murti (Dahara akasa)* inspires in you devotion of the highest order and thereby grants you *moksha*. He is the protector of the lowly and the poor. At the *pradosha* hour, He granted *darsan* to the great saints, Patanjali and Vyaghrapada, who had a glimpse of his *Kuncitapadam* and Cosmic Dance. He wears the cool Ganga on His matted hair; His complexion is dark-blue. He controls the *bhutaganas*, puts on the tiger's skin, wears the entire *akasa* as his garment; He is the Lord of the Tillai Muvayiravar, the Supreme Lord of the Universe, He has a heart that melts like butter. He is a treasure-house of kindness, the source of all religion, the incomparable Lord who is the symbol of the Advaita philosophy. He destroys attachment and desire, and dances to the beat of the celestial drum and is hailed by the great seers as the Supreme Being. It is Nataraja, the Lord of Tillai, that I salute.'

Another song of his on Nataraja of Cidambaram runs as follows :

Tanukirti (or Tanarupi) Raga.

Pallavi : Cidambara Nataraja murtim cintayami atanukirtim
madana Janaka mahita Pasupatim

Caranam : madamba Sivakami patim
vadana kamala Guruguha vinutam

In this short composition in the comparatively less known *raga*, Tanukirti (6th mela), Muttusvami Dikshitar conveys the following ideas:

'I contemplate the great Nataraja of Cidambaram — the Consort of Mother Sivakami; Pasupata, who is worshipped by Vishnu, the father of Manmatha, the Lord of Love; the Lord (worshipped by Shanmukha Guruguha) whose face has the radiance of the lotus and is the embodiment of *akasa*.'

In yet another composition in the *raga* Bhinnashadjam (Dhanuka is another name of the *raga*) Muttusvami Dikshitar opens with the words 'Cidambaresvaram cintayami.'

Pallavi : Cidambaresvaram cintayami Sri
Sivananda Gangadharam mrgadharam

Anupallavi : Cidananda natana prakasam
Sivakamavalli manah priya karam

Caranam : Vasuki pramukhadyupasitam
Vasudeva Guruguhadi vanditam
Bhaskara Sasi Sekharam trinetram
Bhinnashadja raga nuta prasiddham

'I contemplate the Lord of Cidambaram — the Lord of Dance. You hold Ganga on your matted locks; you hold a deer in your hand; you are the effulgent dancer in the Cit Sabha. You make your Consort Sivakamavalli happy by conferring grace on your devotees; you are adored by Vasudeva and Shanmukha; you wear the crescent moon on your head; you have three eyes — Surya, Candra and Agni and remove the sorrow and pain of your devotees'.

In the short piece in the raga, Nata-kuranji, "Sivakamipatim cintayamyaham", Dikshitar makes a crisp declaration of his ever-lasting dedication to Nataraja.

Pallavi : Sivakami patim cintayamyaham
Sri Guruguha pujita Padamboruham

Caranam : Navakali jita nartana dhiram
nada bindu kala rupam anisam abhi-
nava Purandaradi Sanakadi sannuta
Bhanukoti sankasam

"I contemplate the Consort of Sivakami, the victor in the dance contest with Kali, the embodiment of *nada* and *bindu*, the Lord of Dance whom Indra, Sanaka and others adore and whose effulgence equals that of crores of suns."

In a striking Kalyani composition, 'Sivakamesvarim Cintayeham', Muttusvami Dikshitar sings the glory of Nataraja's Consort:

Pallavi : Sivakamesvarim cintayeham srngara rasa sampurna karim

Anupallavi : Sivakamesvara manapriyakarim Sivananda Guruguha vasankarim

Caranam : Santa kalyana guna salinim santyatita kala svarupinim
madhurya ganamrta modinim madalasam hamsollasinim
Cidambarapurisvarim cidagni kunda sambhuta sakalesvarim Sri

The great composer pays homage to Sivakamasundari and highlights Her greatness.

Strikingly similar to Appayya Dikshitar's devotion to Nataraja and Govindaraja is Muttuswami Dikshitar's attitude, which is forcefully brought out in two beautiful compositions of his on Govindaraja of Cidambaram: 'Govindarajam upasmahe nityam' in the *raga* Mukhari and 'Govindarajaya namaste namaste' in *raga* Suratti. In both these pieces, Dikshitar proclaims his equal veneration for Nataraja and Govindaraja — yet another proof of the eclecticism of our tradition.

Dikshitar refers to Govindaraja in terms such as: *Deva Kanakasabhesa mitram* (Friend of the Lord of Kanaka Sabha) and *Deva Kanakasabhesa hitaya* (The Lord Who is close to, lit., a well-wisher of, Nataraja, the Lord of Kanaka Sabha).

In the Caturdasa Ragamalika (a garland of fourteen *ragas*) commencing with the phrase 'Sri Visvanatham bhajeham' — a magnificent creation of Muttusvami Dikshitar, the great composer has used the phrases:

"Sakala nishkala rupa saccidananda maya Gaurisam" in the *raga* Gauri ; and later,

"Panci-krta panca mahabhuta prapancadi Mohana kara lingam" in raga Mohanam.

These basic concepts are deeply rooted in our tradition, as this survey has shown. It is not strange that, in his songs, Muttusvami Dikshitar gave them felicitous expression.

Tamil Compositions on Nataraja

Nataraja has inspired many great composers in Tamil to sing His glory and effulgence.

Papanasa Mudaliar

One is often struck by the close affinity between Nataraja and the *raga* Kambhodi, although there are many delightful compositions in other colourful *raga's* also where the greatness of Nataraja is the theme. The majesty of the Kambhodi *raga* has been best brought out in the many compositions in this *raga* on Nataraja, for example, *"Nadamadit-tirinda umakkidadu kal udavamal mudamanaden."* (Kambhodi is also a popular *raga* for many Bharata Natyam renderings, Nataraja usually being the theme of the composition.) This well-known song is a richly embellished creation of Papanasa (sometimes called Papavinasa) Mudaliar, who lived in Kumbakonam in the seventeenth century A.D., during the days of the Mahratha ruler Tulaja of Tanjavur. Author of *'Kumbhesa Kuravanji'* and many compositions in Tamil charged with devotion to Siva, Papanasa Mudaliar is best remembered for this popular Kambhodi song. Mahamahopadhyaya U.V.Swaminatha Iyer, the veteran Tamil scholar, who belonged to the musical family of the famous composer Ghanam Krishna Iyer, and had contacts with his contemporary composer, Gopalakrishna Bharati (*"Ninaivu Manjari"*. Volume II) recalled (in 1941) how Gopalakrishna Bharati went into rapturous references to Papanasa Mudaliar's musical creations. The great violin maestro, Tirukkodikkaval Krishna Iyer (uncle of Semmangudi R. Srinivasa Iyer, the doyen of Carnatic music in our times) was so enamoured of this masterly composition of Papanasa Mudaliar in Kambhodi that he played it *solo* on the violin in the presence of the then Raja (Setupati) of Ramanathapuram; and deeply impressed by the composition and the rendering, the Raja gave Tirukkodikkaval Krishna Iyer a (then handsome) spot award of four hundred rupees. Krishna Iyer felt that this composition deserved to be better-known among musicians and music-lovers; he got two hundred copies of the text printed and arranged for their free distribution. (Musiri Subramania Iyer, too, has recalled this episode to which Mahamahopadhyaya Swaminatha Iyer has referred). The text is so well-conceived in both its content and musical value that it appears to me worthwhile to reproduce it here in full. It is a composition we should cherish for all time. In our times, Ariyakudi Ramanuja Iyengar and his disciple, Palghat K.V. Narayanaswami, have done ample justice to this beautiful composition by rendering it often in their concerts. (Papanasa Mudaliar used the *mudra 'Papanasa'* in his compositions, as the third *caranam* here witnesses):

காம்போதி - கண்டசாபு

ப. நடமாடித் திரிந்த உமக்கிடதுகால் உதவாமல்
முடமானதேன் என்று சொல்லுவீரய்யா (நடமாடி)

அ. திடமேவும் தில்லைநகர் மருவு பேரானந்த!
சடைவிரித்தாடினவா! வேதசிற்சபை யறிய (நடமாடி)

ச. 1. திருநீறைச் சுமந்தீரோ நெருப் பான மேனிதனில்
சீதத்தினால் மிகுந்த வாத குணமோ
ஒருமையுடன் மார்க்கண்டற் குதவியாய் மறலிவிழ
உதைக்கச் சுளுக்கேறி யுண்டகுணமோ
பரவைதனின் தெரு வாசற்படி யிடறிற்றோ எந்தன்
பாபமோ என் சிவனே மூவர்க்கும் முதல்வரென்று (நடமாடி)

2. தனஞ்சய மகிபனுடன் சமரில் அடிபட்டு விழ
சந்திலே முடி பிசகி நொந்ததுவோ
இனம்புரியும் தாருகாவன மெங்கும் திரிந்ததில்
முள்ளேறுண்டதோ சொல்லும் முறிந்ததுவோ
கனக சபை தனில் நடனம் கண்டோர்கள் அதிசயிக்க
கண்ணேறுண்டதோ சொல்லும் விண்ணவர்க்கு முதல்வரென்று (நடமாடி)
3. பக்தி செய்யும் பெரியோர்கள் பாபநாசனமாகும்
பரமபதமிது வென்று தூக்கி நின்றதுவோ
சக்தி சிவகாமி வல்லி தன் பாகம் நோகுமென்றே
தரையில் அடிவைக்கத் தயங்கி நின்றதுவோ
சத்திய லோகாதிபதி தாளத்திற்கேற்ப நடந்-
தாக்கியே யொருகாலைத் தூக்கி நின்றதுவோ (நடமாடி)

Gopalakrishna Bharati (A.D. 1811-1881)

Among the great composers of Carnatic music marked for deep devotion to Nataraja and Cidambaram, Gopalakrishna Bharati, a contemporary of Tyagaraja, will perhaps rank the highest. He will be best remembered for his numerous compositions on Nataraja and for the Tamil opera, *"Nandanar Caritram".* (Some scholars put his period as A.D.1810-1896). Gopalakrishna Bharati, a *brahmana* of the *Vadama* sub-sect, was born at Narimanam, in a family known for its rich musical heritage. A staunch celibate, he spent his early years at Mudikondan and Anandatandavapuram in (what has been hitherto known as) Thanjavur district. He was initiated into the *sastra's* by a *guru*, Govinda Siva of Mayuram, and, by his contacts with the musicians of Mayuram, Gopalakrishna Bharati acquired considerable mastery of music. Guru Ramadas and Ghanam Krishna Iyer took him in hand and shaped his musical talent. He practised *yoga,* and is said to have been singularly free from sectarian bias in his personal religion. Early in life, Gopalakrishna Bharati was drawn to Cidambaram and developed intense devotion to Nataraja: he used to attend all the six annual *'Mahabhishekams'* of the Lord and Sivakamasundari. He composed a large number of songs on Nataraja of Cidambaram in ecstatic enjoyment of the Cosmic Dance of the Lord. One of the most celebrated is reproduced here:

ராகம்: ஆபோகி தாளம்: ரூபகம்

பல்லவி: சபாபதிக்கு வேறுதெய்வம் சமான மாகுமா - தில்லைச்
சபாபதிக்கு வேறுதெய்வம் சமானமாகுமா ?

அநுபல்லவி: க்ருபாநிதி இவரைப்போலக் கிடைக்குமோஇத் தரணியில் (சபாபதிக்கு)

சரணம்: ஒருதரம்சிவ சிதம்பர மென்றே உரைத்தாற் போதுமே
பரகதிக்கு வேறுபுண்யம் பண்ண வேண்டுமா
அரிய புலையர் மூவர்பதம் அடைந்தாரென் றேபுராணம்
பரிந்துசொல்லக் கேட்டோம் கோபாலகிருஷ்ணன் பாடுந் தில்லைச் (சபாபதி)

The circumstances in which Bharati composed this song (at Tiruvaiyaru) are interesting. When Gopalakrishna Bharati visited Tiruvaiyaru to pay his respects to Tyagaraja, the latter asked him where he came from. He mentioned Mayuram, and was asked if he knew Gopalakrishna Bharati of Mayuram, the great composer. In all humility, Bharati answered Tyagaraja that he was the Gopalakrishna Bharati in question. Tyagaraja's joy knew no bounds. His disciples were, at the time of the meeting, rendering a composition of his in the *raga* Abhogi, and Tyagaraja enquired of Bharati whether he had composed any pieces in that *raga*. Bharati's answer could only be a gesture of silence, as he had none to his credit at the time. A little later, when Bharati was at the local Pranatartihara temple, he was inspired to compose the above well-known Abhogi piece (*"Sabhapatikku veru deivam samanam ahuma?"* : Is there any other Lord to equal Sabhapati Nataraja?). He presented the piece the next day to Tyagaraja, to the latter's great delight. He told the saint that the inspiration for composing the song was Tyagaraja's query.

Gopalakrishna Bharati spent many years in Cidambaram, and trained a number of disciples. He would observe the daily austerities such as *japa* at the Nrtta Sabha; very often he would take up position near the Nandanar idol, and, facing the Lord, sing the Lord's praise. Once, some of his admirers suggested to Gopalakrishna Bharati that he should compose a song to signify that Nandanar prayed to Lord Nataraja that he be blessed to linger uninterruptedly in the same precincts facing the Lord, with his thoughts firmly fixed on Him. This was the occasion when Bharati composed the song, *'Enneramum undan sannidhiyil (nan) irukka vendumaiya',* in the *raga* Devagandhari — a soul-stirring composition which, in our times, Sangita Kalanidhi M.S. Subbulakshmi and Sangita Kalanidhi Palghat K.V. Narayanasvami, more than any other, have made very popular. It is presented often as a dance number as well.

"Nandanar Caritram"

Gopalakrishna Bharati composed his well-known opera *"Nandanar Caritram"* during his stay in Nagapattinam. The brief version of Nandanar's story in the *'Periya Puranam'* does not refer to a *brahmana* land-lord nor does it mention any hardships inflicted by the land-lord on Nandanar. But Bharati fashioned his version with an eye on a heightened effect of Nandanar's story on the popular imagination — to establish how the lowliest of lowlies could still reach the kingdom of God. The Nandanar opera found ample scope for presentation in *Kathakalakshepa's,* and the songs in attractive *raga's* and with rich musical content acquired tremendous appeal.

Many of the songs from *"Nandanar Caritram"* have been popular for more than a century and a half now. There are numerous compositions by Bharati, some of them well-known and many others comparatively less-known; a brief list of his more celebrated compositions (from this work) will serve to bring out the popularity of the great musical and lyrical quality of his work:

	Song	Import
1.	*'Yarukkut-tan teriyum avar mahimai'* in *raga* Devamanohari	"Who can assess His greatness and who can fathom the delicacy and the beauty of His dance?"
2.	*'Uttaram tarumaiye'* in *raga* Todi.	"Please grant me permission to go to Cidambaram."
3.	*'Ellorum varungal'* in *raga* Kedaram.	Nandanar beseeches his fraternity to join him in the journey to Cidambaram to obtain the *darsan* of Nataraja.
4.	*'Aiye metta katinam'* in *raga* Punnagavarali.	"It is difficult to comprehend the Supreme Lord." (The reference to Kundalini in the composition and the consequent choice of the Punnagavarali raga for this composition are significant.)
5.	*'Gopura darsaname endan papa vimocaname'* in *raga* Dhanyasi.	'The mere *darsan* of the *gopura's* will relieve me of the bonds of sin."
6.	*'Sarre vilagi irum pillay'* in *raga* Purvikalyani.	"Please step aside a little, oh Nandi, you are hiding Nandan's view of me," says the Lord of Tiruppungur.

7. *'Cidambara darisanama'* in *raga* Mukhari.	The *brahmana* landlord chides Nandan for even entertaining the thought of going to Cidambaram. "You dare not think of it. It is the close preserve of the privileged, and beyond the reach of an outcaste."
8. *'Cidambaram pogamal'* in *raga* Senjurutti.	"I won't waste my life on this earth without going to Cidambaram for worship."
9. *'Sivalokanathanai-k-kandu'* in *raga* Mayamalavagaula.	Nandanar urges his fraternity to join him in a trip to Tiruppungur to worship Sivalokanatha of that shrine.
10. *'Nyayam tano nir sollum'* " in *raga* Sankarabharanam (or Behag).	"Is it proper for our tribe to visit the temple?", asks the head-man of the *pulaiya* community to which Nandanar belonged.
11. *'Tillai-sthalam enru sollat-todanginal'* in *raga* Sama.	"The mere mention of Tillai dispels sin and disease and breaks the cycle of birth and death."
12. *'Tillai ambalattalam onru irukkudam'* in *raga* Huseni.	"There is a holy centre called Tillai, which breaks the shackles of birth and death."
13. *'Tillai veliyile kalandu kondal avar'* in *raga* Yamuna Kalyani	"If one gets absorbed in Tillai, will he ever return?"
14. *'Nanda, ni Siva-bhaktan'* in *raga* Nadanamakriya.	The *brahmana* land-lord lauds Nandanar as a great devotee of Siva. "I was foolish not to realise your greatness."
15. *'Namakkini Yama-bhayam edu'* in *raga* Gaulipantu.	"With Lord Nataraja around, we have no fear of death."
16. *'Parttu pilaiyungal'* in *raga* Jonpuri.	"Look after yourselves."
17. *'Pittam teliya marundu'* in *raga* Senjurutti.	"There is a cure for your delusion."
18. *'Margali madam Tiruvadirai Nal'* in *raga* Navroz.	"There is the Tiruvadirai festival in Margali in Cidambaram. Please let me attend it."
19. *'Misai naraittu-p-pocce'* in *raga* Nadanamakriya.	Nandan chides the headman of his hamlet: "Your moustache has grown grey; but your desires have not diminished. You are getting entwined in the bonds of mere existence, and would not save yourself from sin."

20. *'Mukti alikkum'* in *raga* Navroz.	"The ones who do not visit Cidambaram and worship the Lord are only a burden to the earth. Of what use are they?"
21. *'Vali maraittirukkude'* in *raga* Natakuranji.	"My line of vision is obstructed by the sacred bull at Tiruppungur."
22. *'Varugalamo'* in *raga* Manji.	Undoubtedly, the most moving composition of Gopalakrishna Bharati in "Nandanar Caritram," a plaintive prayer in which Nandanar implores to be admitted, despite his lowly birth, into the Lord's precincts to sing and dance near his beloved Nataraja.
23. *'Cidambaram poven nalai - Cidambaram poven'* in *raga* Behag.	"Tomorrow, I will go to Cidambaram, I certainly will."
24. *'Idutano Tillaittalam'* in *raga* Behag.	"Is this the holy Tillai? I didn't know all this time."
25. *'Adum Cidambaramo'* in *raga* Behag.	"Is this the Cidambaram where the Lord dances?"
26. *'Kanakasabhapati darisanam oru nal'* in *raga* Dhanyasi.	"Fear is gone if you worship the Dancing Lord of Kanaka Sabha even once."
27. *'Eppo varuvaro'* in *raga* Senjurutti (Jonpuri also)	"When will the Lord arrive and relieve me of my anguish?"
28. *'Varuvaro, varam taruvaro'* in *raga* Sama	"Will the Lord come and grant me my boon?"
29. *'Kanakasabhai-t-tirunatanam'* in *raga* Suratti.	"I was thrilled by the Lord's Dance in the Kanaka Sabha."
30. *'Pirava(da)-varam tarum'* in *raga* Arabhi.	"Please save me from (re-) birth."

These thirty compositions of Gopalakrishna Bharati in *'Nandanar Caritram'* are among the best-known of his; most of his songs are fascinating, and this list is by no means exhaustive. Clothed in simple and sweet phrases (almost colloquial in expression) and shorn of all attempts at sophistication, forthright in its message, and totally uninhibited in the use of common phrases like *parppan, paraiya, jati* and *poda*, *vada* as the metre and music demand, the opera brings out the remarkable genius of the composer, and is notable for the easy flow of music, the vigour of the verses and the spirited unfolding of the theme. While the *'Periya puranam'* version of Sekkilar narrates the simple story of Nandan's wish to go to Cidambaram and worship Nataraja, Gopalakrishna Bharati has packed his portrayal with many other concepts which reflect the social and cultural values which he wished to high-light through the medium of his opera. In the piece *'Sarre vilahi irum pillay'*, the Lord, Sivalokanatha of Tiruppungur, Whose view is denied to Nandan owing to Nandi obstructing his line of vision, tells Nandi to step aside and allow Nandan to get a glimpse of Him; "His devotion to Me is beyond all reckoning; if there is heart, our (heavenly) prosperity will suffer." The Lord in generous terms portrays the unfathomable depth of Nandan's *bhakti*.

In popular appreciation, there is considerable mis-reading of the role of the *brahmana* landlord in the story as narrated by Bharati. As the social structure then stood, the landlord was conscious of the duty Nandan had to discharge in first tilling the lands and reaping the harvest, but he was equally appreciative of Nandan's devotion to Nataraja of Cidambaram and the latter's desire to go to Cidambaram. The landlord chides Nandan for entertaining thoughts of going to Cidambaram and worshipping Nataraja: "Such is the privilege of the chosen classes. How can you long for such a thing?", says the landlord. Nandan realizes he is among the lowlies, but his fascination with Nataraja overpowers him and he is determined to grow out of his limitations of birth. Nandan had to wait for ten years before his wish could be fulfilled. At last the landlord relents when he realizes the depth of his devotion, saying, "Nanda, you are a *Siva-bhakta*". He regrets that he was let down by his disbelief in Nandan and, in all humility, seeks Nandan's guidance towards God-realization. Nandan goes to Cidambaram and is ecstatic over the vision of Nataraja. The Dikshitars had been directed by Lord Nataraja to receive Nandan into the precincts of the Kanaka Sabha at Cidambaram. Nandan emerges from an ordeal by fire (in Homakkulam, a pond in the southern part of Cidambaram town) and has a grand *darsan* of the Lord of Tillai. 'The one who merges with Tillai will never return to earthly life'. Nandanar attains beatitude in the holy precincts of Nataraja's abode.

The narrative and the many moving songs in Bharati's *"Nandanar Caritram"* have many lessons. It would be wrong to conclude that the landlord made use of his "high caste" pedestal only to tease Nandanar; for, he has also been portrayed as being quick to realize that Nandan was a *bhakta* and therefore a person worthy of his respect. The gods themselves were deeply touched by Nandan's unflagging *bhakti,* even as he was struggling with the social limitations the mere accident of his birth had placed on him. The moral is simple: *"Bhakti* can conquer all constraints". Bharati has rendered great service in portraying such a theme through this immortal opera.

There are two well-known compositions of Gopalakrishna Bharati, one of them popularised in our times by Papanasam Sivan and Musiri Subrahmanya Aiyar: *'Tiruvadi Saranam'* in *raga* Kambhodi ("I came to you in the hope of seeking refuge in your sacred feet, Oh Lord of Lords"); and the other *'Tillai Ambalattanai Govindarajanai'* in *raga* Suratti popularised by Maharajapuram Viswanatha Iyer. The latter reflects the concept of *'Hariharabheda'* — (here) equal devotion to Nataraja and Govindaraja of Cidambaram. The texts of these two famous compositions merit reproduction here.

காம்போதி - ஆதி

பல்லவி: திருவடி சரண மென்றிங்கு நான்
நம்பி வந்தேன் தேவாதி தேவ நின்

அனுபல்லவி: மறுபடியும் கரு வடையும் குழியில் தள்ளி
வருத்தப் படுத்த வேண்டாம் பொன்னம்பலவா

சரணம்: எடுத்த ஜனனம் கணக் கெழுதத் தொலையாது
இரங்கி மகிழ்ந்து தேவரீர் வேண்டு மென்று
கொடுத்த மானிட ஜன்மம் வீணாகிப்
போகு தென் குறை தீர்ந்த பாடும் இல்லையே
அடுத்து வந்த என்னைத் தள்ள லாகாது
அரகரா என்று சொன்னாலும் போதாதோ
தடுத்து வந்தருள ஸமயம் கோபால கிருஷ்ணன்
ஸந்ததம் பணிந்து மகிழ்ந்து போற்று நின்.

ஸுரடி - த்ரிபுட

பல்லவி: தில்லை யம்பலத்தானை கோவிந்த ராஜனைத்
தரிசித்துக் கொண்டேனே

அனுபல்லவி: தொல்லுலகும் படி யளந்து மனதுக் கேற்கும்
தொண்டர் கலிகள் தீரக் கருணை பொழியு மெங்கள்

சரணம்: 1. தும்பைப்பூ மாலைகள் தொடுத்துக் கொடுப்ப திங்கே
துளஸிக் கொழுந்தெடுத்துத் தொட்டுக் கொடுப்ப தங்கே
அம்பல ரகஸியம் அறிந்து கொள்ளுவ திங்கே
அஷ்டாக்ஷர மென்று அன்பு செய்வது மங்கே

2. பிட்டு வடையுடனே நைவேத்யமு மிங்கே
புளியோதனம் தயிர் அன்னம் படைப்ப தங்கே
கொட்டு முழக்குடனே கூத்தாடுவ திங்கே
குரட்டை விட்டுத் தூங்கிக் கொண்டிருப்பது மங்கே

3. தேவாரமும் திருவாசகப் படிப் பிங்கே
திருவாய் மொழி யோதி ஸேவித்திருப்ப தங்கே
நாவில் பஞ்சாக்ஷரம் நாடிக்கொள்வ திங்கே
நாராயணா வென்று நம்பிக் கொள்வது மங்கே

4. சொல்லறியாத் திருக் கூட்டம் கூடுவ திங்கே
தோத்திரத்துக் கேற்கக் கருட ஸேவையு மங்கே
அல்லும் பகலும் அன்னதானச் சிறப் பிங்கே
அய்யங்கார்கள் கூடும் ஆரவார மங்கே

5. தேனும் புனுகும் பாலும் தேடிக்கொள்ளுவ திங்கே
சிறக்கப் பணிகள் பூட்டும் சிங்காரமு மங்கே
மானும் மழுவுடனே மகிழ்ச்சி கொள்ளுவ திங்கே
வலம்புரி சங்கு சக்ரமும் தரிப்ப தங்கே

6. பரமசிவனே யென்று பாடிக்கொள்ளுவ திங்கே
பாலகிருஷ்ணா வென்று பணிந்து கொள்ளுவ தங்கே
அருமறை பொருளுக் கெட்டாத வடிவ மிங்கே
ஆனந்த மூர்த்தி யென்று ஆதரிப்ப தங்கே.

Gopalakrishna Bharati's genius is best reflected in the following compositions in *"Nandanar Caritram"*:

ராகம்: மாஞ்சி தாளம்: ரூபகம் (சாபு)

பல்லவி: வருகலாமோவையா உந்தன்
அருகில்நின்று கொண்டாடவும் பாடவுந்நான் (வருக)

அநுபல்லவி: பரமகிருபாநிதி யல்லவோ இந்தப்
பறையனுபசாரஞ் சொல்லவோ உந்தன்
பரமா நந்தத் தாண்டவம் பார்க்கவேநா னங்கே (வருக)

சரணங்கள்: பூமியில்புலையனாய்ப்பிறந் தேனே - நான்
புண்ணியஞ்செய்யாமலிருந் தேனே - என்
சாமியுன் சந்நிதி வந் தேனே - பவ
சாகரம் தன்னையும் கடந் தேனே - கரை
கடந்தேனே சரண மடைந் தேனே - தில்லை
வரதா பரிதாபமும் பாபமும் தீரவே - நான் (வருகலாமோ)

(The above composition has been rendered with exquisite feeling and fervid emotion in our times by M.D.Ramanathan and K.V.Narayanaswami, among others).

Nandanar is smitten by anxiety; when would the Lord of Ambalam grant him *darsan*? The following song, a hot favourite of Madurai Mani Iyer's, is often rendered in our times by M.S.Subbulakshmi, D.K.Pattammal and T.V.Sankaranarayanan. The chosen *raga* is Jonpuri.

ராகம்: செஞ்சுருட்டி (ஜோன்புரி) தாளம்: ஆதி

பல்லவி: எப்போவருவாரோ - எந்தன்கலிதீர - எப்போவருவாரோ

அநுபல்லவி: செப்பியதில்லைச் சிதம்பரதேவன் (நாதன்) (எப்)

சரணங்கள்: நற்பருவம்வந்து நாதனைத்தேடும்
கற்பனைகள் முற்றக் காட்சிதந்தாரே (எப்)
அற்பசுகவாழ்வி லானந்தம் கொண்டேன்
பொற்பதத்தைக்காணேன் பொன்னம்பலவாணன் (எப்)
பாலகிருஷ்ணன் போற்றிப் பணிந்திடுமீசன்
மேலேகாதல் கொண்டேன் வெளிப்படக்காணேன் (எப்)

ராகம்: தேவகாந்தாரி தாளம்: ஆதி

பல்லவி: எந்நேரமும் உந்தன் சந்நிதியிலேநா–னிருக்க வேண்டுமையா

அநுபல்லவி: தென்னஞ்சோலை தழைக்கும் தென்புலியூர்
பொன்னம்பலத்தரசே யென்னரசே (எந்நே)

சரணங்கள்: திசையெங்கினும் புகழுஞ்சிவகங்கையும்
தேவசபையுஞ்சிவ காமி தரிசனமும்
பசியெடா துபார்த்த பேர்க்குக் கலக்கங்கள்
பறந்திட மகிழ்ந்துன்னைப் பாடிக் கொண்டு (எந்நே)

பஞ்சாட்சரப்படி யுங்கொடிக்கம்பமும்
கோவிலழகும்அரி தானரகசியமும்
அஞ்சல்கூறும்வீர மணிகளோசையும்
அந்தக்கரண மயக்கந் தீர்ந்து பாடிக்கொண்டு (எந்நே)

A favourite with M.S.Subbulakshmi and K.V.Narayanaswami in our times, the above song lends itself to dance recital also. It refers to the splendrous spectrum of the Nataraja shrine, in front of which the devotee would yearn to dwell for all time deep in prayer.

Yet another remarkable creation of Gopalakrishna Bharati's (rendered popular in our times by Sangita Kalanidhi Dr. Semmangudi Srinivasa Iyer and Sangita Kalanidhi Dr. Mani Krishnaswami) follows:

இராகம்: சாம தாளம்: ஆதி

பல்லவி: வருவாரோ வரந்தருவாரோ – எந்தன்
மனதுசஞ்சலிக்குதையே எப்போது (வருவா)

அநுபல்லவி: திருவாருந் தென்புலியூர் திருச்சிற்றம் பலவாணர்
குருநாதனாக வந்து குறைதீர்க்கக் கனவுகண்டேன்
இருவினைப் பிணிகளைக் கருவறுத் திடுகிறேன்
பயப்படாதே யென்று சொல்ல (வருவா)

சரணங்கள்: மறையாலும்வழுத்தறியா மகிமைபெறுநடராசன்
நறையூறுஞ்சேவடியை நம்பினவனல்லவோ
அனுதினஞ்சிவ சிதம்பரமென்ற
அடிமையென்றருள் புரிந்திடவிங்கே (வருவா)

பணிமார்புஞ் செஞ்சடையும் பார்க்க மனமுவந்து
பணியுங் கோபாலகிருஷ்ணன் துதிபரம தயாநிதி
பவக்கடலடிக்கடி பெருகு துநிலைக்குமோ
மலைக்குது கரையேற்ற (வருவா)

The sight of the Dancing Lord gladdens Nandan's heart and the composer describes the Cosmic Dance in all vividness in the following song:

ராகம் - சுரட்டி   தாளம் -ஜம்பை

பல்லவி: கனகசபைத் திருநடனம் கண்டுகளித் தானந்தமடைந்தேன்

அநுபல்லவி: சனகசனந்தன முனிவர்கள்பாடச்
சதுர்முகதேவனும் தாளங்கள்போடத்
தினமுமூவாயிரம் பேர்களுங்கூடத்
திக்கிடதைய்யதித்தோம் தத்தோமென்று (கனக)

சரணம்: நந்திபிருங்கிசிவ கணங்களும்கூட
நாரதர்தும்புரு சங்கீதங்கள்பாடப்
பந்திபந்தியா யமரர்கொண்டாடக்
கோபாலகிருஷ்ணன் மத்தளம்போட (கனக)

We understand on Professor P. Sambamurthy's authority that the famous composition *'Natanamadinar'* in *raga* Vasanta, which is particularly popular in Bharata Natyam recitals, is a creation of Gopalakrishna Bharati's. Kamala used to give this magnificent composition a thrilling dance exposition half a century ago. Besides Kamala, Yamini Krishnamurti and Chitra Visweswaran have often presented this item in their recitals. It is a pity that very few dancers in the current scene have any use for this majestic composition, remarkable as much for the thought embodied in it as for its lyrical quality as a dance number. We reproduce its text below.

ராகம்: வஸந்த   தாளம்: கண்ட அட

பல்லவி: நடனம் ஆடினார் - வெகு
நாகரீக மாகவே கனகசபையில் ஆனந்த (நட)

அனுபல்லவி வட கைலையில் முன்னாள் மாமுனிக்கருள் செய்த
படி தவறாமல் தில்லைப்பதியில் வந்து
தை மாதத்தில் - குருபூசத்தில் - பகல் நேரத்தில் (நட)

சரணம்: அட்டதிசையுங் கிடுகிடென்னச் சேடன் தலைநடுங்க
அண்ட மதிரக்கங்கைத் துளிசிதறப் பொன்னாடரும் கொண்டாட
இட்டமுடனே கோபால கிருஷ்ணன் பாடச் சடையாட
அரவப் படமாடத் தோளில் தொடியாடத்
தொந்தோமென்று - பதவிகள் - தந்தோமென்று (நட)

ஜதி:

தாம் தகிட தகஜம் தகஜம் தரிகும் தரிதீம் திமித
ததணம் ததணம் ததணம் தரித தினுதினுத தித்ளாம் தித்ளாம் தித்
தாஹத் தஜ்ஜணு தனந்த டிங் டிங் டிங்கு தாதைய தைய
ததிமி தகிட தகதஜ ணாததக தக்கிட தகதாம்
தத்தோமென்று (நட) (Courtesy: T.S. Parthasarathy)

Yet another composition, *'Innamum sandehappadalamo'* ('Why do you entertain doubts still?'), rendered in the *raga* Kiravani, is also attributed to Gopalakrishna Bharati.

Vedanayakam Pillai, another great composer, was a disciple of Gopalakrishna Bharati.

The late Sangita Kalanidhi Dr.S. Ramanathan has done a great service to the cause of our musical tradition by publishing in 1972 an authentic edition of Gopalakrishna Bharati's compositions, particularly *"Nandanar Caritram"*. In recent years Lakshmi Viswanathan has choreographed, with a great measure of success, a dance-drama on *'Nandanar Caritram'* based on Gopalakrishna Bharati's songs. The medium of the cinema was used effectively by Maharajapuram Viswanatha Iyer, M.M. Dandapani Desikar and other musicians of a generation back to bring out the beauty of the compositions in *'Nandanar Caritram.'*

There is yet another composition of Gopalakrishna Bharati from 'Nandanar Caritram' which Sangita Kalanidhi K.V.Narayanaswami has made popular in recent months, the text of which is reproduced here in view of its tremendous appeal.

இராகம்: பியாகு தாளம்: ரூபகம்

பல்லவி: இரக்கம் வராமற் போன தென்ன காரணம் சுவாமி

அநுபல்லவி: கருணைக் கடலென் றுன்னைக் காதில்கேட்டு நம்பி வந்தேன் (இரக்)

சரணங்கள்: பழியெத்தனை நான் செய்யினும் பாவித்திடுஞ்சி தம்பரமென்று
மொழிகற்றவர் வழிபெற்றவர் கனகசபாபதி யேயின்னும் (இரக்)
ஆல மருந்தியண்டருயிரை யாதரித்தவுன்கீர்த்தி
பாலகிருஷ்ணன் பாடித்தினமும் பணிந்திடும் நடராசமூர்த்தி (இரக்)

Muttu Tandavar

Yet another honoured name among composers of Carnatic music, with profound attachment to Nataraja and Cidambaram, is Muttu Tandavar, who lived more than three hundred and fifty years ago. He belonged to Sirkali (Thanjavur district). Although Tandavar came from no musical lineage, his instincts drew him close to a woman engaged in temple service at Sirkali, and he spent the best part of his time listening to *Sivanama Kirtanas* sung by her. His relatives' impatience with this infatuation and his affliction with leprosy led to social ostracism. With gnawing hunger and in the grip of the fell disease, he became lost, one day, in deep meditation inside the temple at Sirkali. Quite unaware of Tandavar's presence within, the authorities locked up the temple for the night, after the day's rituals were over. When Tandavar awoke from his trance at a late hour in the night, he realized his predicament. Hunger overpowered him; in sheer despair, he raised his hands in appeal to the Supreme Benefactor. The Goddess of the temple assumed the form of the ten-year old daughter of the temple-priest and appeared before him with a bowl of food and asked him why he looked so despondent. He told the girl of his relatives' scorn and neglect, his own physical affliction and hunger. After partaking of the food from the bowl, Tandavar, in his despair, asked the girl for a cure for his disease. She directed him to go to Tillai and worship, through music, the Lord of the Cosmic Dance. Tandavar was at a loss as to how he could compose or sing, for he had hitherto displayed no such capabilities. The girl assured him that Nataraja would bless him in the process if he started singing using the first words that he heard from those worshipping the Lord at Cidambaram. When the girl had disappeared from the scene, Tandavar realized that she was none other than the Divine Mother. He was now blessed and became Muttu Tandavar.

When he reached Tillai, he had a holy bath in the Sivaganga tank, offered worship to Sri Mulanatha and strained his ears to pick up the first few words of devotees, and as he heard them, he burst forth into the song, *'Bhuloka Kailasagiri Cidambaram allal bhuvanattil verum undo? '* in *raga* Bhavapriya. As soon as he had in inspiration finished the song, Tandavar was amazed at his newly acquired ability to sing, and he noticed five gold coins before him — the grace of Nataraja. Soon he was also cured of his leprosy.

Tandavar's some other compositions were also inspired by the first words he heard from worshippers at the Nataraja temple. When once, it so happened, not a single devotee spoke, even in a whisper, he burst forth into the song, *'Pesade nenjame'* ('O mind, speak not!'). Once again, on his way from Sirkali to Cidambaram, the river Kollidam was in floods and he sang then the famous song, *'Kanamal vinile kalam kalittome'* in *raga* Kambhodi; the floods receded, Tandavar crossed the river and sang the piece, *'Darsanam seivene'* ('I am now sure of worshipping Lord Nataraja'); and after visiting the shrine, he burst forth into the piece, *'Kanda pin kan kulirnden'.* ("My eyes have 'cooled' after a sight of the Lord.")

Tandavar's experiences of the beauty, grace and beneficence of the Lord of the Cosmic Dance were embodied in songs of rare devotional content and musical excellence. He has to his credit nearly sixty songs and twenty-five *padas.* The *Khamas padam, 'Teruvil varano'* and the piece, *'Sevikka vendum'* are well-known. Simplicity of diction and a forthright expression of his spiritual ecstasy over Nataraja mark his compositions. Muttu Tandavar's *padams* such as *'Teruvil varano'* are based on the theme of *gaura srngara* (dignified love).

Muttu Tandavar's poetic genius, simple diction and unflagging devotion to Nataraja are seen in his following compositions:

'Arumarundoru' - Kambhodi (a song which cured the composer of a snake-bite),
'Kanamal vinile' - Dhanyasi.

It is noteworthy that, in the latter song, the composer describes the entire temple complex and refers to the Govindaraja shrine also, reflecting the eclecticism of the age. The credit for popularising the former piece, in our times, should go to Sangita Kalanidhi Dr. D.K. Pattammal.

The composition in Todi opening with the line *'Enneramum oru kalait-tukkik-kondirukkira vagai edu'* is attributed to Muttu Tandavar.

To Sangita Kalanidhi T. Balasarasvati should go the credit for including (and popularising) the Khamas *padam 'Teruvil varano'* in her Bharata Natyam *repertoire* — a piece which I have seen her rendering, with characteristic grace, from a very early phase of her illustrious career. She did not allow her devotion to this piece to be dimmed by age and time. Like many others of Muttu Tandavar's, this composition too has an eternal appeal. Such *padams* are warmly commended to the present and succeding generations.

The texts of the following compositions are reproduced below: *Sevikka-vendum aiya, Arar asaippadar, Kanamal vine kalam, Darisanam seyvene, Arumarundoru, Teruvil varano.*

இராகம்: ஆந்தோளிகா

பல்லவி: சேவிக்க வேண்டுமையா – சிதம்பரம்
சேவிக்க வேண்டுமையா

அநுபல்லவி: சேவிக்கவேண்டுஞ் சிதம்பரமூர்த்தியாந்
தேவாதிதேவன் திருச்சந்நிதிகண்டு (சே)

சரணங்கள்: காரானைமாமுகத் தைந்துகரத்தானை
கற்பகராயனை முக்குறுணியானைச்
சீரார் புலியூர்ப்பதியெல்லை வாசல்வாழ்
தேவர்சிறைமீட்குஞ் சேவற்கொடியானை (சே)

2. சிங்காரமான சிவகங்கையில் மூழ்கிச்
சிவகாமிசந்நிதி முன்பாகவேவந்து
பாங்காகவே பிரதட்சணஞ்செய்து
பத்தர்கள் சித்தர்கள் பணிவிடையோர்தொழச் (சே)

3. சிட்டர்பரவுந் திருமூலத்தானைச்
சிற்றம்பலமென்னும் பேரம்பலத்தானை
அட்டதிக்கும்புக ழம்பலவாணனை
ஆண்டவனைத் தில்லைத்தாண்டவ ராயனைச் (சே)

4. நல்லதிருவிழா வானித்திருதேரும்
நாடெங்குமேபுகழ் நற்கோபுரநான்குந்
தில்லைமூவாயிரவர் வளர்வீதியுந்
திருமஞ்சனமு மார்கழிதரிசனமுஞ் (சே)

ராகம் - நாதநாமக்கிரியை தாளம்: ஏக

பல்லவி: ஆரராசைப்பட்டார் நின்பாதத்துக் காரராசைப்பட்டார்

அநுபல்லவி: அருள்பாராய் பதந்தாராய் துயர்தீராய் புலியூராய்
நின்பாதத்துக் (காரார்)

சரணங்கள்: கனகமேனியன்பனக சயனன்கஞ்சனுடன்
பதஞ்சலிபோற்ற அனவரதமுங்
கனகசபையு ளாடிச்சிவந்ததென்னைத்
தேடியபாதத்துக் (காரார்)

2. பரதவித்தவெங்கனற் போலுற்றவந்தகன்
பாசத்தின்மேவியே நேசிப்பதேதுனைச்
சேவித்தவேளையிலே முத்திபாலிக்குந்தேவே
யென்னையாண்ட கோவே நின்பாதத்துக் (காரார்)

3. அருவரைதன்னை இருபதுகையா
லசைத்துபலன் கொண்டெடுத்தராவணன்
ஒருபதுசிரம் நெரியவேமுன்னொரு
விரலூன்று மருமலர்ப்பாதத்துக் (காரார்)

4. மூவாயிரவரும் பூவார்மனிதரும்
முப்பத்துமுக்கோடி தேவர்முனிவரும்
தேவாதிதேவனே வாவாவென்றேத்திடும்
தேசாசிவகாமிநேசா நின்பாதத்துக் (காரார்)

(A beautiful composition, popularised in recent years, by Sangita Kalanidhi Dr. M.S.Subbulakshmi.)

இஃது கொள்ளிடக் கரைமேல் நின்று பாடியது

ராகம் - காம்போதி தாளம்: ஜம்பை

பல்லவி: காணாமல்வீணிலே காலங்கழித்தோமே

அநுபல்லவி: சேடனார்போற்றுந்தில்லைச் சிதம்பரஸ்தலத்தைக் (காணா)

சரணங்கள்: சேரன்சோழன் பாண்டியனிரண்ணியவன்மன்
கோபுரமுஞ்சு ரவீரப்பபூபன் செய்ததிருமதில்களும்
பாருலகும்போற்றுகின்ற பஞ்சாக்ஷரப்படிகளும்
ஆரங்கள் சூழ்ந்த திருவாயிரக்கால் மண்டபமும் (காணா)

2. கங்கையும்நிறைந்த சிவகங்கையும் படித்துறையும்
மங்கைசிவ காமியம்மை வாசல்பணிமண்டபமுந்
திங்களணி திருமூலநாதர்அருட் சந்நிதியும்
பொங்குசெல்வம்போலுயர்ந்த தங்கப்பேரம்பலமுங் (காணா)

3. நிர்த்தசபை கனகசபை சிற்சபையின் தெரிசனமும்
முத்திபெறலாமெனவே முழங்குஞ்சின்னத்தொனியும்
பத்தர்க்குட்சிறந்த கோவிந்தராஜர் சந்நிதியும்
சுற்றிலுந்துலங்க ரத்னசொர்ணக்கொடிமரங்கள் (காணாமல்)

4. தில்லைமூவாயிரவர் முனிவர்பெரும் வீதிகளும்
அல்லும்பகலு மளிக்குமன்னதான சிறப்புஞ்
சொல்லரிய மடங்களுஞ்சோலைகளும் வாவிகளும்
நல்லதிருக்கூட்டங்களும் நாலுதெருவீதிகளும் (காணாமல்)

(sung when thwarted by floods in the Kollidam on his way to Cidambaram.)

ராகம்: பைரவி   தாளம்: ஆதி

பல்லவி: தெரிசனஞ்செய்வேனே முத்திகொடுக்கும் திருவம்பலவாணேசனை

அநுபல்லவி: அரியயனிருவரு மறியாதவிமலனை
கரியுரிபோர்த்தநங் கருணைக்கடலைத் தேடித் (தெரி)

சரணங்கள்: செஞ்சடை மதிகங்கையுந் திருமுகஞ்சிறந்த
பங்கயச்செங்கையும் பஞ்சாட்சரப்படியும்
பாதத்தணிசிலம்பும் நெஞ்சாரவே துதித்து நின்
றெனதுகண்ணாரத் (தெரி)

2. காளியுடன்வாதனையிரு முனிக்குங்
காட்சிகொடுத்த நாதனைமாலுடன்பணி
யிரணியவன் றனக்கருள் காலகாலனை யன்பர்
கருத்திற்குடி கொண்டானைத் (தெரி)

3. சிவகாமிபிராணேசனை யெனையாண்டருள்
தில்லையம்பதியீசனை அவனிதொழுதயாபரனை
யென்னையனை சிவசிதம்பர தேவசிற்
றம்பலவாணனைத் (தெரி)

(sung when the floods subsided, and in anticipation of the sight of the Lord.)

ராகம்: சங்கராபரணம் தாளம்: ஆதி

பல்லவி: கண்டபின் கண்குளிர்ந்தேன்ஜனனக் கடலைக் கரைகடந்தேன்

அநுபல்லவி: அண்டர்பிரானைக் கருணாகடாக்ஷனை
யம்பலத்தைக் கண்டபேர்க் கருள்மோக்ஷனை
அண்டபகிரண்டமும்படை நேயனையாண்டவனை
நித்தியத்தாண்டவராயனைக் (கண்ட)

சரணங்கள்: அந்தப்பிறைகங்கைதா னசைந்தாடவே
யமரர்முனிவர்சிவசிவ வென்னவே
சந்தித்தேயன்புடன் தும்புருநாரதர்
சங்கீதமே பக்க விந்தைக்கிசைந்தமால்
மத்தளம் கொட்டவே வேதங்கணீரென்று
தாளமுழங்கவே திந்தோந்திரிகிடதோதிடி யென்னவே
சிந்தித்து நின்றாடுமும்பர்கள் கோனைக் (கண்டபின்)

2. பரவைதன்வாசலிற்றூதனை வேதனைப்
பத்தர்க்கு முத்தியளித்திடுங்கர்த்தனைக்
கரமதிற்சூலகபாலந் தரித்தானைக் கங்காளனைப்பரனை
நிராமயமாகப் புறாந் தருணாகனை நித்தியகல்யாணனைச்
சித்தவினோதனைப் பரம்பரமாகிய வாண்டவனைக்
கிருபையாரென் பாருக்கருள் பேரம்பலத்தானைக் (கண்)

3. தண்சேல்நல்விழிமாகாளிவாதுக்குத்
தாக்கனித்தெந்நாளிசொல் வியரண்டு
கண்படைத்தேயெதிர்த் தாடுகின்றான்
தலைகவிழ்ந்தப்புறம்நிற்கவே
மண்ணிலொருபாதம் விண்ணிலொரு
பாதமாகவேவைத் தூர்த்தநடனஞ்செய்
தண்ணலைக்கண்ணனை யாளுமுக்கண்ணனை
யனங்கனைவென்ற கனகசபேசனை (கண்)

(sung after *darsan* of the Lord)

ராகம்: காம்போதி

பல்லவி: அருமருந்தொருதனிமருந்திது அம்பலத்தேகண்டேனே

அநுபல்லவி: திருமருந்துடன் பாகமருந்து தில்லையம்பலத்தாடும்மருந்து இருவினை
களறுக்குமருந்து ஏழையடியர்க்கிரங்குமருந்து (அருமரு)

சரணங்கள்: கொன்றைதும்பை யணிந்தமருந்து
கோதை மீதிற்படர்ந்த மருந்து
மன்றுளேநின்றாடுமருந்து
மாணிக்கவாசகர் கண்டமருந்து

2. இந்திரரானவர்வானவர்தாமு
மிருடிகள் தமக் கெட்டாமருந்து
சந்திரசூரியர்காணா மருந்து
தானேமுளைத்துத் தழைத்தமருந்து

3. திரித்திதித்தியென்றாடு மருந்து
தேவாதிமூவர்கள் காணாமருந்து
கருத்தைத்திருத்தியிருத்துமருந்து
காலனைக்காலாலுதைத்த மருந்து (அருமரு)

(Sung after being bitten by a snake. Made popular in recent years by D.K. Pattammal. It is notable for its sustained imagery and lyrical finish.)

ராகம்: கமாஸ்

பல்லவி: தெருவில்வாரானோ எனைச்சற்றே – திரும்பிப்பாரானோ

அநுபல்லவி: உருவிலியொடுதிரிபுரத்தையுமுடனெரிசெய்த நடராஜன் (தெரு)

சரணங்கள்: வாசல்முன்னில்லானோ வெனக்கொரு
வாசகஞ்சொல்லானோ நேசமாய்ப்புல்லேனோ
கழைவைத்தராசனை வெல்லேனோ
தேசிகனம்பலவாணனடம்புரி
தேவாதிதேவன்சிதம்பரநாதன் (தெரு)

2. போதும்போகுதில்லையேயெனக்கொரு
தூதுசொல்வாரில்லையே
ஈதறிந்தேனில்லையேயென்மேற்குற்றமே
தொன்றுமில்லையே
வேதனுமாலுமூவாயிரருந்திரள்விண்ணவருந்
தொழவாடியபாதன் (தெரு)

Sirkali Arunacala Kavirayar (A.D. 1712-1779)

Distinguished among composers for his opera, "Rama Natakam", Arunacala Kavi was equally fascinated by Nataraja of Cidambaram. One of his well-known compositions, on Nataraja, merits reproduction here:

ராகம்: சௌராஷ்டிரம்

பல்லவி: தில்லைத்தலம்போலே சொல்லப்புவிமீதில்
தெய்வஸ்தலங்களுண்டோ நாளும்

அநுபல்லவி: சொல்லுந்தொளாயிரந் தொண்ணூற்றொன்பது
தூயகலை நிரைபாத்திரம் எங்கும்போய்
வருமோர்கலை மாத்திரம்ஆக
வாயிரமாஞ் சிவக்ஷேத்திரந் (தில்லை)

சரணங்கள்: பத்திமணிக்கோபுரத்தைக் கண்டாற்சிவ
பத்தியிலேமனந் தூக்கும்அதை
உய்த்துவரவரச்சித்தம்பரிசுத்த முள்ளேசிவஞானந்தெக்கும்
அந்தநெற்றியிற்பூதிப்பொடித் தூள்கள்பட்டாலும்
நீங்காப்பிணியெல்லாம் நீங்கும்வந்து
சற்றேமிதித்தாலு மெல்லவர்க்கும்சிவ
தன்மநினைவையுண்டாக்கும்பூர்வகன்மவினைகளைப்போக்கும்
மறுஜென்மமெடாமலே காக்கும் (தில்லை)

2. கங்கைசிவகாமிசந்நிதிகாணவே நன்மையிலே நிலைகாட்டும்
மகாலிங்கத் திருமூலநாதரை சேவிக்க
நெஞ்சுக்கவலையையோட்டும் ஆறங்கசபைதனைக்
கண்களாற்காணவே அற்புதந்தானே பாராட்டுஞ்
சற்றுஞ்சங்கையில்லாச் சிவகங்கையின் மூழ்கியே
ஸ்நானஞ்செய்வார்க் கின்பங்காட்டுஞ்
சிவஞானந்தப்பாமலே கூட்டும்
முத்தியானந்தத்திலே முழுக்காட்டுந் (தில்லை)

3. கோடிமறையாலுஞ் சொல்லிமுடியுமோ
கோடானுகோடி யுல்லாசன்ஐயன்
ஆடியபாதம் பணியாதபேருக்கதைவிட
வேறுண்டோமோசம் நாளும்
தேடியமூவரும் தேவரும்வந்து
தினகியநாலுதிக்கும் விலாசம்
ஒருக்காலும்வரா தெமபாசம் இதுவே
பூலோக கயிலாசம் (தில்லை)

Marimutta Pillai

Yet another great composer, generally regarded as a contemporary of Arunacala Kavi and deeply dedicated to Nataraja of Cidambaram, was Marimutta Pillai, who will be remembered, among other compositions, for three outstanding pieces:

1) *Orukkal Siva Cidambaram enru* — *raga* Arabhi
2) *Kalaittukki ninradum deivame* — *raga* Yadukula-kambhodi
3) *Edukkittanai modi* — *raga* Suratti

The texts of these three songs are reproduced here for ready reference.

ராகம்: ஆரபி தாளம்: ஆதி

பல்லவி: ஒருக்கால்சிவசிதம்பரமென்று நீசொன்னா லிருக்காதூழ்வினையே

அநுபல்லவி: கருக்காறருகிதுதெரியும் பொதுவிலொரு
காலைத்தூக்கிநின்ற கோலத்தைமனதில் வைத் (தொருக்)

சரணங்கள்: சூழ்வலியுடையபஞ்சாக்கினியிடை
நின்றுசொரூபங்கரிவானேன்
மனைவாழ்வைவெறுத்துக் கனிகாயுஞ்சரகுந்
தின்றுமாதவம்புரிவானேன்
பலவேள்விகள் செய்தந்த வோமகுண்டத்தி
னெய்யைவீணிலே சொரிவானேன்
காதுங்கேள்வியில்லாதமுழுமோ நிகளாய்த்தலையிற்கிளைத்திட்ட
சடைதனைவளைத்திட்டுத்திரிவானேன் (ஒருக்)

2. வேதமந்திரஞ்சொல்லிவாயிரத்
தெண்டன்புவிமீதினில்விழுவானேன்
இரு-பாதமுஞ்சிவந்திடத் தலங்கடோறுந்திரிந்துபல
தெய்வந்தொழுவானேன்
கொல்லன்ஊதும்துருத்திபோலே
வாயுவைக்கும்பித்துடல் யோகத்திலெழுவானேன்
ஐந்துபூதங்களுங்கலங்கப் பிரதட்சணமாய்ப்புரண்டு
புரண்டுமதிமருண்டெழுந்தழுந்திடுவானேன் (ஒருக்)

3. உருக்கியுடலைமெத்த வருந்தியுறக்கத்தையு
மூனையுந்துறப்பானேன்
சீலையரைக்கில்லா நிருவாணியாகிலோகவாழ்க்கை
யனைத்தையும்மறப்பானேன்
வருநரைக்குந்திரைக்குங்கற்பமருந்திச்சித்தர்களாகி

நாடெங்கும்பறப்பானேன்சபைத்திரைக்குள்ளே மறைவாகி
யிருக்கும்ரகசியத்தின் திறந்தெரியாமல்வீணே
யிறந்தின்னம்பிறப்பானேன் (ஒருக்)

ராகம்: யதுகுலகாம்போதி

பல்லவி: காலைத்தூக்கி நின்றாடுந் தெய்வமே யென்னைக்
கைதூக்கியாள் தெய்வமே.

அநுபல்லவி: வேலைத்தூக்கும்பிள்ளை தனைப் பெற்ற தெய்வம்
மின்னும்புகழ் சேர்தில்லைப் பொன்னம்பலத்திலொரு (காலை)

சரணங்கள்: செங்கையின்மான்தூக்கிச் சிவந்த மழுவுந்தூக்கி
அங்கத்திலொருபெண்ணை யனுதினந்தூக்கி
கங்கையைத்திங்களைக் கதித்தசடையிற்றூக்கி
இங்குமங்குமாய்த்தேடி யிருவர்கண்டறியாத (காலை)

2. நந்திமத்தளந்தூக்க நாரதர்யாழ்தூக்க
தொந்தமென்றயன்றாளஞ் சுதியொடுதூக்க
சிந்தைமகிழ்ந்துவானோர் சென்னிமேற்கரந்தூக்க
முந்தும்வலியுடைய முயலகனுனைத்தூக்க (காலை)

3. கும்பமண்டபத்தைத் தூக்கக் கொடுங்கை கும்பத்தைத்தூக்க
பைம்பொற்சுவர் கொங்கை பாதத்தைத்தூக்க
எம்பிபாரத்தைவிராட்டிதய தாமரைதூக்கச்
செம்பொன்னம்பலத்திலே தெற்குமுகமாயொரு (காலை)

ராகம்: சுரட்டி
தாளம்: சாபு

பல்லவி: ஏதுக்கித்தனைமோடி தானுமக்கென்றன்மேலையா

அநுபல்லவி: பாதிப்பிறையைச் சடையிற்றரித்த பரமேதில்லைப்பதிநடேசரே (ஏ)

சரணங்கள்: ஆட்டுக்காலெடுத் தம்பலத்தினின்றீ
ரதனைச்சொன்னேனோ ஒற்றை
மாட்டுக்கார னென்றாருடனாகிலும்
வாய்மதஞ் சொன்னேனோ
தலைஓட்டிலே யிரந்துண்டீரென்றந்த
வுண்மையைச் சொன்னேனோ
பல்லைக்காட்டியேமுப்புரத்தார் முன்னேநின்றதையு
மெச்சிலுண்டதையுஞ் சொன்னேனோ (ஏ)

2. சாதியுந்தகப்பனுமில்லாத் தனியரென்றேனோ
பெண்ணாற்பாதி யுடம்பாகிக்கள்ளுஞ்
சுமந்திட்ட பறையரென்றேனோ
சாதிபேதமாய்ப் பிள்ளைக்குக்
குறவர்வீட்டிற்பெண்கொண்டீ ரென்றேனோ
மறையோதியவணங்கு நடேசரேயும்மை
நானொப்பாருமில்லாத தப்பிலியென்றேனோ (ஏ)

3. அழுந்தவேபிரம்படிபட்ட கூலியாளரென்றேனோ
தசைகழிந்த வெள்ளெலும்பணிந்த
பயித்தியக்கார ரென்றேனோ
கட்டப்பழந்துணியின்றித்
தோலுடுத்தைதைப்பழிப்புச் சொன்னேனோ
சிறுகுழந்தையைக்கொல்ல ஆண்டியாய்வந்த
திருட்டெல்லாம்வெளியிட்டுச் சொன்னேனோ (ஏ)

Vaidisvaran Koyil Kumarasvami Kavirayar and Sabhapati Mudaliar

These comparatively obscure composers were equally devoted to Nataraja of Cidambaram. They only underline the basic fact that dedication to Nataraja and Tillai cuts across all barriers of caste, and the Cosmic Dancer of Cidambaram has a universal appeal. Sabhapati Mudaliar's composition *'Tandavam seyyum vagai kelum'* in *raga* Yamuna Kalyani is remarkable for the details it outlines of the Lord's Cosmic Dance, and the five sacred syllables Na, Ma, Si, Va, Ya — as the text, reproduced here, will establish.

பல்லவி: தாண்டவஞ்செய்யும் வகைகேளும் எங்கள் நடேசர்
தாண்டவஞ்செய்யும் வகைகேளும்.

அநுபல்லவி: வேண்டும்வரம் அடியார்க்கீண்டருளும் எங்கள்
ஆண்டவன் ; அரவணிபூண்டவன் சிற்சபையில் (தாண்)

சரணங்கள்: ஓதானந்தத்தூண்டவமொன்றும் நாளும்
உம்பர்கள்தொழுஞ்சபாதாண்டவமென்றும்
தீதில்கவுரிதாண்டவமொன் றோடும்
திரிபுரத்தையெரித்ததாண்டவமென்றும்

மோதுங்காளிதாண்டவமென்பதொன்றும் காம
முனியுமுனிவர்தாண்டவமென்பதொன்றும்
ஏதமில்சங்காரதாண்டவமொன் றுடனாக
ஏழாகுமென்றாகமங்கள் தாமமாலுரைக்கும் (தாண்)

2. இந்தவுலகமுதல்எல்லாம் படைக்கும்
எடுத்தவலக்கரத்திற்றமருகமென்றும்
முந்துசராசரத்தை யெல்லாம்
முளரிமலரைநிகரபயாஸ்தமென்றும்
தந்தஅயன்முதலோ ரெல்லாம்அழியச்
சங்காரஞ்செய்யும்இடக்கையமாதீயென்றும்
எந்தவுயிர்களையும் மறைக்கைவீசுங்கை
எடுத்தாள்முத்திதருமென்றும்படிக்கும் (தாண்)

3. நகரம் தமருக வடிவாம்மகரம்
நல்ல அபயகரத்தின் வடிவாம்
சிகரம்தழலின் வடிவாம்வகரம்
திரோபவஞ்செய்கின்ற விசுகைவடிவாம்
யகரம்அனுக்கிரகஞ் செய்யமுணம்
எடுத்தஇடக்கையின் வடிவாகுமென்றும்
தகரவித்தை தனையறிந்துதொழத்
தக்கவடியாருளம்புக்கமரும்நடேசர் (தாண்)

Pallavi Doraiswami Iyer of Thanjavur (A.D. 1782-1816)

A Telugu *brahmana* born at Tiruvaiyaru, Pallavi Doraiswamy Iyer was a composer of rare distinction. A contemporary of Tyagaraja and, therefore, of Gopalakrishna Bharati, too, Pallavi Doraiswami Iyer composed *varnam's* and *kriti's* in Telugu with the *mudra* 'Subrahmanya'. Doraiswami Iyer put his two sons, Govinda Sivan and Sabhapati, under Tyagaraja's care. There has ever since been a musical tradition in the family. Sabhapati's grandson was Sangita Kalanidhi T.S. Sabhesa Iyer of Tiruvaiyaru (A.D. 1872-1948), who was the first Principal of the Music College of the Annamalai University — whom our family had the privilege to know and who was the *guru* of Sangita Kalanidhi Musiri Subrahmanya Iyer. Unfortunately, Doraiswami Iyer's life-span was only thirty-four years; but he packed into this brief span the composition of forty-nine songs in Telugu on Siva. He was also a proficient painter and illustrated his songs too. In one of the pictures, he represents himself as standing at one end as a devotee of Nataraja, Whom he looked upon as his *'Kula-deivam'*. Doraiswami Iyer proved his mettle in Pallavi singing in a contest with Bobbili Kesavayya, which he won, and so he came to be known as Pallavi Doraiswami Iyer.

The text, transliterated into the Tamil as well as Roman alphabet, of his well-known composition *"Adinamma Harudu"* in raga Pharaz is reproduced below in order to indicate his total dedication to Nataraja and the high quality of his musical genius.

Yet another composition is *'Adbhuta natanam'* in *raga* Pantuvarali, packed with *solkattu's* also.

Raga Pharaz Adi Tala

பல்லவி: ஆடீனம் மா ஹருடு த்ரிகுடு தத்தை யனி

அநுபல்லவி: ஜாடக கிரி கன்யகனு க்ரீகண்ட
ஜூடனம்ப ஸா பாஸனி கொனி யாட
ஜூட ஜூட வேடுக கா சந்த்ரசூடுண்டு
மூடு கண்ட்ள வாடு (ஆடீனம்)

சரணம்: செவுலணுண்டு தாடங்க குண்டல
சவி செக்கிட மெருகாட ஜாஹ்னவீ
யுவதீ யுதமைன ஜட கட்டு முடியு
வீடி யஸி யாட
நவரஸம்பு லொல்க மோமு சிரு நவ்வுமுத்து குல்க
த்ரிபுவனாவன சதுருடு வெலயு
த்ரிபுர ஹருடு (ஆடீனம்)

In order to demonstrate the merit of vocal music in producing sounds which the *veena* may not be able to, Pallavi Doraiswamy Iyer is reported to have composed this song with repeated GRRR sounds which could not be satisfactorily brought out on the *veena*.

Pallavi: Adinamma Harudu dhrigudu tattaiyani

Anu: jadaga Girikanyakanu Krikanta
judanamba sa pasani koniyada
juda juda vedukaga candra cudundu
mudu kandla vadu (Adinamma)

Caranam: Cevulanundu tatanka kundala
cavi cekkita meru gada jahnavi yuvati
yutamaina jadakattu mudiyu
vidi yasi yada
navarasambulu olka momu ciru navvu
muddu gulka Tribhuvana avana caturudu
velayu Tripura Harudu (Adinamma)

"The Lord danced in ecstacy. Parvati, who saw at a glance the sight of the dance of the three-eyed Siva, who was wearing the moon on His head, was pleased and praised Him. The ear-rings of the Lord shone brightly on His cheeks, the maiden Ganga was united with His matted hair, as He danced with the nine emotions vividly manifested. He sported a soft smile -- the Lord who had destroyed the three cities and shone brilliantly as He was protecting the three worlds."*

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* I am grateful to Mr T.S.Parthasarathy for making this text available to me.

Ramaswami Sivan (A.D. 1839-1897)

Ramaswami Sivan, who adopted the *mudra: 'Guha-dasa'*, also composed songs on Nataraja of Cidambaram. His composition, *'Ananda Natesa Cidakasa prakasa'* in *raga* Todi is best-remembered. In content and musical value, it is a notable contribution. Yet another moving piece he composed on Nataraja of Cidambaram is *'Ekkalattilum maravene'* in Natakuranji — a song full of feeling, which has been made popular in our times by the late M.D.Ramanathan, D.K. Pattammal and the Brinda-Mukta sisters. The texts of these two songs are reproduced below.

ராகம்: தோடி தாளம்: ரூபகம்

பல்லவி: ஆனந்த நடேசா சிதாகாச ப்ரகாசா

அனுபல்லவி: ஞானம் பெறும் அடியவர் குண
கானம் செய்து தியானம் செய்யும்

சரணம்: எத்தனையோ ஜன்மம் எடுத் தெடுத்துச் செய்தேன் துஷ்கர்மம்
அத்தனையும் பொறுத்து வர்மம் வைத்திடாமல் ஆள்வதுன் தர்மம்

2. கருதி நான் செய்த பாவத்திற் கெல்லை
காண்பவர் இந்த உலகில் இல்லை
திருவுளம் இனி இரங்கித் தொல்லை
தீவினை தவிர்த் தாண்டருள் தில்லை

3. கஞ்ச மலர்க் கையில் உடுக்கும்
கனலு மேந்திக் காக்க எடுக்கும்
குஞ்சித பாதம் கதி என்றடுக்கும்
குஹ தாஸர்க்குக் காட்சி கொடுக்கும்.

ராகம்: நாடகுறஞ்சி தாளம்: ரூபகம்

பல்லவி: எக்காலத்திலு மறவேனே இனி நாளே (எக்கா)

அனுபல்லவி: மைக்காலனை யக்காலத்தில்
மடியவுதைத்த அடிமலரினை (எக்கா)

சரணம்: விடையையுங் கொன்றைத் தொடையையு மதிச்
சடையையு மழுப் படையையுந் தோல்
உடையையு மணி யிடையையும் விழிக்
கடையையும் நலமடையவே நான் (எக்கா)

2. புரத்தையுமத னுரத்தையுஞ் சுட்ட
தரத்தையு மைந்து சிரத்தையுந்தச-
கரத்தையுஞ் செய்யும் வரத்தையும் பஞ்சா-
க்ஷரத்தையும் சிதம் பரத்தையும் நான் (எக்கா)

3. ஈசனைப் பிர காசனைக்குக
தாசனைக் காக்கும் நேசனை யன்பர்
பூசனை செய் விச்வாசனைத் தில்லை
வாசனை நடராசனை நான் (எக்கா)

Nilakantha Sivan (A.D.1839-1900)

Born in Padmanabhapuram (formerly of Travancore State and now in Kanyakumari district in Tamil Nadu), young Subrahmanya developed an intense devotion to Siva as Nilakantha and came to be called Nilakantha Sivan. Giving up a career in the judiciary, he turned to a life of austerity and, from a phase of *bhajana* singing, became a great composer of Tamil songs.

Among his famous compositions are:

1) *'Enraikku Siva krupai varumo'* (in *raga* Mukhari), rendered popular by Ariyakudi Ramanuja Iyengar, Musiri Subrahmanya Iyer, D.K.Pattammal and K.V.Narayanaswami,
2) *'Iha param tarum perumai'* (in *raga* Khamas, popularised by Musiri Subrahmanya Iyer),
3) *'Nava siddhi perralum'* (in *raga* Kharaharapriya),
4) *'Ananda Natamaduvar Tillai'* (in *raga* Purvikalyani). The last two have been made popular by Semmangudi Srinivasa Iyer. We reproduce here the text of number 4. It lends itself to felicitous rendering in Bharata Natyam recitals also.

ராகம்: பூரி கல்யாணி தாளம்: ரூபகம்

பல்லவி: ஆனந்த நடமாடுவார் - தில்லை
அம்பலந்தனில் அடிபணிபவர்க்கபஜயமில்லை (ஆ)

அனுபல்லவி: தானந்தமில்லா ரூபன்
தஜ்ஜம்தகஜம்தகதிமிதளாங்குதக ததிங்கிணதோம்
தளாங்குதகததிங்கிணதோம் தகதமிதகததிங்கிணதோமென்றா (னந்த)

சரணம்: பாதிமதிஜோதி பளீர் பளீரென - பாதச்சிலம்புகள் கலீர் கலீரென
ஆதிகரையுண்ட நீலகண்டம்மின்ன
ஹரபுரஹர சிவசங்கர அருள்வர குருபரஸுந்தர
அண்டமும் பிண்டமும் ஆடிட எண்டிசையும் புகழ் பாடிட (ஆ)

Papanasam Sivan (A.D.1890-1973)

Among the giants of the *Bhajana* tradition and in the galaxy of the great composers of this century, Papanasam Sivan has a special niche of fame. His compositions breathe devotion of a high order to the Supreme in all His manifestations; his Tamil compositions are notable for their rich *bhava* and the gripping flavour of the *raga's. 'Ramadasa'* was his *mudra*.

While a large number of shrines of gods and goddesses in our pantheon are the subject of Papanasam Sivan's compositions, a very fair share has been given to Cidambaram, Nataraja and Sivakamasundari. Their high musical quality, simple diction and direct appeal have made Sivan's songs quite popular among musicians and music-lovers alike. Among the better-known of these compositions on Cidambaram are:

1. Andavane unai nambinen — *raga* Shanmukhapriya
2. Cidambaram ena manam kanindida —*raga* Kalyani
3. Adum deivam — *raga* Kambhodi
4. Andavanai Nambu — *raga* Sama
5. Ananda Natamidum padan Ponnambala — *raga* Kedaragaula
6. Idadu padam — *raga* Khamas
7. Kanaka sabhai — *raga* Kapi
8. Kana Vendamo — *raga* Sri Ranjani
9. Kuncitapadam — *raga* Kambhodi
10. Cidambaranatha — *raga* Hemavati
11. Sivakamasundari — *raga* Mukhari
12. Jnana-sabhaiyil — *raga* Saranga
13. Nataraja un tiru-natanam — *raga* Vasanta
14. Natarajo vijayati — *raga* Vasanta
15. Garbhavasa — *raga* Hamsadhvani.

The list is by no means exhaustive. Ariyakudi Ramanuja Iyengar, Semmangudi Srinivasa Iyer, Madurai Mani Iyer, M.S.Subbulakshmi, D.K.Pattammal and her brother D.K.Jayaraman, M.L.Vasanthakumari, Maharajapuram Santhanam and K.V.Narayanaswami, among others, have always accorded Papanasam Sivan's compositions their due place in their recitals and brought out the elegance, the beauty and the elevation of thought that has inspired Sivan's songs. Papanasam Sivan was a gifted singer too.

Here is a sparkling sample of Papanasam Sivan's compositions:

ராகம்: கமாஸ் தாளம்: ஆதி

பல்லவி: இடதுபாதம் தூக்கி ஆடும்நட ராஜனடி பணிவையே நெஞ்சே (இடது)

அனுபல்லவி: படஅரவாட புலியதடை பக்தர்கள் ஜயஜய எனவே
புலிப் பதஞ்சலியுமிகு கண்குளிர தில்லையிலே (இடது)

சரணம்: திருவடிச் சிலம்புகள் கலீர் கலீரென - திருமுடி இளமதியொளி பளீர் பளீரென
திமிதக தரிகிடதோம் எனத்திருமால் மத்தளமதிர
சிவகாமி மணாளன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலந்தனிலே புன்னகையோ (டிடதுபாதம்)

Papanasam Sivan's *padavarnam* in the *raga* Natakuranji is striking proof of his musical génius. Its text is reproduced below.

ராகம்: நாட்டகுறிஞ்சி *தாளம்: ஆதி*

பல்லவி: ஸ்வாமி நானுந்தன் அடிமை என்று உலகமெலாம் அறியுமே
தாமதம் செய்யாது வந்தருள் மாதோர் பங்கா பூதேசா
நாமாம்ருத பானமே என் ஜீவனமே என்று நம்பினேனே
நடனமாடும் சேவடி தரிசனமென்று கிடைக்குமெனவே ஏங்கினேனே

முக்தாயி ஸ்வரத்தின் ஸாகித்யம்

செஞ்சடாடவியில் இளம் பிறை தெய்வகங்கையும் ஓரரவுமாட
இளநகை தவழும் செவ்விதழுடன் ததீம்என சிற்றம்பலந்தனிலாடும் (ஸ்வாமி)

சரணம்: நடராஜ தேவா ஸச்சிதானந்தா (நடராஜா)

சரண ஸ்வர ஸாஹித்யங்கள்

1. ஆடும் நின் அழகில் காதல் கொண்ட இவளைப்பார் (நடராஜா)
2. நந்தி பிருங்கி சிவகணம் முனிவர்களும் இந்திரன் முதல்
அமர கோடிகள் பணியும் (நடராஜா)
3. புன்னகைதவழ் இதழின் அழகையும் கடைக்கண்ணழகையும் கண்டாள் மழுப்படையை
செஞ்சடையை தோலுடையை மதகஜ நடையை
நினைந்துருகும் இவளை ஆண்டருள் (நடராஜா)

4. நீவரந்தர உடன் விரைந்து வா மெய்யன்புகொண்டு
நினைத்து நாள் முழுதும் தன் நினைவிலாள் கண் உறங்கிலள்
உணவருந்திலள் திருப்பெயரை
சொல்லிச் சொல்லிப் புலம்புவள் தனிமை தனிலே கலகலவென
நகைத்திடுமிவளின் துயரம்
தணிய அருள் நீ புரியா விடிலே மோசம் வரும் பாசமுடன் வந்தருள் (நடராஜா)

Acyuta Dasa

Many composers of recent times have enriched our treasure of songs on Cidambaram and Nataraja. This is a measure of the Lord's inspiration.

Abbai Naidu was born at Polur in North Arcot district in A.D.1880. A school-teacher by profession, he renounced worldly life, assumed the name Acyuta Dasa, and composed songs including *'Prahlada Caritram'* in Tamil. The very popular piece *'Sadananda tandavam'* in *raga* Bahudari, which has often been rendered in concerts by Semmangudi Srinivasa Iyer, Madurai Mani Iyer, D.K. Pattammal and T.V. Sankaranarayanan, is Acyuta Dasa's creation. The text is inspiring, and is given below:

ராகம்: பஹுதாரி தாளம்: ஆதி

பல்லவி: ஸதானந்த தாண்டவம் செய்யும்
பாதா வரம் தாதா ஜகந்நாதா (ஸ)

அனுபல்லவி: சிதாகாரத்தில் அத்புதாகாரமாய் ஒளி
ரதா முறை தெரிய ஸுதாம்ருதம் சொரிய (ஸ)

சரணம்: முத்தரும் சித்தரும் முனிவர்களும்
மோன மாதவரும் மா மூவர்களும்
நித்திரையாதி விட்டு நினைப்பு மறப்புக்கெட்டு
நிர் விகற்பத்தை நன்று மருவித்தனிநின்று (ஸ)

Suddhananda Bharati (A.D.1893-1990)

A prolific composer in several languages, Bharati, who was based at Sivaganga, composed mostly in Tamil, however. Among his well-known compositions are:

Arul purivai karunaik-kadale in *raga* Hamsadhvani
Jhankara-sruti seihuvai in *raga* Purvikalyani,
Kanneduttahilum kaniro in *raga* Simhendra-madhyamam.

A remarkable piece of Bharati's on Nataraja, in the raga Sankarabharanam, *"Tukkiya tiruvadi tunai ena nambinen turiya Natarajane"*, was made popular in the middle of this century by Madurai Mani Iyer and D.K.Pattammal. It contains a specific reference to the *Panca-krtya* concept. The text of the song is recorded here for the benefit of future generations of musicians, music-lovers and devotees of Nataraja — since it seems to have gone out of vogue already !

ராகம்: சங்கராபரணம் தாளம்: ஆதி

பல்லவி: தூக்கிய திருவடி துணையென நம்பினேன்
துரிய நடராஜனே (தூக்கிய திருவடி)

அனுபல்லவி: ஆக்கி அளித்துலகை நீக்கி மறைத்தருளி
ஐந்தொழில் புரிந்திடும் அம்பலவாணனே (தூக்கிய திருவடி)

சரணம்: எத்தனையோ பிறவி எடுத்தெடுத்தே இளைத்தேன்
இருவினைப் பயன்களை எய்தி எய்திக் களைத்தேன்.
சித்தம்இனியுன் மேல் வைத்திருக்க நினைத்தேன்
திக்கு வேறில்லை ஐயா தீனரைக் காக்கும் கையா
பாசமறுத்துச்சிவ நேசங் கொடுத்துனது
தாசனாய் சிதம்பரவாசனாய் வாழச் செய் (தூ)

This survey may well include a rapturous song, in the *raga* Valaji, composed by Cidambaram Nataraja Sundaram Pillai.

ராகம்: வலஜி

பல்லவி: கைவிட மாட்டான் கனகசபேசன் உனைக்
காத்திடுவான் கண்ணால் பார்த்திடுவான் நெஞ்சே

அநுபல்லவி: சைகைஅறிந்தேன் அவர் செய்கையின் திறன்தனை
பொய்யகத் தோர் காணாத் தெய்வ சபா நாதன் (கை)

சரணம்: மானிடர் அறிவினில் ஊறிடும் பொய்கையில்
தானிவர் வசிப்பவர் ஆயினும் பொதுவினில்
நானிலத் தோர்காண நாட்டியமாடிடும்
சானித்ய மூர்த்தியை த்தியானித்திருப்பாயானால் (கை)

(Courtesy : N. Srivatsa Mani)

Svarna Venkatesa Dikshitar of Cidambaram

A new star in the firmament is Svarna Venkatesa Dikshitar, one of the leading lights of the Dikshitar fraternity of our times, whose Sanskrit and Tamil compositions bring out the remarkable competence of the composer, his musical sense and understanding of the Nataraja theme. K.V.Narayanaswami has been rendering many of these excellent compositions in his concerts, and they have acquired a large measure of popular acclaim. Svarna Venkatesa Dikshitar is a regular visitor from Cidambaram to the music season in Madras.

Veethi Bhajana tradition

As a lad, I grew up on the music of Cidambaram. The *veethi bhajana* (group street-singing) in the early hours of the day, led by the veteran, Rajah Bhagavatar, round the four car streets was an inspiring part of the daily routine of Cidambaram in those spacious days. Neither rain nor the mist of the cold morning could dampen the ardour of the Bhagavatar and his troupe. At the break of dawn on many wintry mornings, I have stood by and listened to their inspired rendering of Devaram hymns and many popular compositions of Gopalakrishna Bharati, Muttu Tandavar and Papanasam Sivan.

I trace my infatuation over the many *"Nandan Caritram"* songs, Papanasam Sivan's songs, *'Cidambaram ena manam kanindida'* in Kalyani, Papanasa Mudaliar's *'Nadamadit-tirinda'* in Kambhodi, Marimutta Pillai's *'Kalaittukkininradum Deivame'* in Yadukula-kambhodi and Ramaswami Sivan's *'Ekkalattilum maravene'* in Natakuranji to the tradition of *veethi bhajana* which Raja Bhagavatar and his disciples had sustained in the early part of the century. It is sad to reflect that this tradition is now dead at Cidambaram.

Nagasvaram tradition at Cidambaram:

The *Nagasvaram* tradition of the Nataraja temple is rich and hoary. Aptly termed *Mangala Isai* (auspicious music), the *Nagasvaram* is the most sumptuous accompaniment of all festival processions in our temples; it has a singular appeal in the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram. When the processional deities depart from the *Alankara mantapa,* pass the *yaga sala,* and the twenty-one steps on to the Eastern court in front of the East Gopuram and the 1000-Pillared *mantapam,* the *Asthana Nagasvara Vidvan* of the Nataraja temple plays the *Mallari* in the *raga* Gambhira Nattai. Ever since my boyhood, when I heard it first, nothing has stirred me to the core of my being as much as Cidambaram Vaidyanatha Pillai's Mallari played traditionally on these festivals, Ani Tirumanjanam and Ardra Darsanam. Cidambaram Vaidyanatha Pillai was a legend, in his own time, among the Nagasvaram greats; no wonder, his *Nagasvaram* music had a pattern and distinctive charm of its own. The *Mallari* was elaborately played in the evening procession of the five deities on the festival days, particularly on the *Rathotsava* (ninth) Day and the Ani Tirumanjanam/Ardra Darsanam (tenth) Day of the festival, when it is quite an ordeal to even hold the instrument amidst the surging crowds in the rear, on the sides, and in front. The cymbals and the *Tavil* and the *Mridangam* play a vital accompaniment part.

Cidambaram Vaidyanatha Pillai was born in A.D.1884 at Accalpuram, a village close by on the southern bank of the Kollidam (where the young Saivite saint Sambandhar had attained beatitude at the age of sixteen when his marriage was being solemnised). So Vaidyanatha Pillai had his roots in a sanctified centre, represented the Accalpuram Nagasvaram tradition; for a major part of his life he lived in Cidambaram, totally dedicating his great art to Nataraja and Govindaraja as *Asthana Vidvan.*

The *Mallari* in Gambira Nattai at the commencement of the festival procession was followed up with an elaborate *Ragamalika* using Gaula, Arabhi, Varali and Sri *raga's*, the rendering being rounded off with Nattai, true to the *Mallari* form.

When the night procession moved on to the four car streets through the East Sannidhi, a *raga* is specially chosen for elaboration for each evening; Mayamalavagaula, Hamsadhvani, Sankarabharanam, Kambhodi, Bhairavi, Huseni, to mention only a few. On the seventh day, the Kailasa vahanam day of the festival, Huseni used to be the chosen *raga*. Kedaram used to be the favourite for elaborate rendering on the *Rathotsava* day (ninth day) of the festival — the car festival. Whatever Vaidyanatha Pillai produced on his instrument was divine; the sanctified atmosphere gave his piped music an added glow. During the festival nights of the Ani Tirumanjanam and Ardra Darsanam festivals, I have lingered for hours at a stretch at the corners of the four car streets wrapped up in the thrill of the *Nagasvaram* music of Cidambaram Vaidyanatha Pillai.

As a disciple of Kurainadu Natesa Pillai, the then Asthana Vidvan of the Nataraja and Govindaraja temples at Cidambaram, Vaidyanatha Pillai accompanied his master in playing the pipe at the major festivals and acquired considerable mastery in playing *varnams* and in Pallavi rendering.

In retrospect, I am certain that his *Nagasvaram* gave the festival processions of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram a dignity all its own and created an atmosphere which it is difficult to recapture now — the glory of a vanished age. Vaidyanatha Pillai's chief disciple, Cidambaram Radhakrishna Pillai, accompanied his master with consummate ability and transparent humility on these great occasions; and when Vaidyanatha Pillai passed away in Cidambaram in 1937, Radhakrishna Pillai stepped into the breach and kept up the rich traditions of his master as the Asthana Vidvan of the Nataraja and Govindaraja temples.

Born in August 1906 in the village Nalladai, near Mayuram, Radhakrishna Pillai had his early lessons in Nagasvaram from Tirukkannapuram Sundaram Pillai, Tiruvenkadu Kalyanasundaram Pillai and Segal Somasundaram Pillai till he moved on to Cidambaram where he came under the magic spell of his great master, Vaidyanatha Pillai, whom he accompanied at the Cidambaram festivals as a supporting artist until he succeeded his *guru* on his death in 1937, as Asthana Vidvan. Radhakrishna Pillai had a rich repertoire of Mallari's and allied *laya* treasures.

Under the auspices of the Natyanjali organisation, on Sivaratri day, (19th February 1993), the citizens of Cidambaram assembled in their thousands to honour this great *Nagasvaram Vidvan* Radhakrishna Pillai — in recognition of his devoted service to Nataraja and Govindaraja of Cidambaram. Radhakrishna Pillai passed away on 25th November 1993 at Cidambaram in his eighty-seventh year.

When age and growing infirmity prevented Radhakrishna Pillai from playing on the *Nagasvaram* at the Cidambaram festivals, his chief disciple Achalpuram Chinnatambi and the latter's disciples are now preserving this great tradition. It is a comfort that, except for marginal changes in the pattern, the tradition in the playing of the Mallari and the elaboration of the different *rakti ragas* on the various days of the two major festivals continues to be maintained. Cidambaram and the Dikshitars are tenacious in their adherence to tradition, though marginal deviations from time-honoured custom are not discouraged.

Bharata Natya tradition at Cidambaram

The home of the Lord's Cosmic Dance, Cidambaram has been the base for the Bharata Natyam tradition of the South. The *karana's* on the *gopurams* confirm the interest that the early builders of the temple complex have shown over the ages in fostering the art. The culture of Ananda Tandava at Cidambaram has a hoary past, as we have endeavoured to show in earlier chapters in Sections One and Two.

My first exposure to Bharata Natyam was in the *prakaras* of Cidambaram on the seventh day of the two major festivals — the Kailasa Vahana day, when leading *devadasis* performed.

It is a great pity that this feature of the ten day festival at Cidambaram is no longer in vogue. Our temples have been the nursery of our great arts — music, drama and dance — and they have survived to this day because of the continued patronage, over the ages, of these art forms by our temples, princes and the people.

'Natyanjali'

What has been taken away from our temples, the nurseries of Bharata Natyam over the centuries, to the concert platform in the cause and as a consequence of the abolition of the *Devadasi* system and social reform and by a studied refinement in the decor and content of a Bharata Natyam recital, should inevitably come back to its original home. Not surprising therefore, that some enterprising scholars and leading citizens of Cidambaram got together a decade ago and worked out a scheme of organising a Bharata Natyam festival at the Nataraja temple on the Maha Sivaratri day and succeeding days as a regular annual feature. The initiative came in 1982 when Mrs. C.K.Gariyali (the then Collector of South Arcot district and now Secretary, Tourism, Government of Tamil Nadu), Dr. R. Nagaswamy, former Director or Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu and Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan of New Delhi and some of the leading citizens of Cidambaram organised the first Natyanjali festival. It was being presented in the third *prakara* of the Nataraja temple on the above days. The venue has since been shifted to the open spaces east of the East Gopuram in order to accommodate the increasingly large audiences. Many artistes from foreign countries too are attracted to the Natyanjali festival, as the home of the Cosmic Dancer hosts it. Senior dancers of repute, young promising and aspiring entrants participate in the festival — an act of ˊhomage to Nataraja. The scope and the pattern of celebration of the Natyanjali festival at the Cidambaram temple have been widened a great deal over the last ten years in the light of experience and the wishes of the artistes and the lovers of the art. The various dance styles from different parts of India now find a place in the programme. The support of leading industrialists in this effort of revival of the dance traditions in the preçincts of the Nataraja temple has been quite substantial — as indeed of organisations like the Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi.

In the mornings of the Natyanjali festival, young aspirants dance on the floor of the *mantapam* in front of the Kanaka Sabha, dedicate their art to the Cosmic Dancer and invoke divine blessings for a successful career.

Nataraja-p-pattu

Any account of the musical traditions of Cidambaram will be incomplete without mention being made of a comparatively obscure composer in Tamil, Manavala Muniswami, about whose personal life and achievement very little is known.

A poem of his, of eleven stanzas, known (however) as *Natarajap-Pattu*, has come down to posterity; all the stanzas close with the refrain:

Isane Sivakami-Nesane
Enaiyinra Tillai Val Natarajane.

Couched in simple but appealing language, these verses reflect an elevation of thought and felicity of phrase far beyond the common. Deeply emotional in content, they breathe the philosophy of complete surrender to Nataraja.

My mother, who knew the entire text by heart, used to sing all the verses as part of her morning prayers. After I published the text in my earlier book, 'The City of the Cosmic Dance: Cidambaram', in 1974, T.S.Parthasarathy has commended these verses to many aspiring dancers for inclusion in their recitals; and some of them have rendered a few pieces, with gratifying results.

A study of the full text is its own reward.

நடராஜப் பத்து

மண்ணாதி பூதமொடு விண்ணாதி அண்டம் நீ, மறை நான்கின்
அடி முடியும் நீ, மதியும் நீ, ரவியும் நீ, புனலும் நீ,
அனலும் நீ, மண்டல மிரண்டேழும் நீ, பெண்ணும் நீ, ஆணும் நீ,
பல்லுயிர்க்குயிரும் நீ, பிறவும் நீ, ஒருவநீயே, பேதாதி பேதம் நீ,
பாதாதி கேசம் நீ, பெற்ற தாய் தந்தை நீயே, பொன்னும் நீ,
பொருளும் நீ, இருளும் நீ, ஒளியும் நீ, போதிக்க வந்த குரு நீ,
புகழொணா கிரகங்களொன்பதும் நீ, யிந்தப் புவனங்கள்
பெற்றவனும் நீ, எண்ணரிய ஜீவகோடிகளீன்ற வப்பனே
என் குறைகளார்க் குரைப்பேன் யீசனே சிவகாமி நேசனே
எனை யீன்ற தில்லைவாழ் நடராஜனே.

மானாட மழுவாட மதியாட புனலாட மங்கை சிவகாமி யாட,
மாலாட நூலாட, மறையாட திறையாட மறைதந்த பிரம்மனாட.
கோனாட வானுலகுக் கூட்டமெல்லாமாட, குஞ்சர முகத்தனாட,
குண்டலமிரண்டாட, தண்டை புலியுடையாட குழந்தை முருகே சனாட,
ஞான சம்பந்தரொடு யிந்திரர் பதினெட்டு முனிபட்ட பாலகருமாட
நரை தும்பை யருகாட நந்தி வாகனமாட, நாட்டியப் பெண்களாட
வினையோட உனைப்பாட யெனை நாடியிது வேளை விருதோடு ஆடி
வருவாய் யீசனே சிவகாமி நேசனே யெனையீன்ற
தில்லைவாழ் நடராஜனே.

கடலென்ற புவிமீதில் அலையென்ற வுருக் கொண்டு, கனவென்ற
வாழ்வை நம்பி, காற்றென்ற மூவாசை மாருதச் சுழலிலே,
கட்டுண்டு நித்த நித்தம் உடலென்ற கும்பிக்கு உணவென்ற
இரை தேடி ஓயாமலிரவு பகலும், உண்டுண்டுறங்குவதைக்
கண்டதேயல்லாது ஒரு பயனடைந்திலேனே, தடமென்ற மிடி கரையில்
பந்த பாசங்களெனும் தாபம் பின்னலிட்டு தாயென்று சேயென்று
நீயென்று நானென்று தமியேனையிவ் வண்ணமாய், இடையென்று
கடை நின்று யேனென்று கேளாதிருப்பதுன்னழகாகுமோ, யீசனே
சிவகாமி நேசனே யெனையீன்ற தில்லை வாழ் நடராஜனே.

பாம்பு சூனியமல்ல வைப்பல்ல மாரணத் தம்பனம் வசியமல்ல,
பாதாள வஞ்சனம் பரகாயப் பிரவேச மதுவல்ல சாலமல்ல அம்பு
குண்டுகள் விலக மொழியும் மந்திரமல்ல ஆகாய குளிகையல்ல,
அன்பொடு செய்கின்ற வாதமோடிகளல்ல அரிய மோகனமுமல்ல
கும்ப முனிமச்ச முனி சட்டமுனி பிரம்மரிஷி கொங்கணர்
புலிப்பாணியும் கோரக்கர் வள்ளுவர் போக முனி யிவரெலாம்
கூறிடும் வயித்தியமல்ல என் மனதுன்னடி விட்டு நீங்காது நிலை
நிற்க யேதுளது புகல வருவாய் யீசனே சிவகாமி நேசனே
எனையீன்ற தில்லை வாழ் நடராஜனே.

நொந்து வந்தேனென்று ஆயிரம் சொல்லியும் செவியென்ன
மந்த முண்டோ நுட்ப நெறியறியாத பிள்ளையைப் பெற்றபின் நோக்காத
தந்தையுண்டோ சந்தமுன் தஞ்சமென்றடியைப் பிடித்த பின்
தளராத நெஞ்சமுண்டோ, தந்தி முகனறு முகன் இருபிள்ளையல்லவோ
தந்தை நீமலடுதானோ, விந்தையும் ஜாலமும் உன்னிடமிருக்குதே
வினையொன்றுமறிகிலேனே, வேதமும் சாஸ்திரமும் உன்னையே
புகழுதே வேடிக்கை யிது வல்லவோ, யிந்த உலகீரேழு மேனளித் தாய்
சொல்லுயினியுன்னை விடுவதில்லை,யீசனே சிவகாமி நேசனே
யெனை யீன்ற தில்லை வாழ் நடராஜனே.

வழி கண்டு உன்னடியைத் துதியாத போதிலும் வாஞ்சை
யில்லாத போதிலும் வாலாய மாய்க் கோயில் சுற்றாத
போதிலும், வஞ்சமே செய்தபோதிலும், மொழியகனை மோகனை
யில்லாமலே பாடினும் மூர்க்கனே முகடாகினும் மோசமே செய்யினும்
தேசமேகவரினும் முழுகாமியேயாகினும் பழியெனக்கல்லவே
தாய் தந்தைக்கல்லவோ பார்த்தவர்கள் சொல்லார்களோ,
பாரறிய மனைவிக்கு பாதியுடலீந்த நீ பாலனைக் காக்கொணாதோ,
யெழில் பெரிய அண்டங்கள டுக்காயமைத்த நீ, யென்
குறைகள் தீர்த்தலரிதோ யீசனே சிவகாமி நேசனே யெனை
யீன்ற தில்லை வாழ் நடராஜனே.

அன்னை தந்தைகள் என்னை யீன்றதற்கழுவனோ
அறிவில்லாததற்கழுவனோ, அல்லாமல் நான்முகன் தன்னையே நோவனோ
ஆசை மூன்றுக்கழுவனோ முன் பிறப்பென்ன வினை
செய்தனென்றழுவனோ என் மூடவறிவுக் கழுவனோ, முன்னில்
என்வினை வந்து மூளுமென்றழுவனோ, முத்தி வருமென்றுணர்வனோ
தன்னை நொந்தழுவனோ, தவமென்னவென்றழுவனோ,
தையலார்க்க ழுவனோ, மெய் வளர்க்க ழுவனோ, தரித்திர தசைக்
கழுவனோ, இன்னமென்ன பிறவி வருமோ என்ற ழுவனோ
எல்லாமுரைக்க வருவாய் யீசனே சிவகாமி
நேசனே யெனையீன்ற தில்லை வாழ் நடராஜனே.
காயா முன் மரமீது பூ பிஞ்சறுத்தனோ கன்னியர்கள் பழி
கொண்டேனோ, கடனென்று பொருள் பறித்தே வயிறெரித்தேனோ,
கிளை வழியில் முள்ளிட்டேனோ, தாயாருடன்பிறவிக் கென்ன வினை
செய்தேனோ, தந்த பொருளிலை யென்றேனோ,
தானென்று கெர்வித்து கொலை களவு செய்தேனோ, தவசிகளை யேசினேனோ
வாயாரப் பொய் சொல்லி வீண் பொருள் பறித்தேனோ வானவரைப்
பழித்திட்டேனோ 'வடவுபோலே பிறரைச் சேர்க்காதடித்தேனோ
வந்த பின் என் செய்தேனோ ஈயாத லோபியென்றே பெயரெடுத்தேனோ
யெல்லாம் பொருத்தருள்வாய் யீசனே சிவகாமி நேசனே யெனை
யீன்ற தில்லை வாழ் நடராஜனே.

தாயாரிருந்தென்ன தந்தையுமிருந்தென்ன தன் பிறவியுறவு
கோடி தன மலை குவித்தென்ன கனபெயரெடுத்தென்ன தாரணி
யையாண்டு மென்ன, சேயர்களிருந்தென்ன, குருவாயிருந்தென்ன
சீஷர்களிவிருந்து மென்ன, சித்து பலகற்று மென்ன, நித்தமும்
விரதங்கள் செய்தென்ன, நதிகளெல்லாம் ஓயாது மூழ்கினும்
என்ன பலன் எமனோலை ஒன்றைக் கண்டு தடுக்க உதவுமோ

யிது வெலாம் சந்தையுற வென்றுதான் உன்னிரு பதம்
பிடித்தேன் யார் மீது வுன் மனமிருந்தாலும் முன் கடைக்
கண் பார்வையது போதுமே, யீசனே சிவகாமி நேசனே
யெனையீன்ற தில்லை வாழ் நடராஜனே.

இன்னமும் சொல்லவோ உன் மனங்கல்லோ இரும்போ பெரும்
பாறையோ யிரு செவியுமந்தமோ கேளாது அந்தமோயிது
வுனக்கழகுதானோ, என்னன்னை மோகமோ யிதுவென்ன சோபமோ
யிதுவோவுன் செய்கை தானோ, இருபிள்ளை தாபமோ யார் மீது
கோபமோ ஆனாலும் நான் விடுவேனோ உன்னை விட்டெங்கு
சென்றாலும் விழலாவனோ நான் உனையடுத்துங் கெடுவெனோ,
ஓகோ விதுன் குற்ற மென் குற்ற மொன்றுமிலை யுற்றுப்பார்
பெற்றவையா, என் குற்றமாயினும் உன் குற்றமா யினு மினி
யருளளிக்க வருவாய் யீசனே சிவகாமி நேசனே யெனை யீன்ற
தில்லைவாழ் நடராஜனே.

Conclusion

Many are the grand visions which have moved me deeply — Nataraja and Sivakamasundari emerging from the Kanaka Sabha on the *yatra* for the car-festival (Ratha Utsavam), richly and tastefully garlanded, bedecked in jewels of gold, emeralds and diamonds, in the front and in the rear; the time they are ceremonially enthroned in the cars; the laksharcana, the pre-dawn Mahabhishekam on the Darsanam day in the 1000-Pillared mantapam and finally, as they offer *darsan* to thousands of devotees on their way back from the Thousand-Pillared *mantapa* (Raja Sabha) to the Cit (Jnanakasa) Sabha.

The processional round on the main streets of Bhikshatana in the golden car on the eighth day of the festival, amidst shouts of 'Bhikshatanarukku Piccai, Piccai' — 'Alms, please, for the Begging Lord' — is an unforgettable sight.

The burning incense, the lighted camphor, the beat of the drums and the music of the cymbals, the majestic chime of the temple bells, the *Oduvar's* rendering of the Devaram hymns and Nataraja's perfumed *vibhuti* — these create an atmosphere which is spiritually uplifting and emotionally satisfying. Each of the six daily *pujas* is inspiring — from pal neivedyam (offering of milk to the Lord when He wakes up in the morning) to the ardhajamapuja (when the lullaby is sung). At the end of each puja, the processionists complete their perambulation of the Kanaka Sabha and the Cit Sabha and they round off the ceremonial music with the notation, *tat-tat-tagum*, rendered thrice. Therein lie the music, the mysticism and the majesty of Nataraja and His Cosmic Dance.

Cidambaram takes us 'to the very back of beyond, in point of time', to the blessed vision of Nataraja. May He bestow on us His boundless grace as He has done through the ages on His countless devotees !

* * *

CHAPTER 27

Uttara Cidambaram Nataraja Temple at Satara (Maharashtra)

Against the backdrop of the Sahyadri range, and not far from Poona (now called Pune), lies the well-known town of Satara (in Maharashtra), the scene of many political upheavals which have figured in our recorded history. What happened at Satara nearly a decade ago was out of the ordinary. His Holiness, Sri Sankaracarya, Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati Svamigal (VII), the 68th Pontiff of Sri Kanci Kamakoti Pitham, the Mahasvamigal of the Pitham (whose birth centenary has been celebrated year-long in reverential homage to him and in recognition of his great services in the preservation and promotion of our cultural traditions and who attained *samadhi* at Kancipuram on 8th January 1994), was camping in the Southern Maharashtra region. The noblest embodiment of renunciation and compassion, His Holiness was moving on foot from one stretch of the State to another.

Satara is not far from the confluence of the Krishna and the Veni and has a sanctity of its own. One Shamanna Shanbaugh, a businessman of Satara, who had a piece of land at his disposal, was fired by the thought of donating a sum of five lakhs of rupees for building a temple of a South Indian pattern (Dakshina Vartan) at Satara, and approached His Holiness for guidance as to how to go about his cherished dream. The wish was communicated to His Holiness in his camp by Shamanna through Kannan, a trusted devotee of His Holiness and the Kanci Math, who executes projects of such a nature under the directions of His Holiness. The Mahasvamigal's immediate reaction was that Shamanna had perhaps in mind the erection of a temple at Satara dedicated to Dakshinamurti or Dvadasalingam. On further thought, His Holiness directed Kannan to take Shamanna to Cidambaram, the home of Nataraja's Cosmic Dance. Shamanna and Kannan visited Cidambaram on the *Ardra Darsanam* Day and Shamanna returned to His Holiness, firmly convinced that it was His Holiness's wish that the temple at Satara should be dedicated to Nataraja and that it would be a modest version of the Cidambaram temple. Shamanna was willing to increase his funding of the project from five lakhs of rupees to ten lakhs. Various possible styles were discussed. The Utkala style and the Northern style of architecture could not be relevant to the context. The *Dravida Vimana Sastra* was followed. The cost of the project, however modest, was staggering for Shamanna, whose heart was big but whose resources were limited. His Holiness came to his rescue. He used his good offices with the State Governments of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Kerala and won their unstinted cooperation in the execution of the project — a temple for Nataraja, Uttara Cidambaram, at Satara.

The late Dr. M.G. Ramachandran, the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, was quick to respond to the call of His Holiness. He was gratified, as a Tamilian, that the Dancing Lord of Cidambaram, whose home is in Tamil Nadu, would soon be enshrined in yet another temple in distant Maharashtra. It was His Holiness's wish that, while the erection of the four main Gopurams at Cidambaram was 'staggered' in time (they were all creations of the Later Cola period — within brief intervals of one another — as we have already established in the First Section of this book), all the four Gopurams of the contemplated Uttara Cidambaram temple at Satara should be constructed simultaneously. Having been given the choice by His Holiness, Dr. M.G. Ramachandran decided that the contribution of Tamil Nadu, in respect of the construction of the Gopurams, should top the list. As Nataraja faces south, Dr. M.G. Ramachandran indicated his Government's sanction of five lakhs of rupees for the construction of the South Gopuram at Satara, with the request that the South Gopuram should be a foot and a half taller than the other three ! This stipulation was agreed to. The Tamil Nadu Government provided another grant of one and a half lakh of rupees towards the daily *puja's* at the shrine. The Andhra Pradesh Government, under the leadership of Dr. N.T. Rama Rao, undertook to finance the construction of the North Gopuram costing four lakhs of rupees and provided additional funds to the extent of half a lakh of rupees. Similarly, the State Government of Maharashtra funded the construction of the West Gopuram, and the Karnataka State Government, of the East Gopuram. The Kerala State Government, under the direction of Sri K.Karunakaran, supplied timber worth three and a half lakhs of rupees for the construction of the main shrine on the model of the Kanaka Sabha and the Cit Sabha at Cidambaram.

So Shamanna's dream, blessed by His Holiness Sri Paramacarya of Kanci, came true. Kannan was commissioned by His Holiness to harness resources for the project. With characteristic devotion to the Matha and with headlong zeal, Kannan had the work completed in record time.

The modalities of organizing the prescribed daily rituals at the new shrine at Satara, the manpower to conduct those rituals, needed attention. While His Holiness was camping at Kattumannar Koyil (18 miles west of Cidambaram) in 1933, Mahamahopadhyaya U.V. Swaminatha Iyer, the veteran Tamil savant, accompanied by leading Dikshitars and senior citizens of Cidambaram, prevailed on His Holiness to visit the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram. His Holiness was received at the temple with due honours and he was requested to perform the Candramaulisvara *puja* at the Thousand-Pillared *Mantapam* — an act of courtesy to him, which apparently had not been similarly extended to His Holiness's predecessors in the *Pitham*. His Holiness decided that the daily rituals at the new Nataraja temple at Satara should be entrusted only to the Dikshitars of Cidambaram, who could be assigned a six-month spell by rotation so that they were not permanently uprooted from Cidambaram. While maintaining the same pattern of daily rituals as at Cidambaram, the scale of operations would of course be comparatively modest. His Holiness is reported to have referred to an inscription near the Candesvara shrine at Gangaikonda-Cola Puram which enjoins that the worship of Nataraja is the exclusive preserve of the "Tillai-Val-Andanar." And so he felt that the Nataraja worship at Satara, too, should be entrusted to the Tillai Dikshitars. His Holiness also addressed himself to the finer details. Senior Dikshitars and other eminent scholars were consulted. A *Pranava Prakara** was provided at the Satara shrine, modelled on the Cidambaram original. The '*Cidambara Rahasyam*' had to be provided. It was felt that by the superimposition of *Sri Cakra* on *Pancakshara Yantra*, the contour of Nataraja could be projected. A three-foot square *yantra* was got ready for consecration at the Satara temple. A distinguished *sthapati* from Mahabalipuram(Mamallapuram) was assigned the task of fabricating an icon of Nataraja, based on the Cidambaram pattern, and two senior Dikshitars of Cidambaram were sent by Mahasvamigal to Mahabalipuram to satisfy themselves that the icons conformed to the prescriptions in the scriptures. The *lingarn* at Satara is of *marakata* (emerald).

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* As for some of our scholars who have expressed reservations about what exists behind the *Cidambara Rahasya* curtain, the icons of Nataraja and Sivakamasundari in the *Cit Sabha* at Cidambaram, His Holiness's decision to provide the *Pranava Prakara* at Satara on the pattern of Cidambaram should set their doubts at rest. The sanctity of the *Pranava Prakara* has to be respected and cannot be the subject of any debate.

The Dikshitars of Tillai (Cidambaram) do not receive any wages. Their only means of subsistence are the *kattalai's* of their clients, big and small. By tradition and otherwise, they may not reside outside Cidambaram. To meet their out-of-pocket expenses at a far-off place like Satara, a personal allowance has been provided for. The Dikshitars assigned to Satara have also been allowed to accept offerings by devotees. Residential accommodation near the temple has been provided for the temporary stay of the Dikshitars at Satara.

The "cooked rice" offered to the Lord in the shape of *annabhishekam* is also made available to them. The subsistence needs of the Dikshitars so deputed to Satara from Cidambaram in turns are thus taken care of.

The idea of fixing the 108 *karana's* of Bharata's *'Natya Sastra'* on the temple-walls at Satara, as on the East and West Gopurams at Cidambaram, was mooted recently by His Holiness. With His blessings the project was taken up, supported by a modest grant from the Government of India. Work on the *karana's* has been completed.

So the "*Cid-akasa*" of Cidambaram has a reflection today at Satara in Maharashtra, largely owing to the blessings of His Holiness, the Mahasvamigal of Kanci, and the large-hearted donation of the late Shamanna Shanbaugh, whose worthy son has inherited his father's attachment to the shrine and lives up to the vision of his father.

This, in brief, is the story of the emergence of the Uttara Cidambaram Nataraja temple at Satara during the last decade — a shining symbol of piety, peace, prosperity and national unity.

Note:

This chapter is based exclusively on my discussions on 4th June, 1993 at Kancipuram with Mr. Kannan (commonly known as Kasi Kannan, a worthy disciple of His Holiness Sri Mahasvamigal of Kanci), who was entrusted by His Holiness with the execution of this project. If there are any errors or distortions in my presentation, the responsibility for such is entirely mine.

* * *

CHAPTER 28

Postscript

During an official visit to the United States of America in 1967 — at the invitation of the State Department — I had occasion to go round the various faculties in the Universities in Washington D.C., Philadelphia, New York, Chicago and Berkeley, and I was deeply impressed by the high quality of research in Indian history and culture undertaken by many of the Institutes of Asian Studies and South East Asian Studies attached to the leading Universities and Colleges. Many of the Libraries have a remarkable collection of books on Indian languages, art and culture in all its diversity.

After a gap of twenty-six years, my wife and I had a valuable opportunity to spend four months last year from July to October in the United States of America. We covered many colleges and universities which we had missed in the earlier trip — such as Boston (Harvard), South Hadley (Mount Holyoke College) and Amherst College in West Massachusetts and Yale University (Connecticut). We re-visited the Philadelphia Museum of Art. With the founding of Harvard College in 1636, Yale University in 1701, the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia in 1740, and Mount Holyoke college in 1837— I am not referring to many other institutions, which I could not visit for want of time — considerable interest in studies on South East Asian culture, with special reference to India, has been shown by dedicated groups of American scholars. Round about 1876, the Boston Museum of Art was involved in such studies; later, other major centres came up — the Philadelphia Museum of Art and those at Ann Arbor, Chicago, Madison (Wisconsin) and Princeton. The list is by no means exhaustive. I believe that, for many years, Yale was the headquarters of the American Oriental Society and a lot of valuable work has been done there. Over a century and more, many eminent American scholars have identified themselves completely with different aspects of Indian art and culture which fascinated them, and enriched the quality of research by in-depth studies into Indian culture, with the result that there is growing interest in the basis of Indian culture in many of the American Universities and research centres engaged in South East Asian studies. The fruits of such research have been embodied in publications of unexceptionable merit. Tamil, Sanskrit and many other Indian languages have been handled with transparent competence. Where the basic ethos is different, it may be occasionally difficult to appreciate the fundamental, traditional attitudes of the Indian mind — a situation which has led to certain postulations; and there may not be complete agreement on our part with the views or interpretations that have emerged from such studies, particularly when different standards of analysis, which may be repugnant to our ethos, are applied. But the excellence and value of the academic exercise and the earnestness and the high-minded devotion to Asian studies which these scholars have displayed are beyond question, and could well be an example to Indian Universitites and our other centres devoted to oriental research, if they wish to strive towards the highest levels of excellence.

Dr. Stella Kramrisch's book 'Manifestations of Siva' was published by the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1981. A symposium on 'Siva' was also organised by Michael W.Meister of the South Asia Regional Studies Department, University of Pennsylvania; and the Proceedings of this Seminar, 'Discourses on Siva', which was released in 1984, has been dedicated to the work of Stella Kramrisch in recognition of her distinguished contribution on the subject of Siva.

In her book, Stella Kramrisch speaks of two alternative "myths" in the context of Siva, "one of Siva turning into a post" and "the other of his self-castration" which she considers "have their equivalents in the vivid form of the *linga*". She has expressed the view that "the *linga*, a bivalent aniconic symbol, in shape and meaning, marks the presence of the invisible transcendental reality of Siva." She adds: "The word *linga* means 'sign' and particularly the sign of sex, the phallus," and that "the solid concrete shape of *linga* occupies the central position in the worship of Siva". She points out: "In a temple of Siva, the *linga* occupies the centre of the innermost sanctuary (*garbha grha*); there is no object in the world of Siva more sacred than the *linga*." To use her own words: "The *linga* stands out (*Urdhva linga*), its rounded top points upward as if ready to shed seed; yet, by the yogic discipline, it is capable of restraining and retaining the potent substance. The meaning of the *Urdhvalinga* is ambivalent and its symbol made by art is a symbol of potency and of its control. It is the *linga* of Siva, the ascetic, full of the seeds of all life to be, withheld by yogic discipline, so as not to be spent but to ascend within the body with which anthropomorphic imagination endows Siva, the great *yogi*". Thus Stella Kramrisch sees in the Siva *linga* the control, not the rejection of the passion itself, which is the function of *yoga*. To quote her again, "The power of giving life and also of withholding and transmitting the substance of life into consciousness inheres in the *linga*, the sign of Siva. The ascent of the seed (*urdhvaretas*) is indicated by the *linga* pointing upward." Dr. Kramrisch concludes: "The transmutation of sexual into mental power, the transubstantiation of the ascent from the earthly fluid of sentiency into transcendency, is contained in the symbolism of the *linga*." She rounds off the discussion with a fleeting reference to another aspect, "the *linga* of flame".

Much has been said on the *linga* cult in the earlier sections, and we are familiar with the views of some scholars over what is usually referred to as the 'phallus' concept of the *linga*.

When I went round the Indian Art section of the Philadelphia Museum of Art on 23rd October 1993, a printed pamphlet on "Five Questions about Indian Art" was being distributed to the visitors with the compliments of the Museum. The text of Question 5 and answer thereto was:-

> "Why are there so many sexual images in Indian Art ?
>
> "While Indian society is concerned with moral aspects of sexuality as most other societies, Indian artists and poets and her religious traditions have explored sexuality as a quality inherent in the meeting of physical and spiritual desires. One of the most commonly known sexual images in Indian art, called the *linga*, also points beyond the exploration of such desires. While its vertical cylindrical shape recalls the phallus, the *linga* is a symbol of the great God Siva. It literally means a 'sign'. The *linga* marks Siva in his cosmic state, before he took different powerful forms such as a shaft of light or a column of fire, or manifested as the energy and heat of yogic discipline or sexual passion. The sexual aspect of the *linga* is more apparent in the West, but most worshippers in India would be bewildered by this emphasis."

The last sentence is a tacit recognition that at least some Indian scholars and worshippers of Siva are not inclined to accept the 'phallus' interpretation of the *linga*.

This emphasis on the 'phallus' concept in the *linga* (of Siva) appears to be so deep-rooted among some scholars — it almost borders on an obsession — that there is apparently some reluctance to concede that some other interpretation of the *linga* is possible. It is perhaps true that the sex-aspect and the fertility aspect were emphasised in an earlier period — possibly before the Christian era — when some backward sects were swayed by such an approach. But the developments in the first six centuries after the dawn of the Christian era have invested the *linga* concept with a somewhat different emphasis — an aspect which has been dealt with in detail earlier in this book. A serpent hood on the Siva *linga* is seen even now in some temples; it is as much an ornament of Siva as a symbol of the fertility cult. But the 'phallus' concept of the *linga* is perhaps being overdone.

Gudimallam and Sri Kalahasti

On 30th July 1994, I visited the Parasuramesvara linga temple at Gudimallam (on which I have offered elsewhere in the book detailed comments on the observations of T.A. Gopinatha Rao). On the same day I worshipped at the Sri Kalahasti Isvara temple at Sri Kalahasti (now in Andhra Pradesh, 26 kilometres from Renigunta). One of the (five) *panca-bhuta linga kshetras*, Sri Kalahasti is dedicated to *Vayu* (wind), which is symbolised by a suspended lamp in front of the *linga*, which suggests a mild and steady movement. Incidentally, it appears to me wrong to call Sri Kalahasti as Tirukkalahasti by the usual translation of 'Sri' into its Tamil equivalent 'Tiru'; for the phrase 'Sri' in this appellation appears to have its own distinctive meaning.

'Sri' is 'spider', 'Kala' is 'serpent' and 'hasti' is 'elephant'. According to the local legend, a spider, a serpent and an elephant offered *abhishekam* and worshipped this *linga* and attained liberation (mukti). But man cannot touch this *linga* ! The *linga* of Sri Kalahasti Isvara is quite tall and attractive; there is a hooded serpent at the top of the *linga*, there are two tusks of an elephant on either side and there is a spider on the body of the *linga*. The local tradition is rather severe inasmuch as the *abhishekam* with water, milk, fruits, cooked rice, sandal wood and other items is performed by the priest only on the *avudaiyar* (the pedestal below) without touching the body of the *linga.* Only *pacca-karpura* is poured over the serpent hood by means of a conch held at some height from the top of the *linga* and it flows down the entire length of the *linga*. Any 'touch' of the body of the *linga* is forbidden, as it is known to produce fatal consequences to the priest. So the *abhishekam* ritual of Sri Kalahasti Isvara is quite exacting and calls for a good deal of discipline. Only the *avudaiyar* is dried up by the priest with a towel at the end of the *abhishekam.* The *pacca-karpura* liquid is collected in a vessel and distributed to the devotees as *prasada* but the *linga* portion is not dried up with a towel at the end of the *abhishekam* as any 'touch' of the *linga* is strictly forbidden.

Against such a background of the stern austerity surrounding Sri Kalahasti Isvara — apart from the Kannappa Nayanar legend itself ! — where is the phallus in all this ?

We are content with inviting the reader's attention to what His Holiness, the Mahasvamigal, Sri Sankaracarya of Kanci, said more than sixty years ago. The '*linga*' is symbolic of the Infinite Supreme Being, without head, middle or bottom. We have already pointed out that the *Dhara linga*, the *Sahasra linga*, the *Ekamukha linga* and the *Pancamukha linga* are different manifestations of the *linga*, the *Sirovartana* or the shape of the top of the *linga* being determined by the '*Silaparatna*'. "In a *linga* considered as a symbol of *brahman*", as H. Krishna Sastri observed in 1916, "the quadrangular bottom of the shaft is believed to represent Brahma, the octagonal middle Vishnu and the circular upper portion Siva." The *Bana linga* is yet another aspect. Candesa Nayanar fashioned a *linga* out of sand and performed *abhisheka* on this *linga* with milk. Appar and Sambandhar have referred to this episode in their hymns. In Chapter Three, the *Linga Purana* also points out that the great Lord Siva is the sole agent for creation, sustenance and dissolution — endowed for this purpose with the three *gunas*, *rajas*, *sattva* and *tamas*. He alone possesses this subtle nature in due order.

What Professor K.A.Nilakanta Sastri has observed on the subject of *'Siva linga'* is note-worthy:

"The positive side of Siva is seen in His representation as a phallus (*linga*). The phallic significance of the *linga* is sought to be denied at times, and it is taken to represent the formless absolute. This sophistic interpretation finds much support in relatively late literary sources, and its validity is unquestionable. Neverthless it is quite probable that originally some primitive fertility cults and practices were absorbed in the growing complex of the Rudra Siva concept.

"The *Rg Veda* confirms the surmise that worship of the phallus, whether as representing Siva as in later Puranic Hinduism or as part of a more primitive fertility cult, was known to the pre-Aryans.

"The *linga* received more mystic interpretation as the representation of the Absolute of monistic (*Advaita*) *Vedanta* which had no form or no attributes, with which is allied the 'pillar of fire' concept."

Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri has explained in his "Development of Religion in South India" how the *Bhakti* movement of the Saivite Nayanmar and the Vaishnavite Alvars in the period 6th to 9th Century A.D. helped in strengthening the forces of Hinduism in South India.

Professor Sastri has also expressed the view that the "illustrious Manikkavacakar came a little later than Sundara (and probably Manikkavacakar's Pandyan contemporary was Varaguna II; A.D.862-800)." He adds:

"Sometime between Sundaramurti (a century later than Sambandhar, i.e., 8th Century A.D.) and Manikkavacakar came the mysterious Tirumular, whose Tirumandiram forms the Tenth section of the Saivite canon."

Our views on the periods of the Devaram Trio, Manikkavacakar and Tirumular have been indicated already, taking due cognisance of the various theories.

One factor why Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri places the period of Manikkavacakar after Adi Sankara is Manikkavacakar's protest against Advaita Vedanta "which must be particularly noted because it represents the core of the *Bhakti* cult." Professor Sastri adds: "The ultimate aim of the *Bhakta* is not to lose his identity in the impersonal Absolute but to attain and enjoy for all time the blissful company of a personal god."

There is an interesting anecdote connected with Sivajnanayogi, the commentator and author of the work, Kanci-puranam, the sacred text which narrates the glory of Kanci.

When the *arangerram* (the first recitation) of the Kanci-puranam took place, attempts were made by Sivajnanayogi's detractors to embarrass him. Set up by some of them, an *oduvar* (one trained in reciting the Tamil hymns of the Devaram Trio and Manikkavacakar) raised an objection to the third invocatory verse which is in praise of Lord Nataraja of Cidambaram. With an obvious touch of acid, he exclaimed, "A *purana* dedicated to Kancipuram should begin with an invocation to Lord Ekamranatha of Kanci and not the God of Cidambaram !" Kacciyappar, a disciple of Sivajnanayogi, thereupon asked the *oduvar* to recite the Devaram hymns dedicated to Kanci. When, responding readily, the *oduvar* began reciting the Devaram hymns, he had necessarily to make the customary opening with the sanctified phrase "Tiruc-cirrambalam" (small cavity). Kacciyappar stopped the *oduvar* immediately and asked him : "When you are reciting the Devaram hymns of Kanci, should you not say 'Prthivi-ambalam' ? ". The *oduvar's* reply was emphatic and true to tradition. "It is the custom to say 'Tiruc-cirrambalam' before singing hymns of all sacred Siva shrines". Kacciyappar's reply was equally spontaneous. "Yes, it is likewise the custom to invoke Nataraja at the beginning of all Saiva compositions, as you should know".

The primacy of Nataraja of Cidambaram in the Saivite tradition is well-established.

At the invitation of Dr. Indira V. Peterson, Associate Professor and Chairperson of the Asian Studies Program, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts (U.S.A.), I addressed in October 1993 a group of students of the college on "The concept of the South Indian temple, with special reference to the Nataraja temple of Cidambaram". In a brief question and answer session that followed, one of the senior students raised a pertinent question: If Nataraja were to be identified with the *panca krtya*, the 'five duties' of which *Sthiti* (preservation) is one, how could the concept be reconciled with the common idea that Vishnu is the 'preserver' and Siva is the 'destroyer'. I explained that the *Ananda Tandava* concept of Nataraja envisages Him as 'Saccidanandasvarupi' while, as the Srimad Bhagavatam says, Krishna is also regarded as 'Saccidanandasvarupi'. Both are only manifestations of the Supreme: they embody Truth, Consciousness and Eternal Bliss. In other words, both Siva and Vishnu represent the Supreme Being who grants Eternal Bliss, is Absolute, who is Omnipresent, Omniscient and Immutable.

* * *

CHAPTER 29

Akasa Sariram Brahma

The Upanishads identify *Akasa* with Brahman: *Akasa Sariram Brahma*. The Supreme Reality is in essence *Akasa*.

Sarvāṇi ha vā imāni bhūtānyākāśād ēva
samutpādyantē - ākāśam pratyastam yānti
Ākāśō ha vai nāmarūpāyōr nirvahita (Srikantha Bhashya)

All these beings come into being from *akasa* and dissolve into *akasa*. *Akasa* alone provides name and form to the universe. The order of creation is symbolised in the worship of the *linga* (called Siva srshti) in a descending order from *akasa* (the space above the *linga* and through the *linga* into the universe).

This space *akasa* is Brahman, Brahman is *ananda* (anando brahmeti vijaniyate). The process of cosmic creation is called *ananda-tandava* and is given visual form in Nataraja. Thus *akasa* is Supreme Bliss. The *Makutagama* describes Siva srshti as follows:

pālanārtham sabhāvāsam dakshiṇēśvaram abhūtam
sadā nrttam mahājyotir ambāvallabham īśvaram
ānandarūpam madhyastham Śivam paramakāranam

"In the middle of *Bindu* is Nada and from *Nada* comes *Dhvani*. In the middle of *Dhvani* is *Santa*. That which is beyond *Santa* (Santyatita) is Paratpara who is Natesvara. This Santyatita, the beloved of Amba, is Dakshinesvara, who resides in the Sabha for the protection of the universe, performing constantly the cosmic dance."

(Courtesy: Dr.R. Nagaswami)

Siva is the embodiment of '*Sac-cid-ananda*' *(vigraha)*. When He embodies knowledge and action (*jnana* and *kriya*), He is Sadasiva; but when *ananda* or Supreme Bliss is also associated with knowledge and action *(jñāna kriyābhyām sahānandarūpam cāsti)*, He is Natesvara.

From the *linga* emanates *nada*, that is, Siva (the primordial sound) who is called Sadasiva. From the *pitha* arises Sakti in the form of Bindu, who is Manonmani. Both are combined as Siva-Sakti.

Appar makes many references to the Supreme Siva as *Akasamurti* and to Paramakasa. He has described Siva as *Akasamantra*. In several passages, Appar has pointed out that the dance of the Lord takes place in the mind of the devotee himself. The Supreme Dance is manifested in the cosmos, the *akasa* and the mind. Manikkavacakar saw *akasa* in Tirupperunturai Siva (Avudayarkoyil) and addressed Nataraja at Cidambaram as 'Tirupperunturai udaiya Siva' — since both mean worship of space (*akasa*).

To sum up, Siva's dance (symbolic of creation, sustenance and destruction) is said to take place in cosmos, conceived as the vast expansive sky, called *Akasa* or *Ambara*. According to Indian tenets, the Supreme existence, knowledge and bliss is called Brahman (*sac-cid-ananda*).

Brahman is visualised in *Akasa*, the cosmic space, and so *Akasa* is metaphorically called the body of the Brahman (*Akasa Sariram Brahman*) in the Upanishads. To put it in other words, Akasa is the body and Brahman, the supreme soul (*Paramatma*). A visual representation is given to these Upanishadic thoughts in the concrete form of the temple. The Supreme Being is within and yet without, one with space.

Dr. R. Nagaswami has been kind enough to draw my attention to some of the relevant passages from the *Bhashya* of Srikanthacarya on which Appayya Dikshitar wrote his famous commentary. An extract from Srikanthacarya has been reproduced below, as it may be of interest to scholars. The phrases *'Cidambaram ucyate'* and *'Cidambaram prakrtirucyate'* occurring in these texts are noteworthy.

श्रीकण्ठभाष्ये जन्माद्यधिकरणम् ॥ २॥

तल्लक्षणाभिधायकं द्वितीयाधिकरणमवतारयति भगवान्सूत्रकारः—

॥ जन्माद्यस्य यतः ॥

ज्ञाते लक्ष्ये लक्षणवैयर्थ्यादज्ञाते तदाकाङ्क्षानुपपत्तेः कथमत्र ब्रह्मणो लक्षणकथनप्रसङ्ग इति न शङ्कनीयम्। अध्यायनादापाततो ज्ञाते ब्रह्मणि तद्योगात्।

जन्मादि अस्य यतः इति सूत्रपदच्छेदः। जन्मादिकं जन्मस्थितिप्रलयतिरोभावानुग्रहरूपं कृत्यमस्य चेतनाचेतनसम्मेलनसमरसीभूतस्य प्रपञ्चविलासस्य यतो यस्मात्तद्ब्रह्मेति शेषः। ''यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते। येन जातानि जीवन्ति। यत्प्रयन्त्यभिसंविशन्ति। तद्विजिज्ञासस्य। तद्ब्रह्मे'' ति। ''प्रधानक्षेत्रज्ञपतिर्गुणेशस्संसारमोक्ष- स्थितिबन्धहेतुः।'' ''सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म'' ''ऋतं सत्यं परं ब्रह्म पुरुषं कृष्णपिङ्गलम्। ऊर्ध्वरेतं विरूपाक्षं विश्वरूपाय वै नमः॥'' इत्यादिवाक्यं विषयः। अत्र जगतो जन्मादिकं ब्रह्मणो लक्षणतया सम्भवति न वेति सन्देहः। न सम्भवति सम्बन्धाभावात्। किं च 'आनन्दो ब्रह्मेति व्यजानादि' त्यत्रानन्दस्य जगज्जन्मादि लक्षणं पर्यवस्यति। अन्यत्र 'सदेव सोम्येदमग्र आसीदि'ति सतो जगत्त्कारणत्वमवगम्यते। 'सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्मे'ति ज्ञानमेवापरिच्छिन्नं जगत्त्कारणं ब्रह्मेत्येकत्र विज्ञायते। अपरत्र च 'यदा तमस्तन्न दिवा न रात्रिर्न सन्न चासच्छिव एव केवल' इति शिवशब्दवाच्यं वस्तु कारणत्वेन सकलपूर्वभावि ब्रह्मेति विज्ञायते। अत्रानन्दादीनां ब्रह्मत्वे विकल्पो वा समुच्चयो वा। विकल्पे श्रुतहान्यादिदोषप्रसङ्गोऽव्यवस्था च। व्यवस्थितविकल्पेऽपि ब्रह्मानेकत्वप्रसङ्गः। समुच्चयपक्षे तेषां धर्मरूपत्वान्निखिलजगन्निर्माणोपायज्ञानविशेषविशिष्टब्रह्मत्वासम्भवः। अपि च'मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्या'दितिश्रुतिर्मायाया अचेतनाय जगत्कारणत्वमभिधत्ते तदेव युक्तम्। ब्रह्मणो ज्ञानरूपस्य जगत्कारणत्त्वे तस्य विकारापत्त्या 'निष्कलं निष्क्रिय शान्त' मित्यादिश्रुतिभङ्गप्रसङ्गः। अतस्सर्वधाऽपि ब्रह्मणो जगत्कारणत्वादि लक्षणमभिधातुमशक्यमित्येवमादौ पूर्वपक्षविक्षेपे प्राप्ते ब्रूमः। यद्यपि जन्मादेर्जगन्निष्ठत्वेन ब्रह्मण्यसम्बन्धः। तथापि ताटस्थ्येन लक्षणत्वं युज्यते। यत् सर्वज्ञत्वादिविशिष्टमष्टाभिधानाधिकरणं शिवतत्त्वं तदेव जगत्कारणं ब्रह्मेत्युच्यते। आनन्दादीनामत्रैव धर्माणां पर्यवसानं भवति। सर्वज्ञत्वं नित्यतृप्तत्वमनादिबोधत्वं स्वतन्त्रत्वमलुप्तशक्तिम- त्वमनन्तशक्तिमत्त्वं चेत्येतानि सर्वज्ञत्वादीनि। नित्यापरोक्षानपेक्षितबाह्यकरणनिष्कलङ्कानुभवविषयनिखिल- वस्तुत्वमिह सर्वज्ञत्वम्। 'यस्सर्वज्ञस्सर्वविद्यस्य ज्ञानमयं तप' इत्यादिभिरिदं ब्रह्मणस्सिद्धम्। अनेन

सकलचेतनबहुविधकर्मफलभोगानुकूलतत्तच्छरीरनिर्माणोपायसामग्रीविशेषज्ञं ब्रह्म निमित्तं भवति। निरस्तसमस्तोपप्लवकलङ्कनिरतिशयानन्दपरिपूर्णत्वमिह नित्यतृप्तत्वम्। अत एव 'आनन्दो ब्रह्मे'ति श्रूयते। य: खलु 'अन्योऽन्तर आत्माऽऽनन्दमय'इति प्रस्तुत्य 'सैषानन्दस्य मीमांसा भवती'त्यारभ्य अभ्यासान्निरतिशयानन्दशिरस्कत्वेन'स एको ब्रह्मण आनन्द' इति निरूपित:। परब्रह्मधर्मत्वेन च स एव 'आनन्दो ब्रह्मे'ति प्रचुरत्वाद्ब्रह्मत्वेनोपचर्यते। ताद्दशानन्दभोगरसिकं ब्रह्म नित्यतृप्तमित्युच्यते। ब्रह्मणो मनसैव महानन्दानुभवो, न बाह्यकरणद्वारा। तथा हि श्रुति: "आकाशशरीरं ब्रह्म। सत्यात्म प्राणारामं मन आनन्दम्। शान्तिसमृद्धममृतम्' इति। आकाशत इत्याकाश:। प्रकाशश्चिदम्बरमुच्यते। न भूताकाश: विशेषाभावात्।

निखिलजगदण्डषण्डवुद्बुदनिकुरुम्बजलधिस्थानीया परप्रकृतिरूपा परमशक्तिर्हि चिदम्बरमुच्यते। तत्स्वरूपं ब्रह्म आकाशशरीरम्। परप्रकृतित्वं चिदाकाशस्य 'सर्वाणि ह वा इमानि भूतानि आकाशादेव समुत्पद्यन्ते। आकाशं प्रत्यस्तं यन्ति। आकाशो ह वै नामरूपयोर्निर्वहिता' इत्यादिश्रुतिसिद्धम्। सत्यात्म सत्तारूपम्। प्राणारामं प्राणस्सकलाधारभूता चिदम्बरप्रकृतिरुच्यते। स्वरूपभृतायां तस्यामारामो यस्य तत्प्रणारामम्। मनआनन्दं मनस्येवानन्दो यस्य न बाह्यकरणं तन्मनआनन्दम। अत्राप्यानन्द इति चिदंबरप्रकृतिरुच्यते। तथा च श्रूयते 'को ह्येवान्यात्क: प्राण्यात्। यदेष आकाश आनन्दो न स्या' दिति। शान्तिसमृद्धं शिवतासम्पन्नम्। अमृतमनादिमुक्तम्। अत्र सच्चिदानन्दरूपपरमाकाशरूपं ब्रह्मस्वरूपानन्दं मनसैवानुभवति बाह्यकरणनिरपेक्षमिति सिद्धं 'मनआनन्द'–मित्यनेन। इदमेव ज्ञापकं ब्रह्मभावमापन्नानां मुक्तानाम्...................

Note on the Jyotir-lingas of India

Tradition has it that India has twelve centres of *Jyotir-linga* — pillars of light. They are far beyond any possible suggestion of 'phallus' and they have no sexual connotation — an interpretation which some scholars assign to the *linga* concept. Any treatment of the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram, which represents the *Akasa*` *linga*, cannot be complete without listing the twelve *jyotir-linga's* of India, which the Saivite tradition adores:

1.	Ramanathasvami	(Ramesvaram, Tamil Nadu)
2.	Mallikarjuna	(Sri Sailam, Andhra Pradesh)
3.	Naganathasvami	(near Aundh, Maharashtra State)
4.	Vaidyanatha	(Parli, Maharashtra State)
5.	Dhrshnesvara	(Ellora, Maharashtra State)
6.	Bhima Sankara	(near Pune, Maharashtra State)
7.	Tryambakesvara	(Tryambak, near Nasik, Maharashtra State)
8.	Somesvara	(Somnath, Saurashtra, Gujarat)

9.	Mahakalesvara	(Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh)
10.	Onkaresvara	(Onkaresvar on the Narmada, Madhya Pradesh)
11.	Visvesvara	(Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh)
12.	Kedaranatha	(Garhwal district, Uttar Pradesh)

Siva integrates the country, doesn't He ?

* * *

CHAPTER 30

Bharatanatya Karanas in the Gopuram passageways of the Nataraja temple, Cidambaram

(Dr. B. Venkataraman)

The four gopurams have common characteristics in respect of the solid lithic mass constituting the gateway over which the seven tiers (or *nilais)* rise pyramidally, truncated at the top and crowned by a *griva* and a *sala* (i.e. wagon) roof mounted along its ridge with *kalasas*. The stone structure, rectangular in cross-section, is in two tiers and the passageway through the stone body is termed the 'Tiru Vasal' or the Sacred Gateway. As one passes through this passage and crosses over from outside of the temple to the third prakara arena, one is flanked by the two vertical sides of the passageway. Each of these flanks is divided vertically by a massive pilaster into two equal parts, viz., a Fore segment and an Aft segment. Each half (i.e. segment) in turn has four minor pilasters extending from the floor level to the underface of the roof of the passageway. Thus, in all, there are four faces, each face having four pilasters jutting out by about 9 inches from the wall surface and it is these pilasters which carry the Bharatanatyam karanas in demarcated panels one above the other, extending the full height of each pilaster, in high relief, with each panel framed by demarcating ridges in defined boxes. We may term these pilasters as FL 1, FL 2, FL 3 and FL 4 in the Fore segment as one enters the passageway from outside (of the temple) with AL 5, AL 6, AL 7 and AL 8 on the Aft face, the two sets (of pilasters) being separated by the high jamb like pilaster half way through the passageway. An identical set of eight pilasters are found on the right wall face of the passageway to be termed, for convenience of reference, FR 1, FR 2, FR 3 and FR 4 and again AR 5, AR 6, AR 7 and AR 8, in that order.

The Natya Sastra spells out the characteristics of 108 *karanas* in an equal number of verses and these verses are found in the West (A.R.E. 368 of 1913) and East (A.R.E. 343 of 1913) Gopurams.

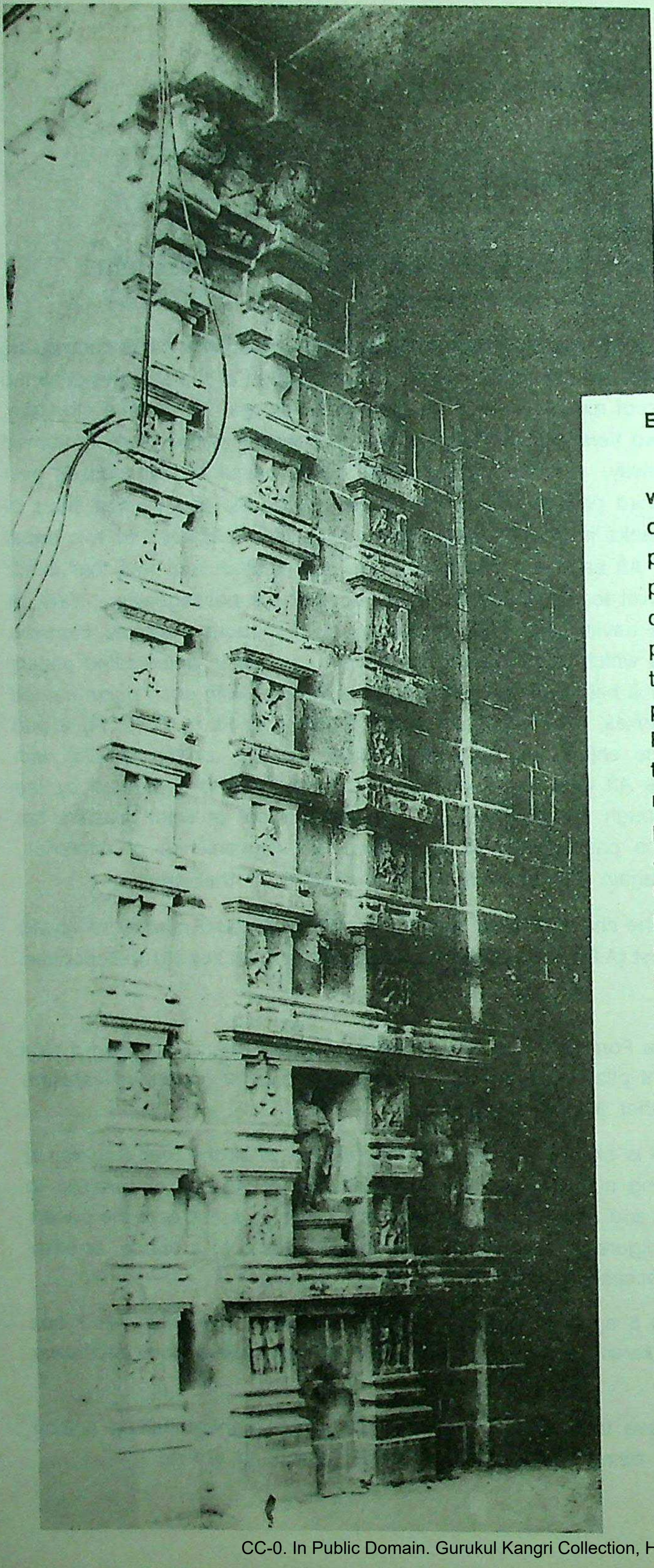
West Gopuram

Each of the 4 pilasters on the Fore Left face carries 9 Bharatanatya *karanas*, making a total of 36 *karana* panels. The Fore Right pilasters which again number 4, carry 9 panels (of *karanas*) to each pilaster, adding up to another 36 *karana* panels.

In the Aft Left pilasters, AL 5 is blank (as is the case in respect of all the four Gopurams) and the remaining three carry varying numbers of *karana* panels viz., 9 panels (of *karanas*) in AL 6 pilaster, only 6 in AL 7 pilaster and none in AL 8 pilaster. However, it is not as if the panels are blank, for they contain sculpted figures, like devotees, possibly witnesses to a dance, or other decorative representations with an occasional occurrence of blank panels.

In the Aft Right pilasters, AR 5 again is blank, AR 6 has 9 panels of *karanas*, AR 7 has 7 *karana* panels and AR 8, only 5 *karana* panels, the remaining panels housing mere decorative figures.

In the West Gopuram, we have thus 36 + 36 + 15 + 21 *karana* panels making a total of 108, the remaining panel spaces being covered in the manner described above.



North Gopuram, passageway, west face, southern segment, with the four pilasters AR 5, AR 6, AR 7 and AR 8 (right to left), AR 5 being a blank pilaster (Krishna Deva Raya in the central niche).

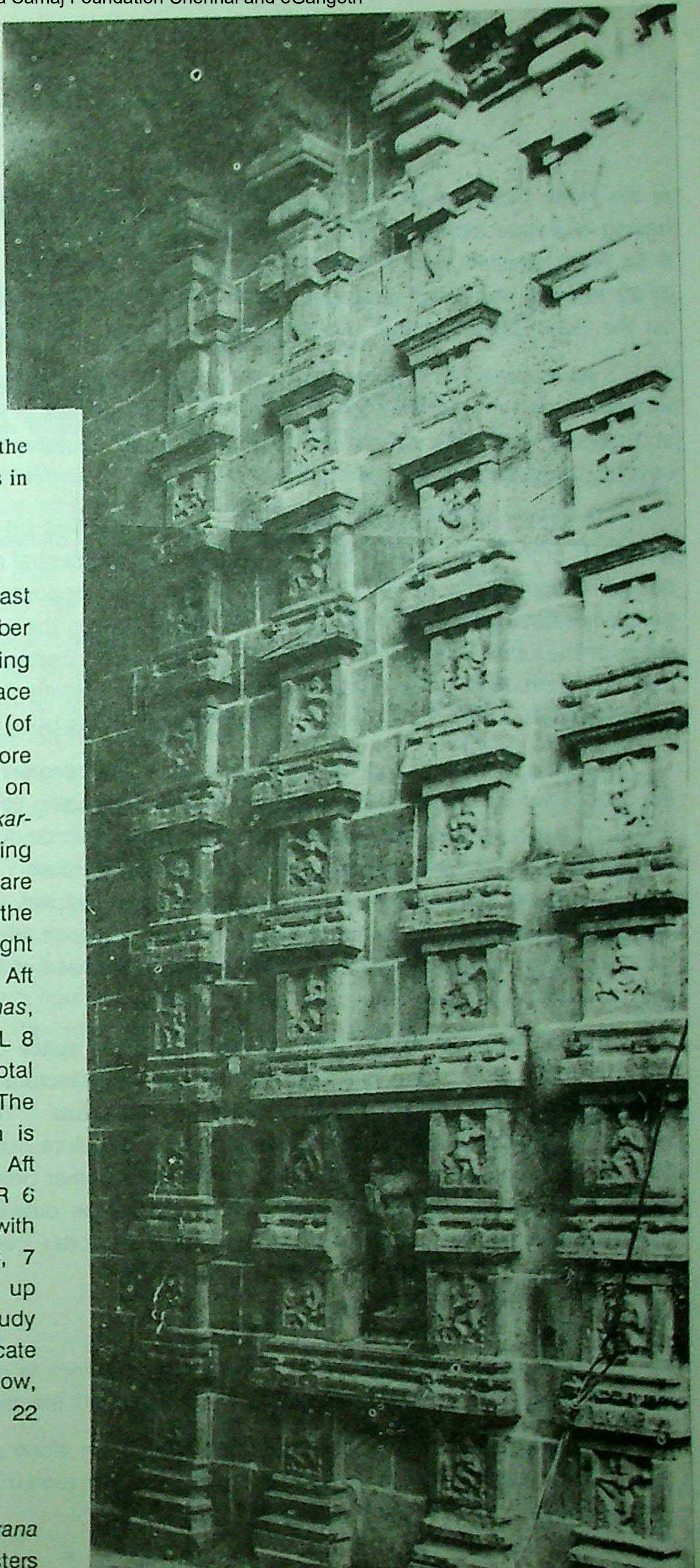
East Gopuram

Unlike the West Gopuram, where each of the pilasters (leaving out one on each face) carries 9 panels, the East Gopuram has only 8 panels to a pilaster, with minor deviations as in AF 7, where three panels have been compressed into the space normally taken by two panels. Thus there are in FR 1 to FR 4 (4 x 8 =) 32 *karanas*, in FL 1 to FL 4 another 32 *karanas*, the remaining 44 *karanas* occupying the pilasters AR 6, AR 7 and AR 8 as well as AL 6, AL 7 and AL 8. Thus out of a total of 112 panels (on seven pilasters to each face), 108 are occupied by *karanas* and the remaining 4, by figures of devotees and other sculpted presentations.

In this context, it may be relevant to quote P.R. Srinivasan, Retd. Chief Epigraphist of the Government of India :

"Ninetythree of these (sloka) inscriptions are easily identifiable. But the remaining fifteen (viz., the *karanas* in niches 18, 20, 78, 79, 85, 86, 87, 90, 93, 104, 105, 108, 109, 110 and 111) have been either completely obliterated or rendered hopelessly illegible. The inscripions (verses) relating to *karanas* in panels 18 and 20 are found" not on the panel frame, but "on the main wall to the right of the niches. As for the other thirteen we have

North Gopuram, passageway, west face, northern segment, with the four pilasters FR 1, FR 2, FR 3 and FR 4, each having 8 panels (Durga sculpture in the central niche).



been able to identify them from the inscriptions of the corresponding panels in the West Gopuram."

South Gopuram

This gopuram follows the East Gopuram model in regard to the number of panels to a pilaster, there being 32 *karanas* to the Fore Right face pilasters at the rate of 8 panels (of *karanas*) to a pilaster, with 32 more *karanas* on the the Fore Left face on its four pilasters, with 8 panels (of *karanas*) to each pilaster. The remaining (108 - 32 - 32 =) 44 *karanas* are distributed, not evenly though, on the three pilasters each on the Aft Right and Aft Left faces. Thus, on the Aft Left, the AL 6 pilaster has 6 *karanas*, 2 panels being blank, AL 7 and AL 8 each having 8 *karanas*, making a total of (6 + 8 + 8 =) 32 *karanas*. The mirror reflection of this disposition is seen in the three pilasters on the Aft Right face, the numbers being AR 6 with 5 panels (of *karanas*), AR 7 with 6 panels of *karanas* and AR 8, 7 panels (again of *karanas*), adding up to (5 + 6 + 7 =) 18. A further study is needed (and is being done) to locate the remaining 4 *karanas*, for, as of now, the total works out to (32 + 32 + 22 + 18 =) 104 only.

North Gopuram

The arrangement of the *karana* panels on the two sets of seven pilasters of the North Gopuram seems more settled. The 4 each of the Fore Right and Fore Left pilasters having 8 *karana* panels to each, make up a total of (32 + 32 =) 64 while the 3 Aft Left and 3 Aft Right pilasters don 7, 6 and 8 *karana* panels in the 6th, 7th and 8th pilasters, giving a total of 22 to each side, and making a total of 44 between the two sides; these, together with the 64 on the Fore Right and Left pilasters, add up to the 108 *karanas*.

An in-depth study of each *karana* panel and comparison of the compeers in the four Gopurams with reference to Natya Sastra text, and the 81 block panels of *karanas* in the Rajarajesvaram temple at Thanjavur would be substantial material for a self contained treatise in itself, which is, however, beyond the scope of this book.

It would be worthwhile taking note of the fact that on each of the four halves of flanking wall faces of the passageway, there is, between the two central mini pilasters, a deep niche housing beautifully carved figures of Durga and Bhairava on opposite faces, with two more figures, one generally representing the personality who contributed to the construction of the Gopuram at some stage or the other like Krishna Deva Raya in the North Gopuram and Pachaiyappa Mudaliar in the East Gopuram. It may be added that strangely in the South Gopuram (eastern face, southern half) the sculpture (possibly of the author of the Gopuram) has been chiselled out of the niche altogether.

It may be noticed that the central niche in each segment is scooped in the recess between the middle two pilasters and occupies a height coresponding to the combined heights of the second and third panel from the ground level (except in the East Gopuram, Right Aft segment where three panels have been cramped into the space of two standard panels). While this was the original plan, it appears that over the decades, these central niches were supplemented on one or both sides by (another) deep niche(s) of equal height scooped out in the recess between one of the middle pilasters and the adjoining end pilaster as in the case of the East, South and North Gopurams, with exceptions.

It may also be noticed that in each pilaster the space between the topmost Bharatanatyam panel and the roof of the passageway has been architecturally elaborately carved with a variety of mouldings ending up, at the top, with a Yali frieze. This treatment, however, it may be noticed, is missing in regard to the blank pilaster, a feature noticed not only in the North Gopuram as may be seen in the two illustrations, but in all the other gopurams also. In respect of the West Gopuram where there are nine panels to a pilaster as different from the other three gopurams, the treatment is more economical in view of the shorter gap in the pilaster at the top to be embellished.

Note

1) Fore and Aft, and Left and Right are with reference to one entering the temple from outside through the gateway into (the vast expanse of) the third *prakara*.

2) Illustrations of the *karanas* of the East Gopuram along with the related Natya Sastra *karana sloka* brought out in A.R.E. 1913-14 have been reproduced in the immediately succeeding pages.

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Bharata Natya Panels In the East Gopuram

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Extracts (Reproduction) from A.R.E. 1914 pp. 74 to 81

74 No.920, PUBLIC, 4TH AUGUST 1914.

Descriptive list of different dancing postures from Chidambaram ; illustrated in Plates I to IV (opp. p. 80, below)

The list includes 93 figures numbered consecutively and three others numbered A, B and C. Sketches of the three latter figures were omitted by mistake and consequently do not appear on the plates. The Bharatiya Natyasastra while it enumerates 108 postures in vv. 33 to 53 of the printed Bombay Edition, describes only 101, thus omitting seven postures. Of these latter six are supplied by Nos.21 to 24, 42 and 69 of the Chidambaram sculptures. It may be noted that the Bharatiya Natyasastra makes a mistake in the description of Prishthasvastika (No.43) quoting wrongly the second half of v. 42 (in the list) and the first half of v. 43. The Chidambaram labels also are defective in as much as they do not supply us with the description of eleven postures, viz., Talavilasita, Vinivritta, Niṣumbhita, Gajakriditaka, Garudapluta, Gandasuchi, Apakranta, Mayuralalita, Prasarpitaka, Talaghattitaka and Bahistrika which are found in the Bharatiya Natyasastra. Illustrative pictures which may correspond to these are, however, found in the compartments of the pillars of the E. Gopura of the Chidambaram temple without bearing any labels above them. The dance Parivritta is omitted both in the Chidambaram labels and in the descriptive verses of the Bharatiya Natyasastra. The numbers attached to the verses in the inscriptions follow the order in which the postures are enumerated in the Natyasastra. The order is correct (read from left to right) on the seven projecting pillars of the inner wall of the Gopura on the right side; but the corresponding figures on the left side are much deranged. This may have been due to the ignorance of the masons whose work was not properly supervised.

1	2	3	4
NO. OF SKETCH OF KARANA	NAME OF THE KARANA	CORRESPONDING VERSE (SLOKA) IN NATYA SASTRA	SEQUENTIAL SLOKA NO.
1	Vrischikarechitam	वृश्चिकश्चरणं कृत्वा स्वस्तिकौ च करावुभौ [।*] रेचितौ विप्रकीर्णौ च [2]कुर्य्याद्वृश्चिकरेचिते [।।*]	99
2	Vrischikam	बाहुशीर्षाञ्चितौ हस्तौ पादः पृष्ठाञ्चितस्तदा [।*] दूरसन्नतपृष्ठश्च वृश्चिकं [तत्प्रकीर्तितम्] [।।*]	100
3	Vyamsitam	आलीढं स्थानकं यत्र करा वक्षसि रेचितौ [।*] ऊर्ध्वाधो विप्रकीर्ण्णौ च व्यंसितं करणञ्च तत् [।।*]	101
4	Parśvanikuttakam	हस्तौ तु स्वस्तिकौ पार्श्वे तथा पादो निकुट्टितः [।*] यत्र तत् करणं ज्ञेयम् बुधैः पार्श्वनिकुट्टकम् [।।*]	102
5	Lalāṭatilakam	वृश्चिकश्चरणं कृत्वा पादस्यांगुष्ठकेन तु [।*] ललाटे तिलकं कुर्य्याल्ललाटतिलकञ्च तत् [।।*]	103
6	Krāntakam	पृष्ठतः कुञ्चितं कृत्वा तिक्रान्तक्रमन्ततः [।*] आक्षिप्तौ [च क]रौ कार्य्यौ क्रा[न्तकं] करणे द्विजाः [।।*]	104
7	Kuñchitam	आद्यः पादो नतः कार्य्यस्सव्यहस्तश्च कुञ्चितः [।*] उत्तानो वामपार्श्वस्थस्तत् कुञ्चितमुदाहृतम् [।।*]	105
8	[3]Chakramaṇḍalam	प्रलम्बिताभ्याम्बाहुभ्याम् यत् गात्रेण नतेन च [।*] अभ्यन्तरापविद्धं स्यात्तज्ज्ञेयञ्चक्रमण्डलम् [।।*]	106
9	Bhramarakam	आक्षिप्तस्स्वस्तिकः पादः करौ चोद्वेष्टितौ तथा [।*] त्रिकस्य घलनाच्चैव ज्ञेयम् भ्रमरकञ्च तत् [।।*]	91
10	Chaturam	अञ्चित स्यात् करो वामस्सव्यश्चतुर एव तु [।*] [द]क्षिणः कुट्टितः पादश्चतुरन्तत् प्रकीर्त्ति[तम्] [।।*]	92

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[2] Read कुर्य्याद्वृ°.

[3] The enumeration in *Bha.* *Nat.* gives the name as Vaktramandalam but as Chakramaṇḍalam, correctly, in the description.

1	2	3	4
11	Bhujaṁgāñchitakam	भुजंगत्रासितः पादो रेचितो दक्षिणः करः [।*] लताख्यश्च करो वामो भुजंगाञ्चितकम् भवेत् [॥*]	93
12	Daṇḍakarēchitam	विक्षिप्तं हस्तपादञ्च समन्ताद्यत्र दण्डवत् [।*] रेच्यते तद्धि करणं ज्ञेयन्दण्डकरेचितम् [॥*]	94
13	Vṛiśchikakuṭṭitam	वृश्चिकञ्चरणं कृत्वा द्वावप्यथ निकुट्टितौ [।*] विधातव्यौ करौ तत्तु ज्ञेयं वृश्चिककुट्टितम् [॥*]	95
14	Kaṭibhrāntam	सूचीन्द्वापविद्धञ्च दक्षिणञ्चरणन्न्यसेत् [।*] रेचिता च कटिर्य्यत्र कटिभ्रान्तन्तदुच्यते [॥*]	96
15	Latāvṛiśchikam	अञ्चितः पृष्ठतः पादः कुञ्चितोर्द्ध्वतलांगुलिः [।*] लताख्यश्च करो वामस्तल्लतावृश्चिकम् भवेत् [॥*]	97
16	Chhinna-karaṇam	अलपद्मः कटीदेशे छिन्नपर्य्यायशः कटीन् [।*] वैशाखस्थानकेनेह तच्छिन्नकरणं भवेत् [॥*]	98
17	Pādāpaviddhakam	कार्य्यौ नाभितटे हस्तौ प्राङ्मुखौ खटिकामुखौ [।*] सूचीविद्धावपक्रान्तौ पादौ पादापविद्धके [॥*]	87
18	Valitam	अपविद्धो भवेद्धस्तस्सूचीपादस्तथैव च [।*] तथा त्रिकं विवृत्तञ्च वलितन्नाम तत् भवेत् [॥*]	88
19	Ghūrṇitam	वर्त्तिताघूर्णितस्सव्यो हस्तो वामश्च डोलितः [।*] स्वस्तिकापसृतः पादः करणं घूर्णितञ्च तत् [॥*]	89
20	Laḷitam	करिहस्तो भवेद्वामो दक्षिणश्च विवर्त्तितः [।*] बहुशः कुट्टितः पादो ज्ञेयन्तल्लाळितम् बुधैः [॥*]	90
21	[1] Daṇḍapaksham	ऊर्द्ध्वजानु विधायाथ तस्योपरि लतान्न्यसेत् [।*] दण्डपक्षञ्च तत् प्रोक्तं करणन्त[त्त्व]वेदिभिः [॥*]	
22	Bhujaṁgatrastarēchitam.	भुजंगत्रासितं कृत्वा यत्रोभावपि रेचितौ [।*] वामपार्श्वस्थितौ हस्तौ भुजंगत्रस्तरेचितम् [॥*]	
23	Nūpuram	त्रिकं सुवलितं कृत्वा लतारेचितकौ करौ [।*] नूपुरञ्च तथा पादं करणे नूपुरे न्य[से]त् [॥*]	
24	Vaiśākharēchitam	रेचितं हस्तपादञ्च कटिग्रीवा च रेचिता [।*] . . . . . स्थानकेनैतत् भवे[द्वै]शाखरेचितम् [॥*]	
25	Arddhasvastikam	स्वस्तिकौ चरणौ कृत्वा कटिहस्तञ्च दक्षिणम् [।*] वक्षस्थाने तथा वाममर्द्धस्वस्तिकमादिशेत् [॥*]	79
26	Añchitam	व्यावृत्तपरिवृत्तस्तु स एव तु करो यदा [।*] अञ्चितो नासिकाग्रे तु तदाञ्चितमुदाहृतम् [॥*]	80

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[1] This and the next three are enumerated in the printed work *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra* in vv. 39 and 40, but not described.

1	2	3	4
27	Bhujaṁgatrāsitam ..	कुञ्चितं पादमुत्क्षिप्य त्र्यश्रमूरुं विवर्त्तये[त्] [।*] कटीजानुविवृत्त्या च भुजंगत्रासितम् भ[वेत्] [।।*]	81
28	Ūrddhvajānu ..	कुञ्चितम् पादमुत्क्षिप्य जानु स्तनसमन्न्यसेत् [।*] प्रयोगवशगौ हस्तावूर्द्ध्वजानु प्रकीर्त्तितम् [।।*]	82
29	[Ni]kuñchitam ..	[वृश्चिकं चरणं कृत्वा करं पार्श्वे निकु*]ञ्चयेत् [।*] [नासाग्रे दक्षिणश्चैव ज्ञेयं तत्तु*] [नि]कुञ्चितम् [।।*]	83
30	Mattalli ..	वामदक्षिणपादाभ्यां घूर्ण्णमानोपसर्प्पणैः [।*] उद्वेष्टितापविद्धैश्च हस्तैर्म्मत्तल्ल्युदाहृतम् [।।*]	84
31	Arddhamattalli ..	स्खलितापसृतौ पादौ वामहस्तश्च रेचितः [।*] सव्यहस्तः कटिस्थ स्यादर्द्धमत्तल्लि तत् स्मृतम् [।।*]	85
32	Rēchitanikuṭṭitam ..	रेचितो दक्षिणो हस्तः पादस्सव्यो निकुट्टितः [।*) डोळा चैव भवेद्वामस्त[द्रे]चितनिकुट्टितम् [।।*]	86
33	[1] Diksvastikam ..	पार्श्वयोरग्रतश्चैव यत्र श्लिष्टकृतो भवेत् [।*] [स्वस्ति]को हस्तपादाभ्यान्तद्दिक्स्वस्तिकमुच्यते [।।*]	74
34	Alātakam ..	अलातश्चरणं कृत्वा व्यंसयेद्दक्षिणं करम् [।*] ऊर्द्ध्वजानुक्रमं कुर्य्यादलातकमिति स्मृतम् [।।*]	75
35	[Kaṭisamam] ..	स्वस्तिकापसृतः पादः करौ नाभिकटिस्थि[तौ] [।*] पार्श्वमुद्वाहितश्चैव [करणन्तत्कटीसमम्*] [।।*]	76
36	Ākshiptarēchitam ..	हस्तौ हृदि भवेद्वामस्सव्यश्चाक्षिप्तरेचितः [।*] रेचितश्चापविद्धश्च तत् स्यादाक्षिप्तरेचितम् [।।*]	77
37	Vikshiptākshiptakam	विक्षिप्तं हस्तपादश्च तस्यैवाक्षेपणम् पुनः [।*] यत्र तत् करणं ज्ञेयं [वि]क्षिप्ताक्षिप्तकं [द्वि]जाः [।।*]	
A	[2] Nikuṭṭakam ..	निकुट्टितौ यदा हस्तौ स्वबाहुशिरसोन्तरे[।*] पादौ निकुट्टितौ चैव ज्ञेयन्तत्तु निकुट्टकम् [।।*]	67
B	Arddhanikuṭṭakam ..	अञ्चितो बा[हु]शिरसि हस्तस्त्वाभिमुखांगुलिः[।*] निकुट्टितार्द्ध[यो]गेन भवेदर्द्धनिकुट्टकम् [।।*]	68
38	Kaṭichchhinnam ..	पर्य्यायशः कटिच्छिन्ना बाहू शिरसि पल्लवौ [।*] पुनः पुनश्च करणं कटिच्छिन्नन्तु तत् भवेत् [।।*]	69
39	Arddharēchitam ..	अपविद्धः करस्सूच्या पादश्चैव निकुट्टितः [।*] सन्नतं यत्र पार्श्व[न्तु] तत् भवेदर्द्धरेचितम् [।।*]	70

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[1] Two compartments, bearing sculptures, next to this do not belong to the series. One of them has an unfinished picture not distinct on the original and the other the modern image of a devotee.

[2] This and the next compartment bear figures with labels on their sides. Sketches of these were not prepared by mistake.

1	2	3	4
40	Vakshatvastikam ..	स्वस्तिकौ चरणौ यत्र करौ वक्षसि रेचितौ [।*] निकुश्चितन्तथा वक्षो वक्षस्वस्तिकमेव तत् [॥*]	71
41	Unmattam ..	अश्चितेन तु पादेन रेचितौ तु करौ यदा [।*] उन्मत्तं करणं तत्तु विज्ञेयं [नृ]त्तकोविदैः [॥*]	72
42	Svastikam ..	[1]हस्ताभ्यामथ पादाभ्याम् भवतस्स्वस्तिकौ यदा [।*] तत् स्वस्तिकमिति प्रोक्तं करणं करणार्थिभिः [॥*]	73
43	Prishṭhasvastikam ..	विक्षिप्तोत्क्षिप्तबाहुभ्यां स्वस्तिकौ चरणौ यदा [।*] अपक्रान्तार्द्धसूचीभ्यां तत् पृष्टस्वस्तिकम् भवेत् [॥*]	
[2]44	Talapushpapuṭam ..	वामे पुष्पपुटः पार्श्वे पादोग्रतलसञ्चरः [।*] तथा च सन्नतम् पार्श्वन्तलपुष्पपुटम् भवेत् [॥*]	59
45	Vartitam ..	कुश्चितौ मणिबन्धे तु व्यावृत्तपरिवर्त्तितौ [।*] हस्तौ निपतितौ चोर्वोर्वर्त्तितं करणन्तु तत् [॥*]	60
[3]46	Valitōru ..	शुकतुण्डौ यदा हस्तौ व्यावृत्तपरिवर्त्तितौ [।*] [ऊरू] च वलितौ यस्मि[न्] वलितोरु तदुच्यते [॥*]	61
47	Apaviddham ..	आवर्त्त्य शुकतुण्डाख्यमूरुपृष्ठे निपातयेत् [।*] वामहस्तश्च वक्षस्थो ह्यपविद्धन्तु तत् भवेत् [॥*]	62
48	Samanakham ..	श्लिष्टौ [स]मनखौ पादौ करौ चापि प्रलंबितौ [।*] देहस्स्वाभाविको यत्र भवेत् समनखन्तु तत् [॥*]	63
49	Līnam ..	पताकाञ्जलि वक्षस्थम् प्रसारितशिरोधरम् [।*] नि[भ]ञ्चितांसकूटश्च तल्लीनं करणं स्मृतम् [॥*]	64
50	Svastikarēchitam ..	स्वस्तिकौ रेचिताविद्धौ विश्लिष्टौ कटिसंस्थितौ [।*] यत्र तत् करणं ज्ञेयम् बुधैस्स्वस्तिकरेचितम् [॥*]	65
51	Maṇḍalasvastikam ..	स्वस्तिकौ तु करौ कृत्वा प्राङ्मुखोर्द्ध्वतलौ समौ [।*] तथा च मण्डलं स्थानम्मण्डलस्वस्तिकन्तु तत् [॥*]	66
52	Sūchividdham ..	पादसूच्या यदा पादो द्वितीयस्तु प्रविद्ध्यते [।*] कटिवक्षास्थितौ हस्तौ सू[चीवि]द्धन्तदुच्यते [॥*]	130

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[1] In the *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra*, No. 43 is described with the first half of 42 and the second half of 43, but in the enumeration two separate postures called Svastika and Prishṭhasvastika are mentioned. The omission of Svastika (No. 42) thus made in the printed work is supplied by the list before us.

[2] This begins with the phrase स्वस्ति श्रीः and is marked as 1. The *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra* also begins with this verse. But the subsequent numbering of the verses on the stones are much worn out and cannot, consequently, be compared with the numbering in the printed work. Where, however, the stones are clearly numbered the numbers of the verses do mostly agree with those of the *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra*.

[3] The printed work calls this Chalitōru.

[4] *Bhā. Nāṭ.* reads निकुञ्च°.

1	2	3	4
53	[Hariṇaplutam] ..	अतिक्रान्तक्रमं कृत्वा [स][मुत्प्लुत्य निपात][येत [।*] जंघाञ्चिता परिक्षि[प्ता] [तद्विन्याद्धरिणप्लुतम्] [॥*]	135
54	Atikrantam ..	अतिक्रान्तक्रमं कृत्वा पुरस्तात् सम्प्रसारयेत् [।*] प्रयोगवशगौ हस्तावतिक्रान्ते प्रकीर्त्तितौ [॥*]	119
55	Vishnukrāntam ..	पुरः प्रसारितः पादः कुञ्चितो गगनोन्मुखः [।*] करौ च रेचितौ यत्र विष्णुक्रान्तन्तदुच्यते [॥*]	152
56	[1] Āvartam ..	प्रसार्य्य कुञ्चितम् पादम् पुनरावर्त्तय[द्रु]तम् [।*] [प्र][योगवश][गौ हस्तौ तदावर्त्तमुदाहृतम् [॥*]	112
57	[3] Ḍōḷapādam ..	कुञ्चितम् पादमुत्[क्षिप्य पार्श्वात्पार्श्वन्तु डोलयेत् [।*] प्रयोगवशगौ हस्तौ डोळापादं प्रकीर्त्तितम् [॥*]	113
58	[4] Vivṛittam ..	आक्षिप्तं हस्तपादश्च त्रिकंचैव विवर्त्तयेत् [।*] रेचितौ च तथा हस्तौ विवृत्ते करणे द्विजाः [॥*]	114
59	Pārśvakrāntam ..	प[ार्श्व]क्रान्तक्रमं [कृ]त्वा पुरस्तादथ पातयेत् [।*] प्रयोगवशगौ हस्तौ पार्श्वक्रान्तन्तदुच्यते [॥*]	116
60	Ardhasūchi ..	[5] अलपत्मशिरोहस्तस्सूचीपादश्च दक्षिणः [।*] यत्र तत् करण ज्ञेयमर्द्धसूचीति नामतः [॥*]	129
61	Nāgapasarpitam ..	[6] स्वस्तिकापसृतो पादो शिरश्च परिवाहितम् [।*] रेचितौ च तथा हस्तौ स्यातान्नागापसर्पिते [॥*]	157
62	Talasaṁsphōṭitam ..	द्रुतमुत्[क्षिप्य चरणम् पुरस्तादथ पातयेत् [।*] तलसं[स्फो]टितौ हस्तौ तलसंस्फोटिते म[तौ] [॥*]	122
63	[Vṛi]shabhakrīḍitam	[प्रयुज्यातालकं पूर्वं*] हस्तौ चापि हि रेचयेत् [।*] [कञ्चितावञ्चितौ चैव*] [वृ]षभक्रीडिते सदा [॥*]	156
64	Daṇḍapādam ..	[नूपुर*][श्चरणं कृत्वा दण्डपादम् प्रसारयेत् [।*] [क्षिप्त*][विद्धकरश्चैव दण्डपादन्तदुच्यते [॥*]	134
65	Nivēśa-karaṇam ..	करौ वक्षःस्थितौ कार्य्यावुरो निर्भुग्नम् एव च [।*] मण्डलं स्थानकश्चैव निवेशकरण[श्च] तत् [॥*]	148

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[1] *Bhā. Nat.* calls this Ārtava in the enumeration.

[2] ,, reads येद्गतम्.

[3] ,, ,, Dōlapādakam in the enumeration

[4] ,, ,, Vivṛita

[5] ,, has अमपादाश्शिरोदेशे.

[6] Here the printed copy of *Bhā. Nat.* omits the first half, reads रेचितावञ्चितौ हस्तौ in the beginning of the second half and calls the dance Samapasarpita.

1	2	3	4
66	Prēṁkhōḷitam ..	डोळापादक्रमं कृत्वा समुत्प्लुत्य निपातयेत् [।*] परिवृत्तन्त्रिकश्चैव तत् प्रेंखोळितमुच्यते [।।*]	136
67	Gṛiddhrāvali [nakam]	[पृष्ठप्रसा*]रितः पादः किञ्चिदञ्चितजानुकः [।*] [यत्र प्रसारितौ बाहू तत्*] [स्यात्] गृद्ध्रावली[नकं] [।।*]	126
68	[1] Nitamba-karaṇam ..	[भुजा*][वूर्द्ध्व][विनिष्क्रा*]न्तौ हस्तौ चाभिमुखांगुली [।*] [बद्धा चारी तथा*] चैव नितम्बे करणे भवेत् [।।*]	137
69	[2] [Lōḷitam] ..	रेचितावञ्चितौ हस्तौ लोळितं . . . . [।*] . . . . . श्च . . . लोळि . . [।।*]	
70	Skhalitam ..	डोळापादक्रमं कृत्वा हस्तौ तदनुगावुभौ [।*] रेचितौ घूर्ण्णितौ चापि स्खलितं करणं [भ]वेत् [।।*]	138
71	[Sarpi]tam ..	[3]अञ्चितापसृतः पादश्शिर[श्च] परिवाहितम् [।*] [रेचि]तौ च तथा [हस्तौ तत्स*][र्पि]तमुदाहृतम् [।।*]	133
72	Vidyutbhrāntam ..	पृष्ठतो वल्तिम् पादं शिरो वृष्टम् प्रसारयेत् [।*] सर्व[तोमण्डलं*]बद्धं विद्युत्भ्रान्तन्तदुच्यते [।।*]	118
73	Sannatam .	उत्प्लुत्य चरणौ कार्य्यावग्रतस्स्वस्तिकस्थितौ [।*] सन्नतौ च [त]था हस्तौ सन्नतन्तदुदाहृतम् [।।*]	127
74	Vivarttitakam ..	आक्षिप्तं हस्तपादञ्च त्रिकञ्चैव विवर्त्तितम् [।*] [द्वितीयो रेचितो हस्तो विवर्त्तितकमेव तत् [।।*]	120
75	Sūchi ..	कुञ्चितं पादमुत्क्षिप्य कुर्य्यादग्रस्थितम् भुवि [।*] [प्रयोगवशगौ हस्तौ] तत् सूचि परिकीर्त्तितम् [।।*]	128
76	Siṁhavikrīḍitam ..	अला[तश्च*] पुरस्कृत्य द्वितीयश्च द्रुतक्रमम् [।*] ह[स्तौ पादानुगौ चै[व सिंहविक्रीडितम् [स्मृतम्] [।।*]	141
77	Arggaḷam ..	पृष्ठतः प्रसृतः पादो द्वौ [4]तालावर्द्धमेव च [।*] तथैव चानुगो हस्तः [पु]रतस्त्वर्ग्गळं तु तत् [।।*]	110
78	Urōmaṇḍalikam ..	स्वस्तिकापसृतौ [5]पादावपविद्धक्रमौ यदा [।*] उरोमण्डलिनौ हस्तावुरोमण्डलिकन्तु तत् [।।*]	107
79	Karihastakam ..	वामो वक्षस्थितो हस्तः प्रोद्वेष्टित[तलो परः*] [।*] अञ्चितश्चरण[श्चैव प्रयोज्यः करिहस्तके] [।।*]	139

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[1] *Bhd. Nāṭ.* calls this Nitānta in the description but, correctly, Nitamba in the enumeration.

[2] This is perhaps Lōḷitam omitted after v. 156 of the *Bhd. Nāṭ.* though enumerated in v. 52.

[3] *Bhd. Nāṭ.* reads अन्तरापसृतौ पादौ.

[4] ,, ,, ,, तलावूर्ध्वमेव च.

[5] ,, ,, ,, पादावर्धक्रमौ.

1	2	3	4
80	Siṁhakampitakam ..	पृष्ठप्रसर्प्पितः पादस्तथा हस्तौ निकुञ्चितौ [।*] पुनस्तथैव कर्तव्यौ [1]सिंहाक[र्षि]त[के] द्विजाः [।।*]	142
81	Udghaṭṭitam ..	पादावुत्घट्टितौ कार्य्यौ [2]तलसंघट्टितौ करौ [।*] [3]नतं तु पार्श्वं कर्तव्यं बुधैरुत्घट्टि[ते[4] सदा*] [।।*]	155
82	[5] [Maṇikākriḍitam] ..	तलसञ्चरपादाभ्यामुत्प्लुत्य प[तनं भ*]वेत् [।*] सन्नतं वलितं गात्रम [मनिका][क्रीडितं तु तत्*] [।।*]	149
83	[6] Sambhrāntam ..	[करमा*][वर्त्तितं कृ]त्वा ह्यूरुपृष्टे(ष्ठे) निकुञ्चयेत् [।*] [ऊरु*][श्चै]व तथा विद्धस्सम्भ्रान्तं करणन्तु तत् [।।*]	153
84	Janita ..	एको पक्षस्थितो हस्तो द्वितीयश्च प्रलम्बितः[।*] तलाग्रसंस्थितः पादो जनिते करणे भवेत् [।।*]	146
85	[7] Upasṛitakam ..	आक्षि[प्तश्चर*]णः कार्य्यो हस्तस्तस्यैव [चानुगः*] [।*] [आनतं च तथा गात्रं तथोपसृतकं भवेत्*] [।।*]	144
86	Pārśvajānu ..	एकस्समस्थितः पाद ऊरुपृष्ठे स्थितोपरः [।*] मुष्टिहस्तश्च वक्षस्थः [पा]र्श्वजानु तदुच्यते [।।*]	125
87	[Madaskhalitakam]	करौ प्रलम्बितौ [कार्यौ*] शिरश्च परिवाहितम् [।*] पादौ च वलि[ताविद्धौ मदस्खलित*]के द्विजाः[।।*]	151
C	[Vishkambham] ..	[अप*]विद्धः करस्सूच्या [पा][दश्चैव निकुट्टि*]तः [।*] [वक्षस्थश्च करो वामो विष्कंभे करणे भवेत्*] [।।*]	154
88	Vikshiptam .	विक्षिप्तं हस्तपादश्च पार्श्वतः पृष्ठतोपि व [।*] एकमार्ग्गगतं यत्र,तद्विक्षिप्तमुदाहृतम् [।।*]	111
89	Udvṛittam ..	[आ]क्षि[प्तह]स्तमाक्षिप्तदेहमाक्षिप्तपादकम् [।*] [उद्वृत्य गात्रमि*]त्येतदुद्वृत्तं करणं स्मृतम् [।।*]	143
90	Ūrūdvṛittam ..	करमावृत्तकरणमूरुपृष्ठेञ्चितन्न्यसेत् [।*] जंघाञ्चिता तथोद्वृत्ता ह्यूरूद्वृत्तन्तु तत् भवेत् [।।*]	150
91	[Ākshiptam] ..	आक्षिप्तं हस्तपादन्तु क्रियते यत्र वेगतः [।*] [आक्षिप्तं करणं नाम विज्ञेयं तद्विजोत्तमाः*] [।।*]	108

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[1] *Bhā. Nāṭ.* reads सिंहकंपितके.

[2] ,, ,, ,, तिल°.

[3] ,, ,, ,, नितंब°.

[4] ,, ,, ,, °रुद्घाटिते.

[5] ,, ,, ,, Maṇikākrīḍam in the enumeration.

[6] ,, ,, ,, Saṅkrāntam ,, ,,

[7] ,, ,, ,, Apasritakam ,, ,,

[8] One compartment below No. 88 is occupied by two modern pictures which do not belong to the serie· Peop
consider them to be the sculptors who cut the dancing figures.

1	2	3	4
92	[1] Śakaṭāsyam ..	निपण्णांगस्तु चर[ण]य प्रसा[र्य] तलसंचय•]न[।•] [2] उद्वाहितमुरः कृत्वा शकटास्यम् प्र[योज]येत् [॥•]	158
93	[3] Gaṁgāvataraṇam ..	ऊर्द्धांगुलितलः पादस्त्रिपताकावधोमुखौ [।*] हस्तौ [4] शिरस्सन्नतश्च गंगावतरणन्त्विति [॥*]	159

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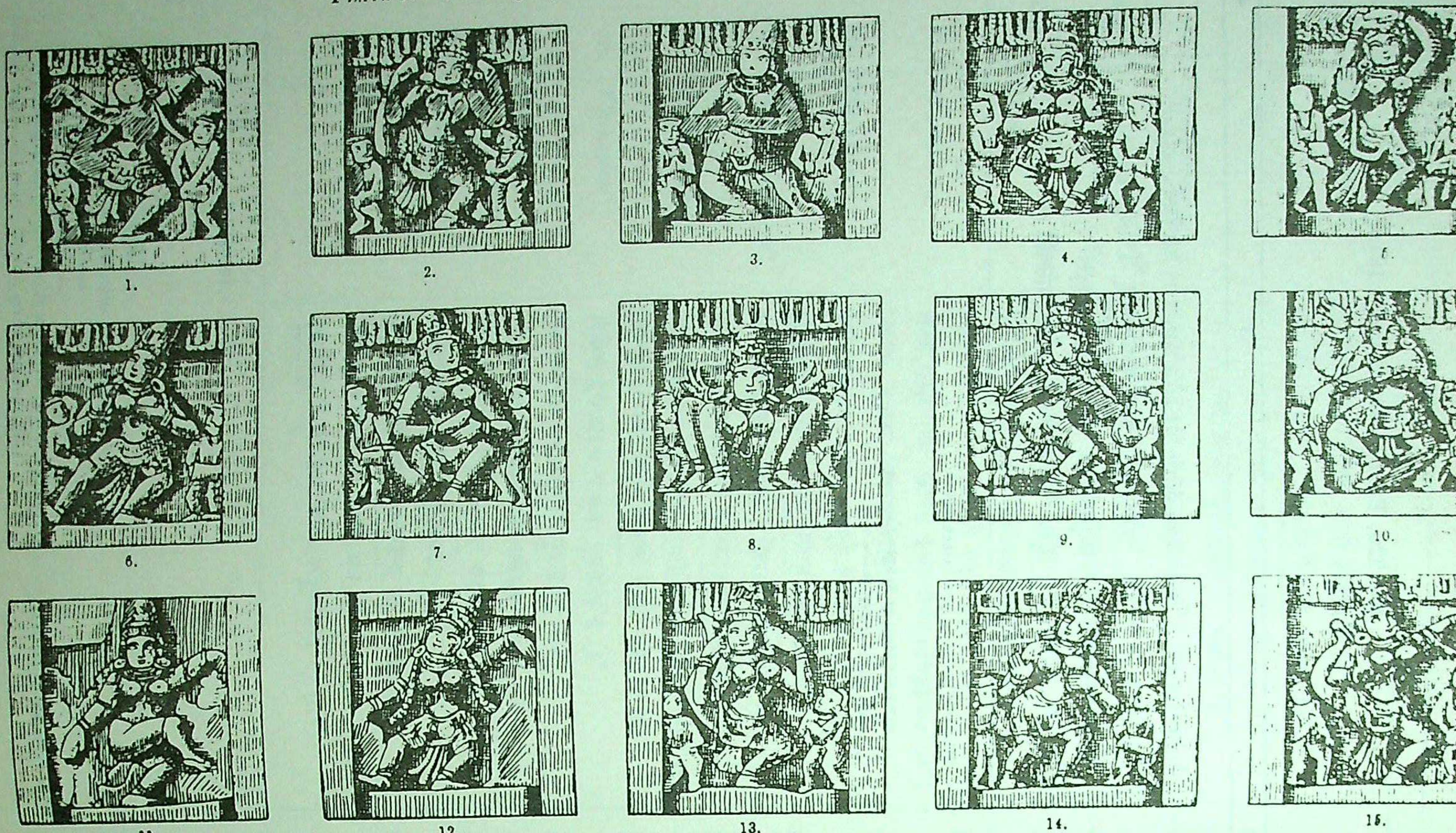
[1] *Bhā. Nāṭ*, gives the name as Śakaṭākhyam.

[2] ,, ,, has उद्घाटित.

[3] ,, ,, gives the name as Raṅgāv. araṇam

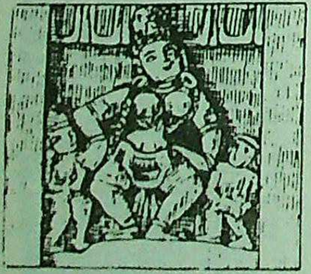
[4] ,, ,, reads शिरः सकृत्तं च

PLATE I.—Dancing figures in the East gopura, Nataraja temple, Chidambaram.



1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15.

PLATE I.—Dancing figures in the East gopura, Nataraja temple, Chidambaram.—*cont.*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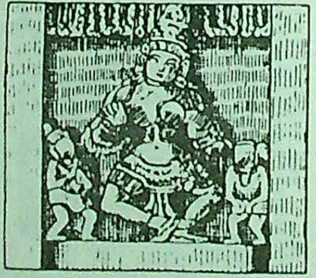
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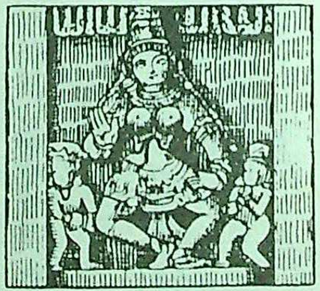
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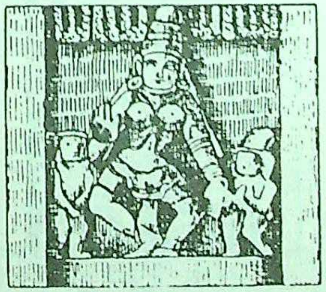
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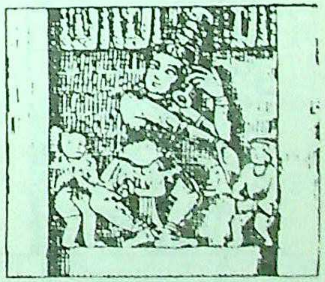
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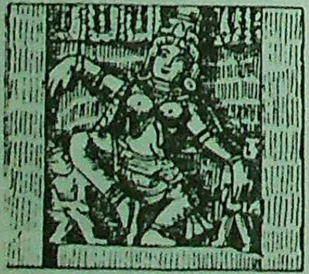
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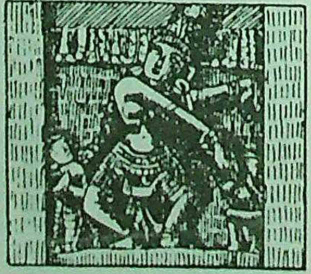
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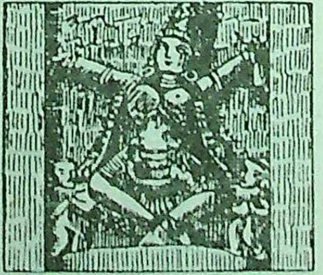
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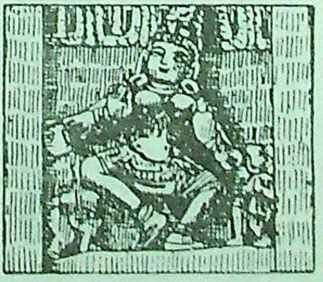
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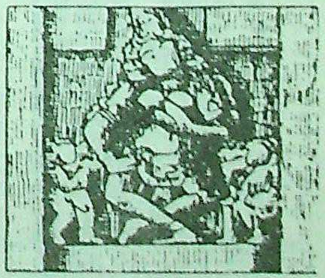
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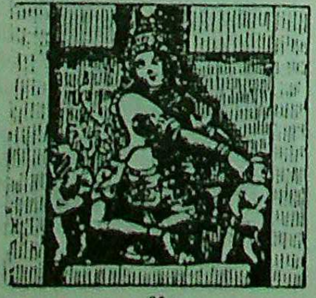
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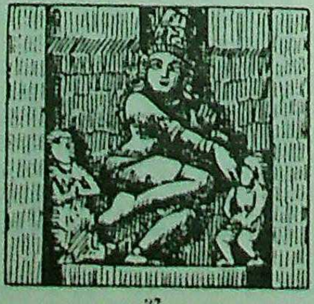
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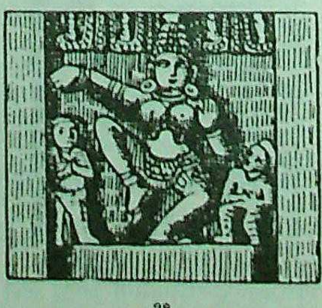
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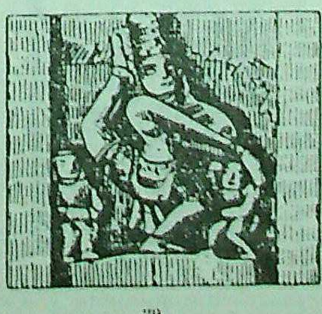
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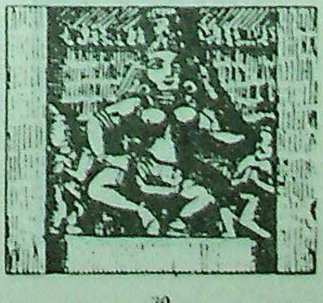
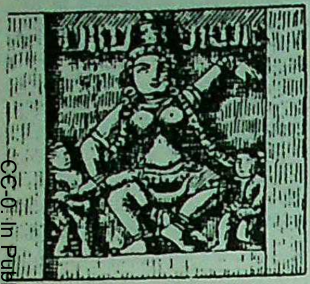

30.

PLATE II.—Dancing figures in the East gopura, Nataraja temple, Chidambaram.—*cont.*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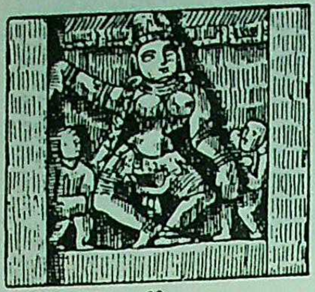
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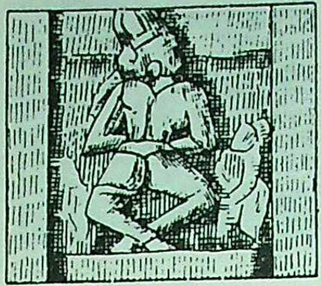
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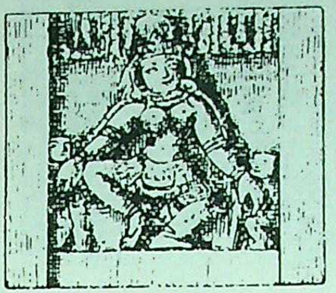
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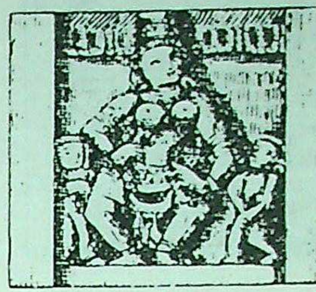
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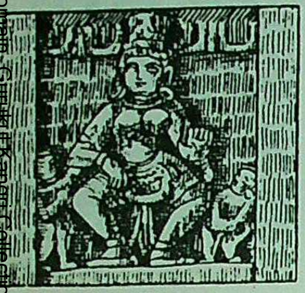
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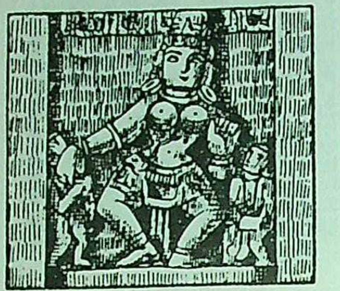
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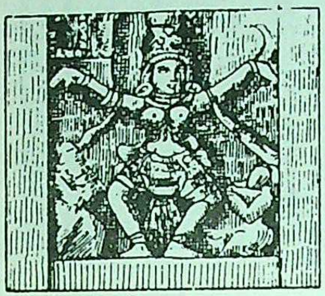
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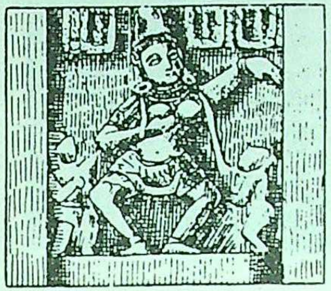
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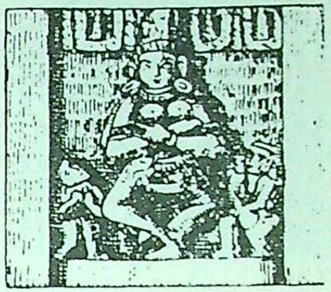
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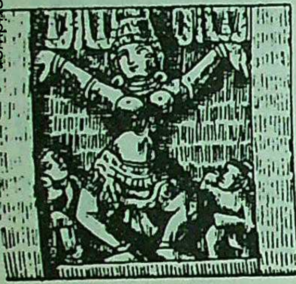
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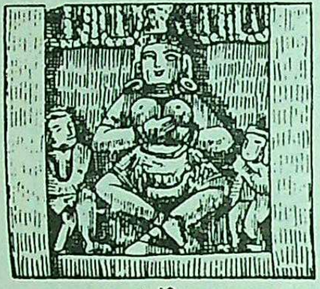
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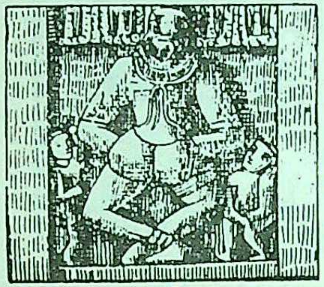
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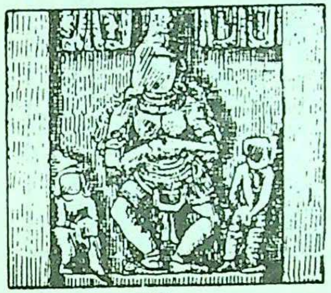
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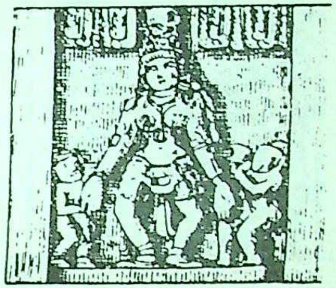
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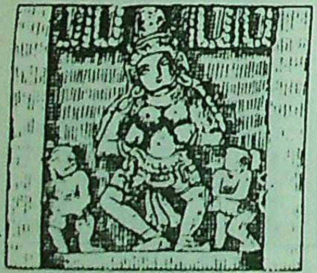
PLATE II Dancing figures in the East gopura, Nataraja temple, Chidambaram.—*cont.*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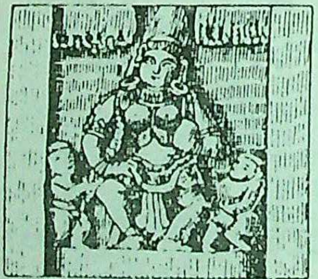
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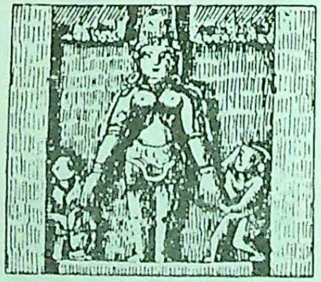
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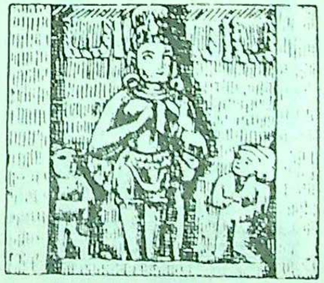
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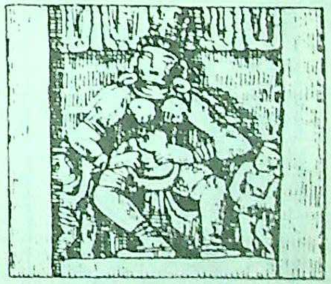
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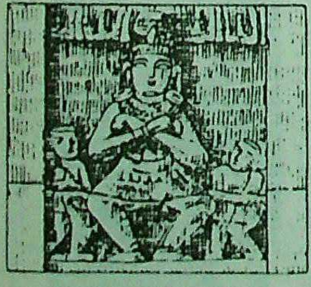
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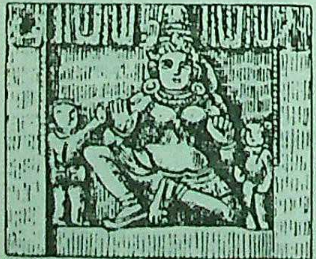
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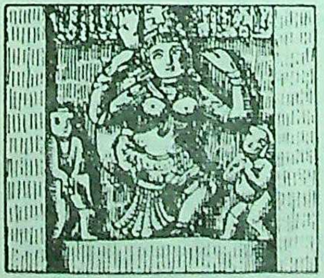
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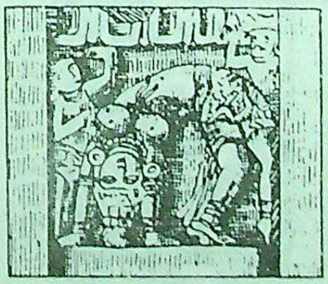
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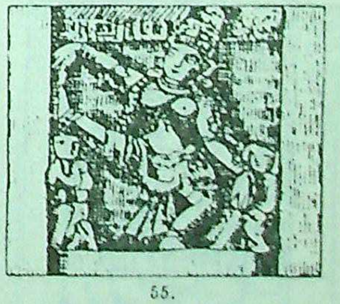
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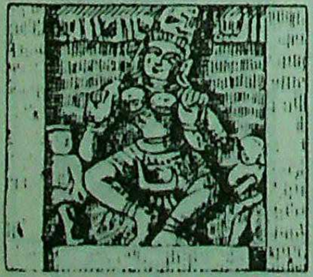
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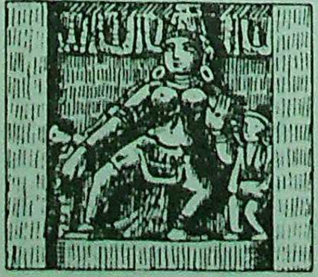
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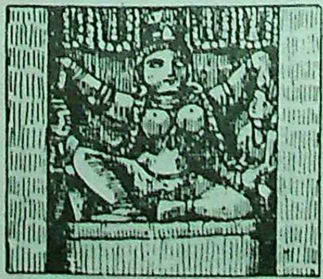
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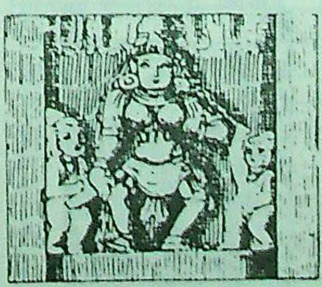
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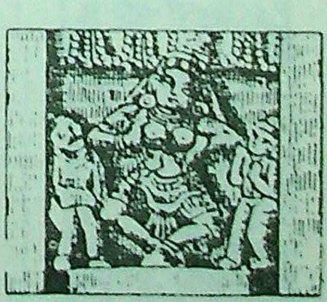
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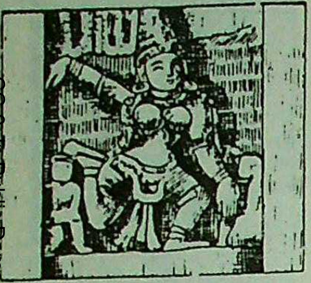
Plate III.—Dancing figures in the East gopura, Nataraja temple, Chidambaram.—*cont.*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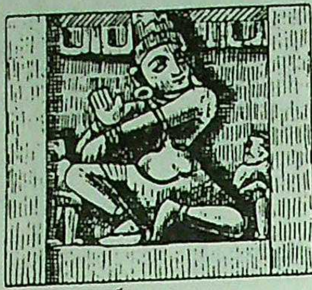
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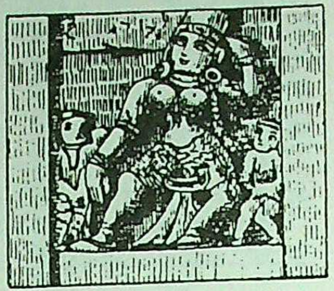
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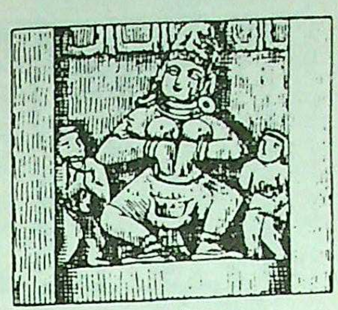
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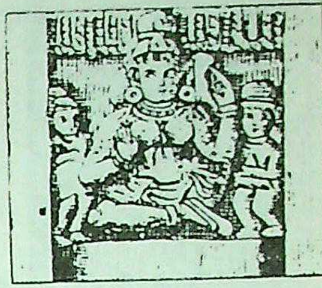
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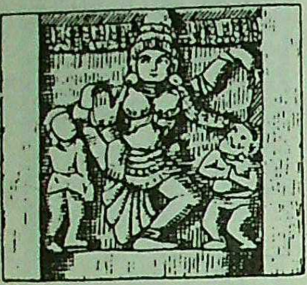
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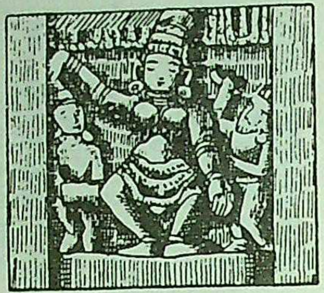
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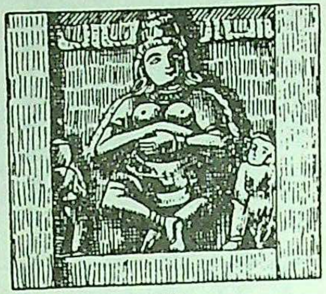
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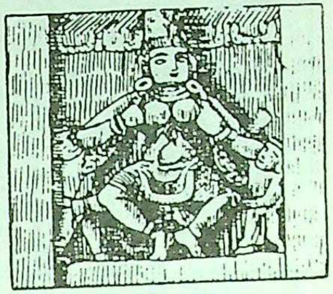
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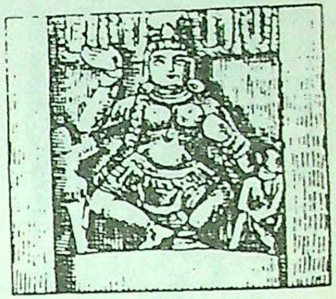
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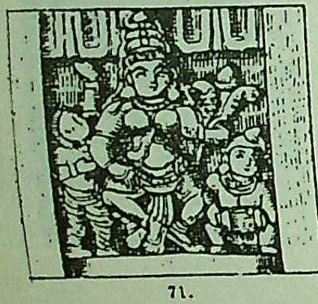
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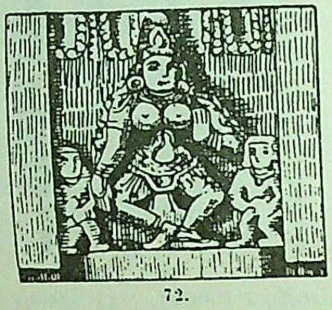
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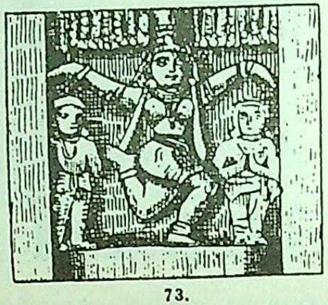
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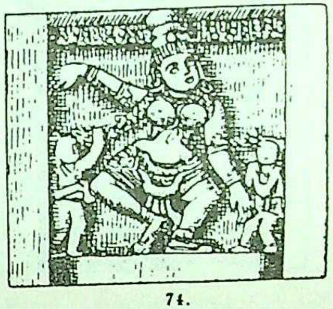
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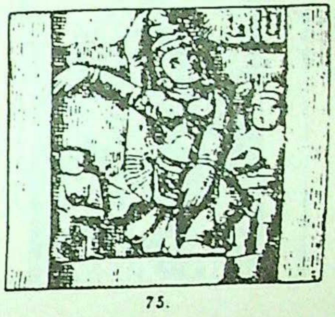
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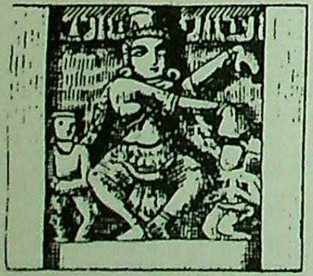
Plate III.—Dancing figures in the East gopura, Nataraja temple, Chidambaram.—*cont.*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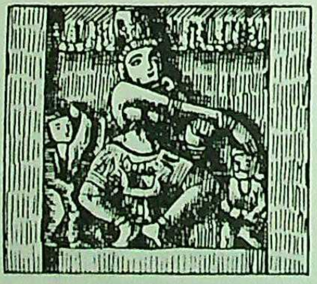
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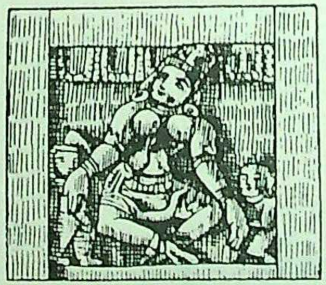
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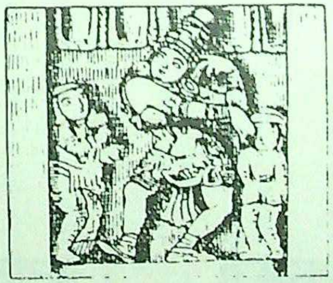
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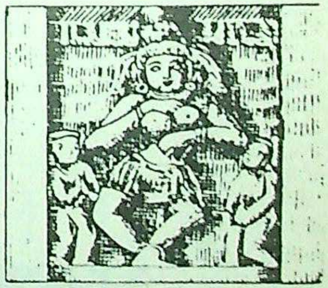
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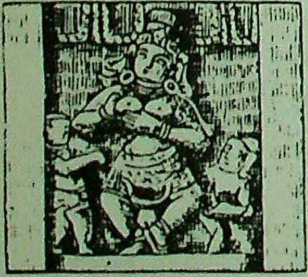
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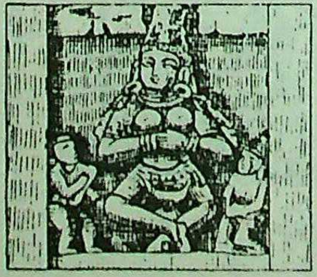
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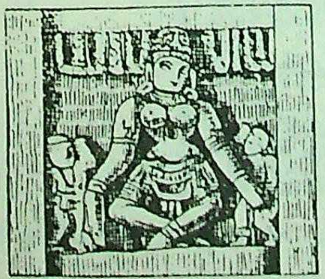
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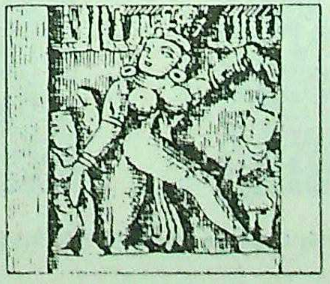
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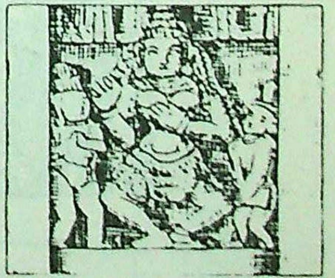
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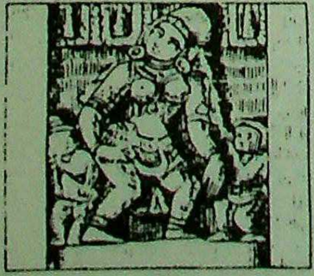
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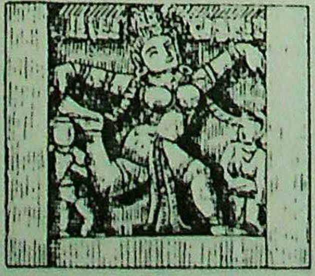
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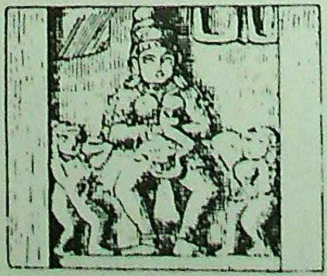
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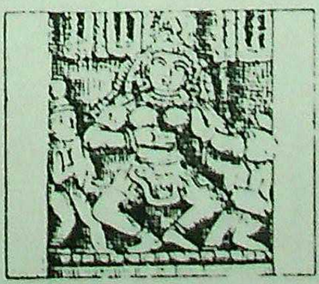
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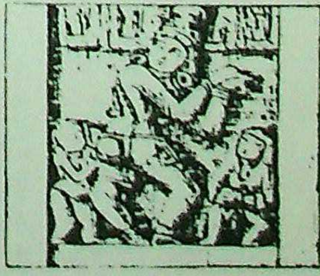
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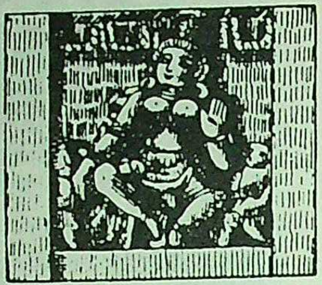
Plate IV.—Dancing figures in the East gopura, Nataraja temple, Chidambaram.—*cont.*



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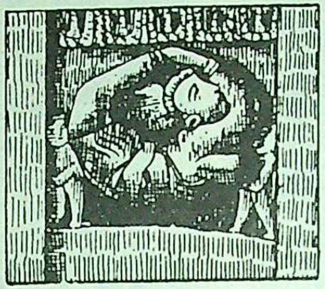

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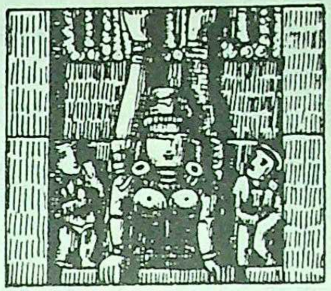

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LIST OF BLACK & WHITE ILLUSTRATIONS

Sl.No.	Description	Courtesy of
1.	A bird's eye view of the Nataraja temple complex at Cidambaram from the top of East Gopuram	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
2.	A view of the 1000-Pillared Hall, the Sivaganga tank and North Gopuram, from the top of East Gopuram	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
3.	A view of the Sivaganga, Sivakamasundari shrine and North Gopuram	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
4.	A view of West Gopuram, 100-Pillared Hall and Sivakamasundari shrine with Sivaganga in the foreground	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
5.	The Western side of the 1000-Pillared Hall, viewed across the Sivaganga — East Gopuram to the proper left	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
6.	Cidambaram, Nataraja temple, South Gopuram, north face	Dr. B. Venkataraman
7.	Cidambaram, Nataraja temple, North Gopuram (south-east view)	Dr. B. Venkataraman
8.	Overview of the Cit Sabha with Candesvara shrine in foreground and West Gopuram in the rear ground	Dr. B. Venkataraman
9.	East wing of the first prakara; seen clockwise are : the Gopuram of Govidaraja Shrine, the South Gopuram, the Nrtta Sabha roof, Tayar Sannidhi Srivimanam, Govindaraja Sanctum Srivimanam, Kanaka Sabha, Cit Sabha and Candesvarar shrine	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
10.	Deva Sabha	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
11.	Cit Sabha and Kanaka Sabha with Candesvara shrine in foreground and West Gopuram in background	Dr. B. Venkataraman
12.	Third Prakara, north-western area	Dr. B. Venkataraman
13.	Nrtta Sabha, with South Gopuram in background	Dr. B. Venkataraman
14.	Deva Sabha (roof) with South Gopuram (proper right) and West Gopuram (proper left) in far background	Dr. B. Venkataraman
15 A & B	The open area in front of the Kanaka Sabha and the Govindaraja shrine — *before* the 1934 renovation	S.R. Balasubrahmanyam
16.	Overview of Nrtta Sabha from a north-west angle (madappali roof to proper right and the South Gopuram to proper left)	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
17.	Overview of Nrtta Sabha from north-west angle (a close-up view)	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
18.	Nrtta Sabha facade, showing podium and its mouldings and the intricate carvings of the pillars	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
19.	The two-tiered basement (adhishthanam) of Nrtta Sabha, with Bharatanatya panels in the kandam element, and the bhutagana frieze above	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
20.	Early forties' picture of Nrtta Sabha *before* the horse and wheel were covered with masonry (notice front top open to sky; cf. Illustration No.22)	S.R. Balasubrahmanyam
21.	Nrtta Sabha (north-west view) (showing the two mini-shrines at the north-west corner and the gilded roofs atop the hall and the Urdhva Tandavamurti shrine)	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
22.	Nrtta Sabha, a closer view	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry

LIST OF BLACK & WHITE ILLUSTRATIONS

Sl.No.	Description	Courtesy of
23.	The 1000-Pillared Hall — western side with the Sivaganga in the foreground	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
24.	Forecourt of the 1000-Pillared Hall (with the massive elephant motif in 'heut relief' and Bharatanatya karanas on the podium kandam (stylobate) running round the entire hall on all its four sides)	Dr. B. Venkataraman
25.	The 1000-Pillared Hall — interior view	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
26.	1000-Pillared Hall — interior view, showing two of the many rows of carved pillars, numbering a thousand	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
27.	'*Ruined Temple of Chillambaram*' — the Pandya Nayakam from Cassel's 'Illustrated History of India', p.217 — a view of a 100 years ago (A.D. 1891)	
28.	Pandya Nayakam, the present view — after the renovation in A.D. 1948	Dr. B. Venkataraman
29.	Sivakamasundari shrine, Mukhamandapa in front of the gopuram (Kulottunga III) renovated	Dr. B. Venkataraman
30.	Sivakamasundari shrine : Mukhamandapa (of the Nayak period) with the double storeyed tiruc-curralai (peristyle), southern wing, in the far ground	Dr. B. Venkataraman
31.	The metallic tiled roof of the garbhagriha of the Sivakamasundari shrine	Dr. B. Venkataraman
32.	View of the North and portions of West Prakara of the Sivakamasundari shrine, showing also the flanking double-storeyed collonaded peristyle, with Bharatanatya karanas carved on the stylobate	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
33.	Sivakamasundari shrine : Bharatanatya panels in the kandam constituent of the adhishthana mouldings of the tiruc-curralai (stylobate)	Dr. B. Venkataraman
34.	Sivakamasundari shrine : Bharatanatya panels in the kandam constituent of the adhishthana mouldings (stylobate) of the tiruc-curralai	Dr. B. Venkataraman
35.	The 100-Pillared Hall — as photographed in A.D. 1935	S.R. Balasubrahmanyam
36.	The 100-Pillared Hall (view from South-east)	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
37.	The 100-Pillared Hall — interior view of the main central hall, with stage at far end	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
38.	The 100-Pillared Hall, another interior view — pillar-flanked aisles	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
39.	Inscription reading 'Svasti Sri it-tirumantapam Akalankan' found in the 100-Pillared Hall, known as 'Vikrama Colan Mantapa'	S.R. Balasubramanyam
40.	Label over icon of Alakesvaran in the North Gopuram reading : "A-la-ke-sva-ra-n" — the Lord of Alaka(puri)	S.R. Balasubramanyam
41	The 100-Pillared Hall, pillar details	Dr. B. Venkataraman
42.	The 100-Pillared Hall, pillar details	S.R. Balasubramanyam
43.	Inscription of Kulottunga I dated in his 44th regnal year (A.D. 1114), engraved on the outer face of the north wall of Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai (see Appendix I-C)	Archaeological survey of india
44.	Inscription at the western entrance through the second wall of enclosure, giving the name of the entrance — "the Sacred Gate of Akalankan" (*Akalankan Tiruvasal*)	Dr. B. Venkataraman
45.	Rajakkal Tambiram Tirumaligai — the third wall of enclosure (south-west portion)	Dr. B. Venkataraman

LIST OF BLACK & WHITE ILLUSTRATIONS

Sl.No.	Description	Courtesy of
46.	South quarter of the Third prakara showing Balipitham and Nandimantapa (with Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai to proper left)	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
47.	West Gopuram : General view : west face	Dr. B. Venkataraman
48.	West Gopuram, General view : east face	Dr. B. Venkataraman
49.	West Gopuram : General view of the north-east corner of the two tiered base, depicting sculptures of Visvakarma and Durga in the ground tier and Ardhanarisvaramurti and Rishabhantika on the upper tier	Dr. B. Venkataraman
50.	West Gopuram, west face, north wing, lower tier : labelled sculpture of Mahishasuramardani	S.R. Balasubrahmanyam
51.	West Gopuram, east face, north wing, lower tier : labelled sculptures of Sridevi and Vishnu on Garuda	S.R. Balasubrahmanyam
52.	West Gopuram, east face, north wing, lower tier : labelled sculpture of Sarasvati	Dr. B. Venkataraman
53.	West Gopuram, east face, south wing, lower tier : labelled sculpture of Devendran	Dr. B. Venkataraman
54.	West Gopuram, west face, north wing, lower tier : labelled sculpture of Dhanvantari	Dr. B. Venkataraman
55.	West Gopuram, west face, south wing, lower tier : labelled sculpture of Vaijayan	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
56.	West Gopuram, west face, south wing, lower tier, extreme south : labelled sculpture of Bhadrakali	French Inst. of Indology, Pondycherry
57.	Estampage of inscription 'Durga Devi' above the Durga sculpture	S.R. Balasubrahmanyam
58.	West Gopuram, east face, north wing, lower tier, extreme north : labelled sculpture of Durga Devi	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
59.	West Gopuram, east face, north wing, lower tier : labelled sculpture of Surya	S.R. Balasubrahmanyam
60.	West Gopuram, east face, north wing, lower tier : labelled sculpture of Visvakarma	S.R. Balasubrahmanyam
61.	West Gopuram, west face, north wing, lower tier, labelled sculpture Adi Candesvarar	S.R. Balasubrahmanyam
62.	West Gopuram, east face, south wing, lower tier, extreme south niche, labelled sculpture of 'Kamadevan' (*Manmatha*) with consorts Rati and Prithi	Dr. B. Venkataraman
63.	East Gopuram, east face, north side, showing the passageway with Bharatanatya karanas, and the lower and upper tiers	Dr. B. Venkataraman
64.	East Gopuram, east face, north wing, northern half — architectural details of the two tiers with sculptures — Ardhanari, Tripurantaka, in upper tier ; Agastya, Adi Candesvara, Yamuna and Kshetrapala-Pillaiyar, in lower tier	Dr. B. Venkataraman
65.	East Gopuram, passageway, northern face, eastern wing, depicting Bharatanatya karanas with Durga in the central niche	Dr. B. Venkataraman
66.	East Gopuram, passageway, southern face, eastern wing, depicting Bharatanatya karanas with Bhairava in the deep central niche (covered by meshwork)	Dr. B. Venkataraman
67.	East Gopuram, passageway, north face, west wing, unknown dignitary	Dr. B. Venkataraman
68.	East Gopuram, passage way, north face, east wing : Karana panels	Dr. B. Venkataraman
69.	East Gopuram — Bharatanatya karanas with the corresponding Natvasastra karana verses describing them	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
70.	East Gopuram — Bharatanatya karanas with the corresponding Natyasastra karana verses describing them	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry

LIST OF BLACK & WHITE ILLUSTRATIONS

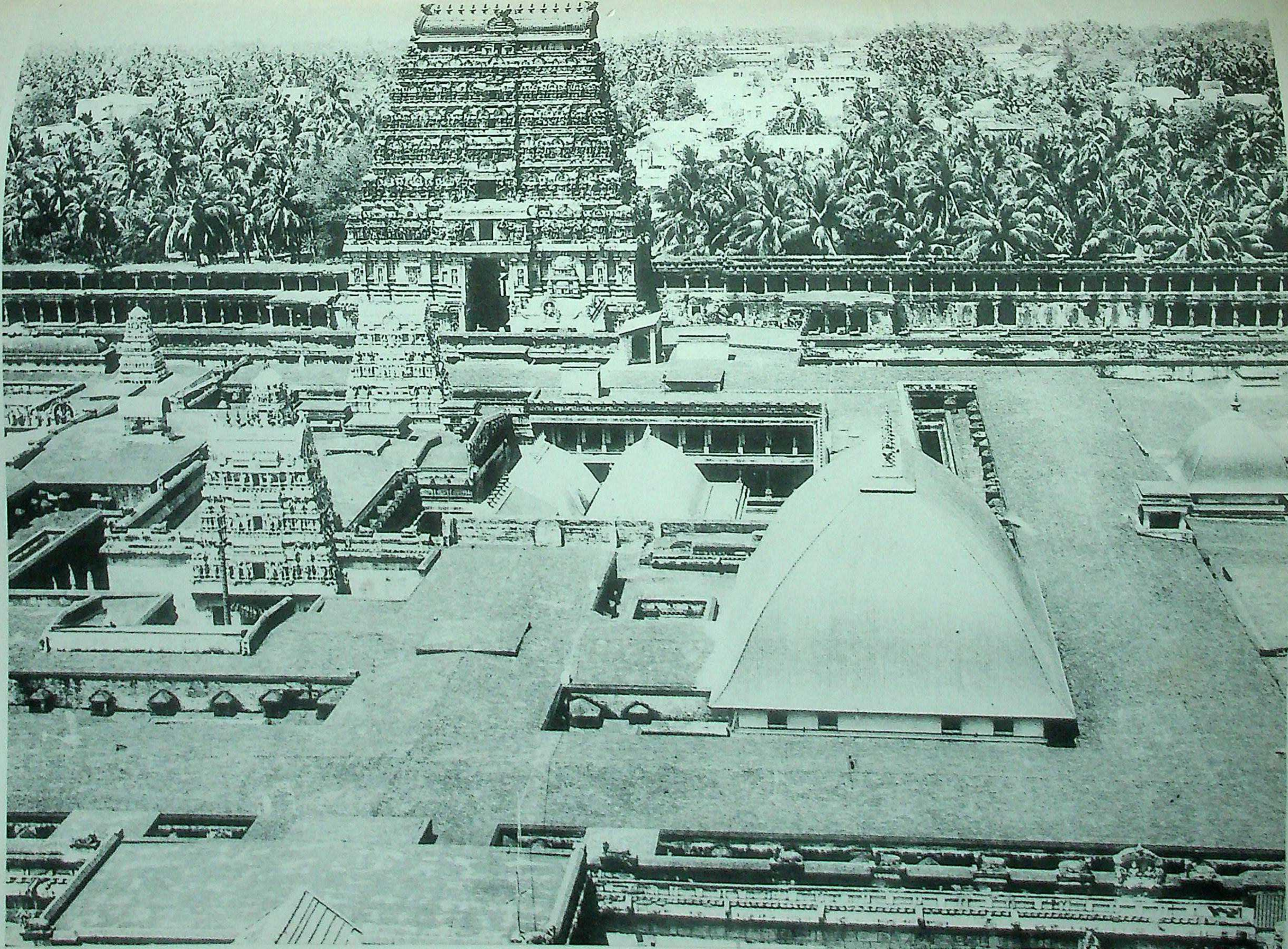
Sl.No.	Description	Courtesy of
71.	East Gopuram — Bharatanatya karana (with sloka)	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
72.	East Gopuram — Kumbha-pancara	Dr. B. Venkataraman
73.	East Gopuram — Bharatanatya karana (with sloka)	Dr. B. Venkataraman
74.	East Gopuram, north face, lower tier, eastern wing : Patanjali	Dr. B. Venkataraman
75.	East Gopuram, north face, lower tier, eastern wing : Narada	Dr. B. Venkataraman
76.	East Gopuram, north face, east wing, lower tier : Rahu & Ketu (Graha-s)	Dr. B. Venkataraman
77.	East Gopuram, east face, north wing, lower tier : Kshetrapala	Dr. B. Venkataraman
78.	East Gopuram, east face, north wing, lower tier : Yamuna(i)	Dr. B. Venkataraman
79.	East Gopuram, east face, north wing, lower tier : Adi Candesvara	Dr. B. Venkataraman
80.	East Gopuram, east face, north wing, lower tier : Agastya	Dr. B. Venkataraman
81.	East Gopuram, east face, north wing, lower tier : Surya	Dr. B. Venkataraman
82.	East Gopuram, east face, south wing, lower tier : Visvakarma (?)	Dr. B. Venkataraman
83.	Loose sculpture, possibly originally belonging to a niche in the East Gopuram, now found near Titti-vasal (Agastya, Visvakarma or Dhanvantari (?) — arms broken)	Dr. B. Venkataraman
84.	East Gopuram, east face, north wing, lower tier : Dvarapala	Dr. B. Venkataraman
85.	East Gopuram, east face, lower tier, south wing : Devendra (Indra, the digpala)	Dr. B. Venkataraman
86.	East Gopuram, west face, north wing, lower tier : one of the Navagrahas (Sukra (?))	Dr. B. Venkataraman
87.	East Gopuram, west face, north wing, lower tier : Sridevi	Dr. B. Venkataraman
88.	East Gopuram, west face, north wing, lower tier : Tripurasundari	Dr. B. Venkataraman
89.	East Gopuram, lower tier : Sarasvati	Dr. B. Venkataraman
90.	East Gopuram, east face, south wing, upper tier, mouldings and entablature	Dr. B. Venkataraman
91.	East Gopuram, north face, east half, upper tier : Siva (in Catura dancing pose) (close-up)	Dr. B. Venkataraman
92.	East Gopuram, north face, east half, upper tier : Urdhva Tandavamurti (close-up)	Dr. B. Venkataraman
93.	East Gopuram, east face, south wing, upper tier : Somaskanda	Dr. B. Venkataraman
94.	East Gopuram, east face, south wing, upper tier : Gajasamharamurti	Dr. B. Venkataraman
95.	East Gopuram, south face, lower tier : Vyaghrapada	V.G. Ramakrishna Aiyar
96.	South Gopuram : Sarasvati	Dr. B. Venkataraman
97.	South Gopuram : A Bharatanatya karana panel	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
98.	South Gopuram : A Bharatanatya karana panel	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
99.	South Gopuram, north face, east wing, upper tier : Kankalamurti	Dr. B. Venkataraman
100.	South Gopuram : (a Graha)	Dr. B. Venkataraman

LIST OF BLACK & WHITE ILLUSTRATIONS

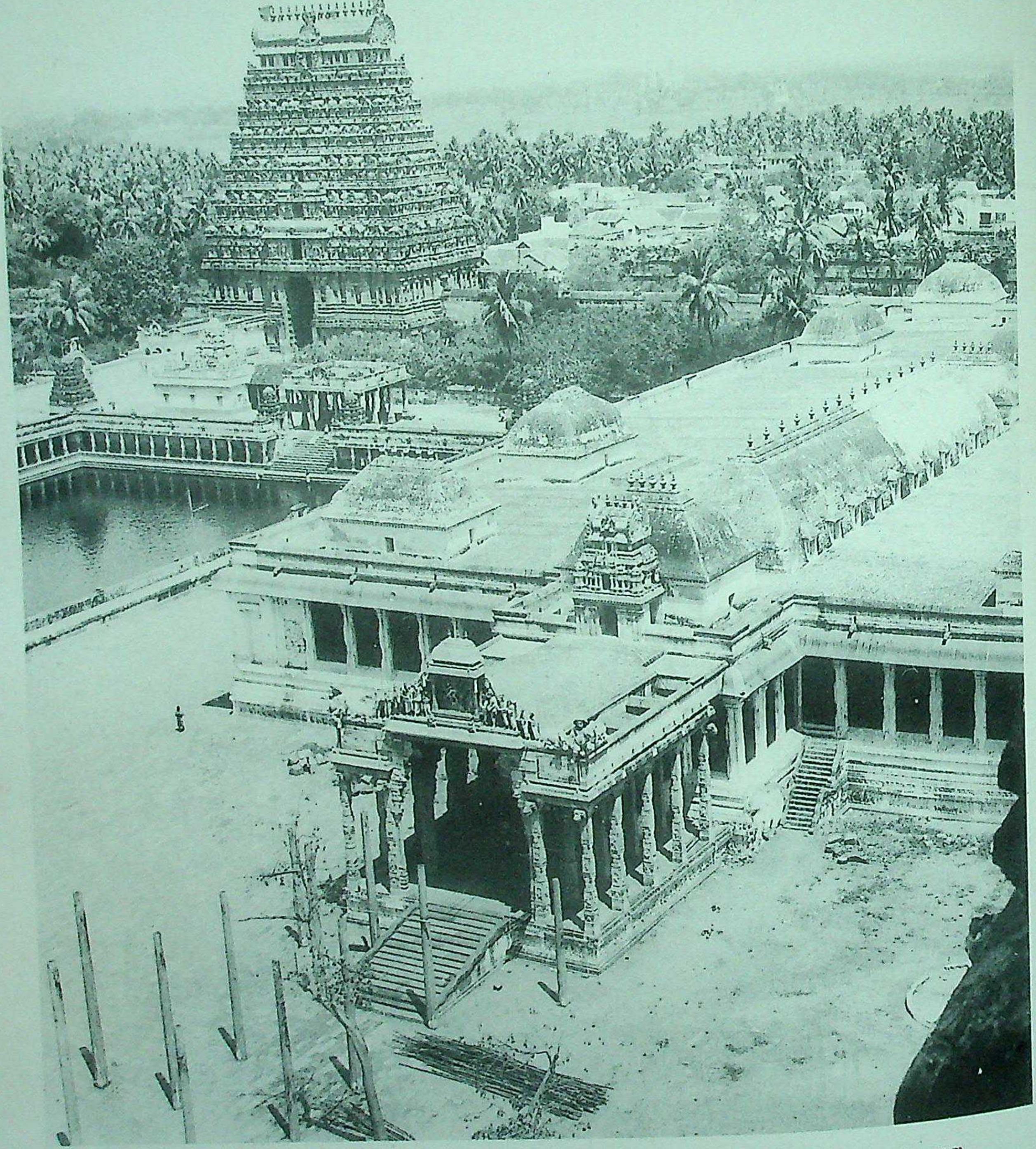
Sl.No.	Description	Courtesy of
101.	North Gopuram, passageway, west face, north wing, Durga in the central niche	Dr. B. Venkataraman
102.	Close-up of Bharatanatya karanas	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
103.	North Gopuram, passageway, west face, north wing : Bharatanatya karanas, with Durga in the central niche	Dr. B. Venkataraman
104.	North Gopuram, south face, lower tier, west wing : Dvarapala	Dr. B. Venkataraman
105.	North Gopuram, south face, east wing, lower tier : Visvakarma	Dr. B. Venkataraman
106.	North Gopuram, south face, east wing, lower tier : Subrahmanya	Dr. B. Venkataraman
107.	North Gopuram, south face, east wing, lower tier : Dvarapala	Dr. B. Venkataraman
108.	Portrait sculpture of Krishna Deva Raya (North Gopuram, west face, south wing of flanking wall of passageway)	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
109.	North Gopuram : Sthapatis	S.R. Balasubrahmanyam
110.	Nambi Andar Nambi and Rajaraja I, bronze icons from Tirunaraiyur	S.R. Balasubrahmanyam
111.	Temple of Sri Anantisvarattup-perumanadigal, Cidambaram	S.R. Balasubrahmanyam
112.	Two (I & IV) of the oldest inscriptions of Cidambaram discovered by S.R. Balasubrahmanyam in the Anantisvaran temple, Cidambaram (A.D. 853 and A.D. 920)	S.R. Balasubrahmanyam
113.	Brahmapurisvarar temple, Singarattoppu	S.R. Balasubrahmanyam
114.	Lingodbhavar, Brahmapurisvarar temple, Singarattoppu	S.R. Balasubrahmanyam
115.	Appar, Sambandhar and Sundarar from the Brahmapurisvarar temple, Singarattoppu	S.R. Balasubrahmanyam
116.	Patanjali and other devotees worshipping Siva, Singarattoppu	S.R. Balasubrahmanyam
117.	Kirata (bronze) from Tiruvetkalam	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
118.	Arjuna (bronze) from Tiruvetkalam	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
119 & 120	Kalyanasundaramurti (bronze), front and rear view	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu
121 & 122	Parvati (bronze), front and rear view	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu
123 & 124	Somaskanda (bronze) (circa A.D. 1100)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu
125 & 126	Nataraja (bronze) (circa A.D. 1010) : front and rear view	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu
127	Siva (bronze) (circa A.D. 1200)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu
128	Tripurantaka (bronze) (circa A.D. 985)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu
129.	Adhikara Nandi (bronze) (circa A.D. 1000)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu
130.	Paravai Nacciyar (bronze) (circa A.D. 950)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt.

LIST OF BLACK & WHITE ILLUSTRATIONS

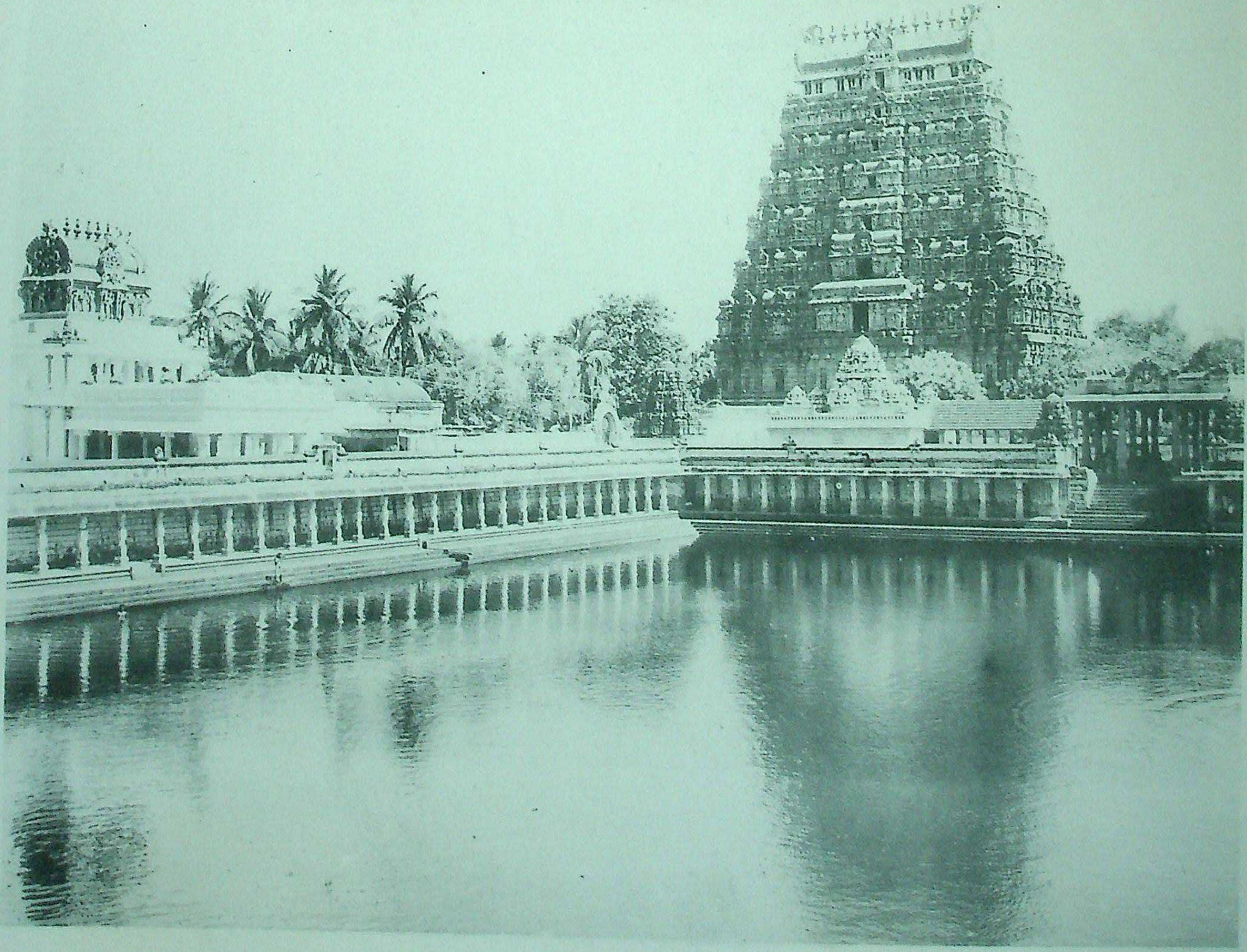
Sl.No.	Description	Courtesy of
		of Tamil Nadu
131.	Bhairava (bronze) (circa A.D. 1000)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu
132.	Bhikshatana (bronze) (circa A.D. 1150)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu
133.	Sivakamasundari (bronze) (circa A.D. 925)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu
134.	Devi (bronze) (circa 12th century A.D.)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu
135 & 136	Patanjali (bronze) (circa A.D. 1150), front and rear view	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu
137.	Manikkavacakar (bronze)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu
138.	Sambandhar (bronze)	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
139.	Appar (bronze)	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
140.	Appar (dated bronze : A.D. 1006 from Tiruppugalur)	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry
141.	The Nataraja festival car about to commence its procession, during Rathotsava, from the 'car-base' (*ter-adi*)	French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry



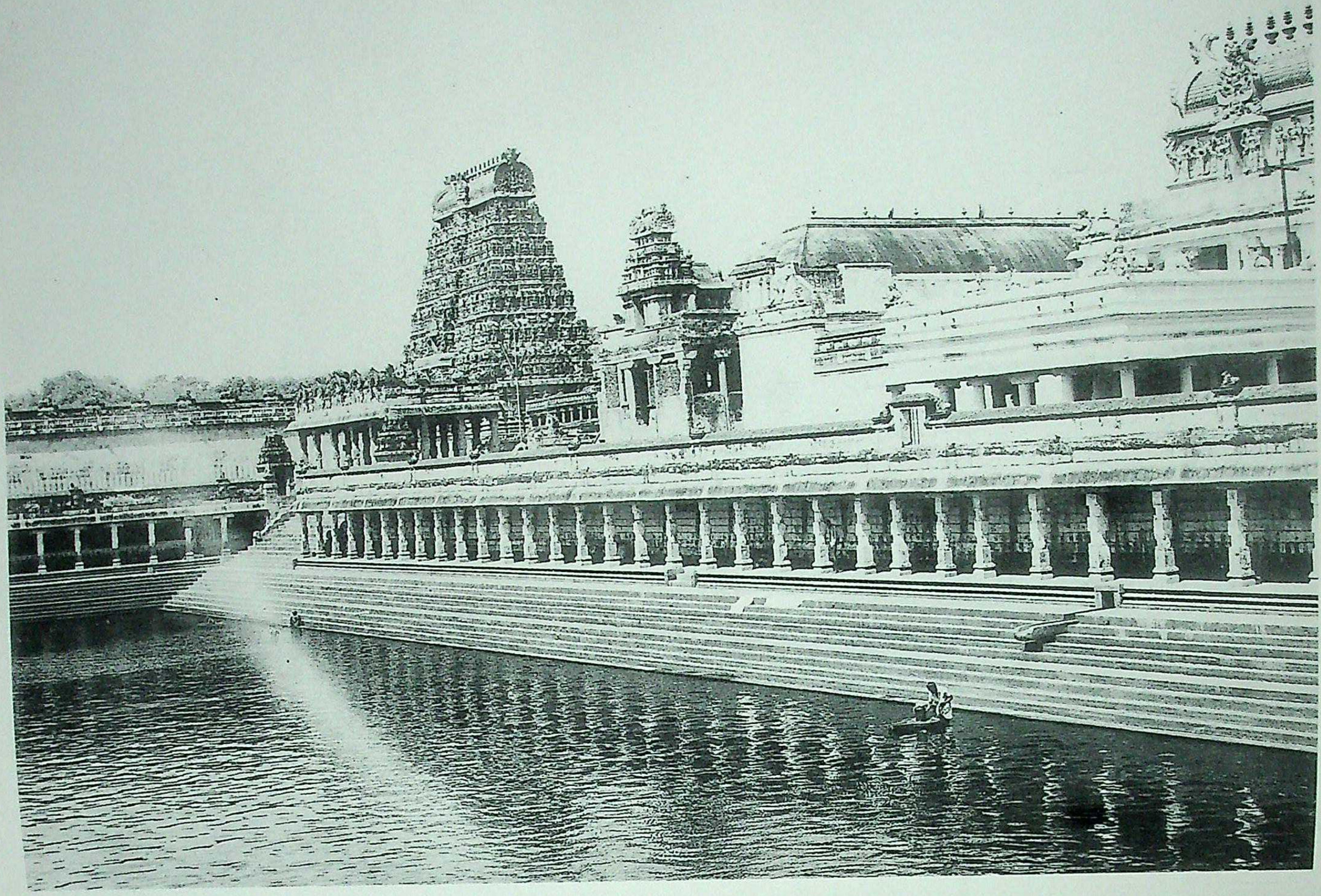
1. A bird's eye view of the Nataraja temple complex at Cidambaram from the top of East Gopuram
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)



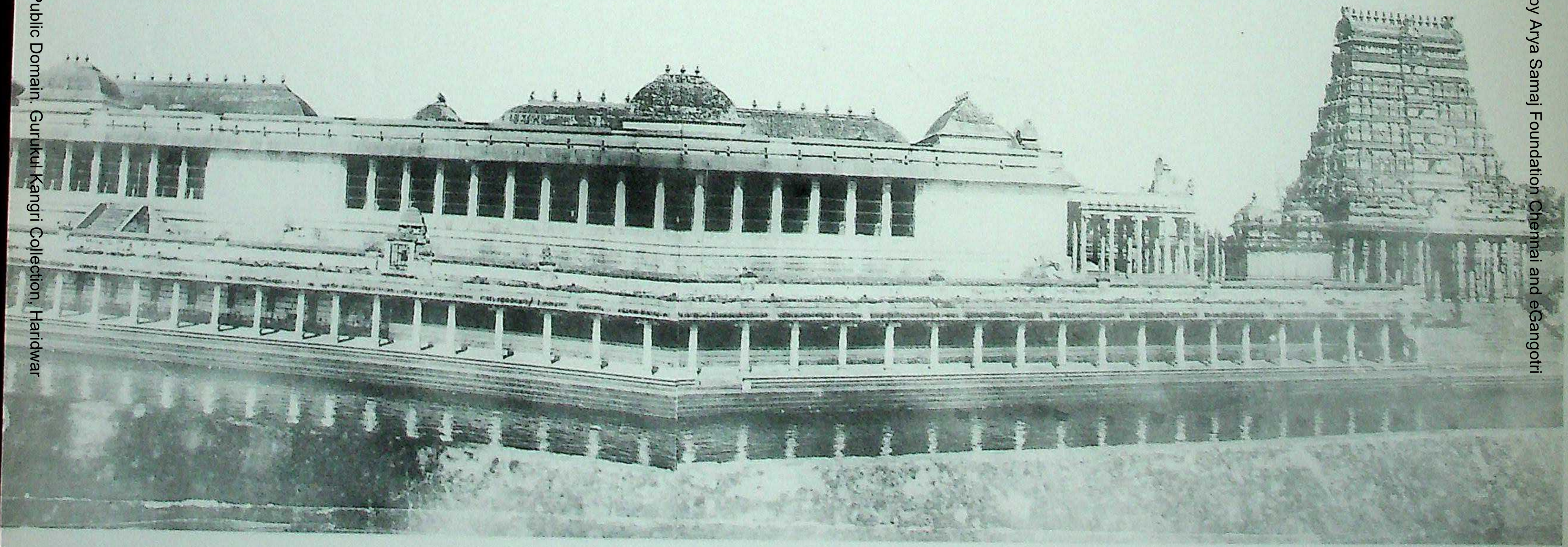
2. A view of the 1000-Pillared Hall, the Sivaganga tank and North Gopuram, from the top of East Gopuram
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)



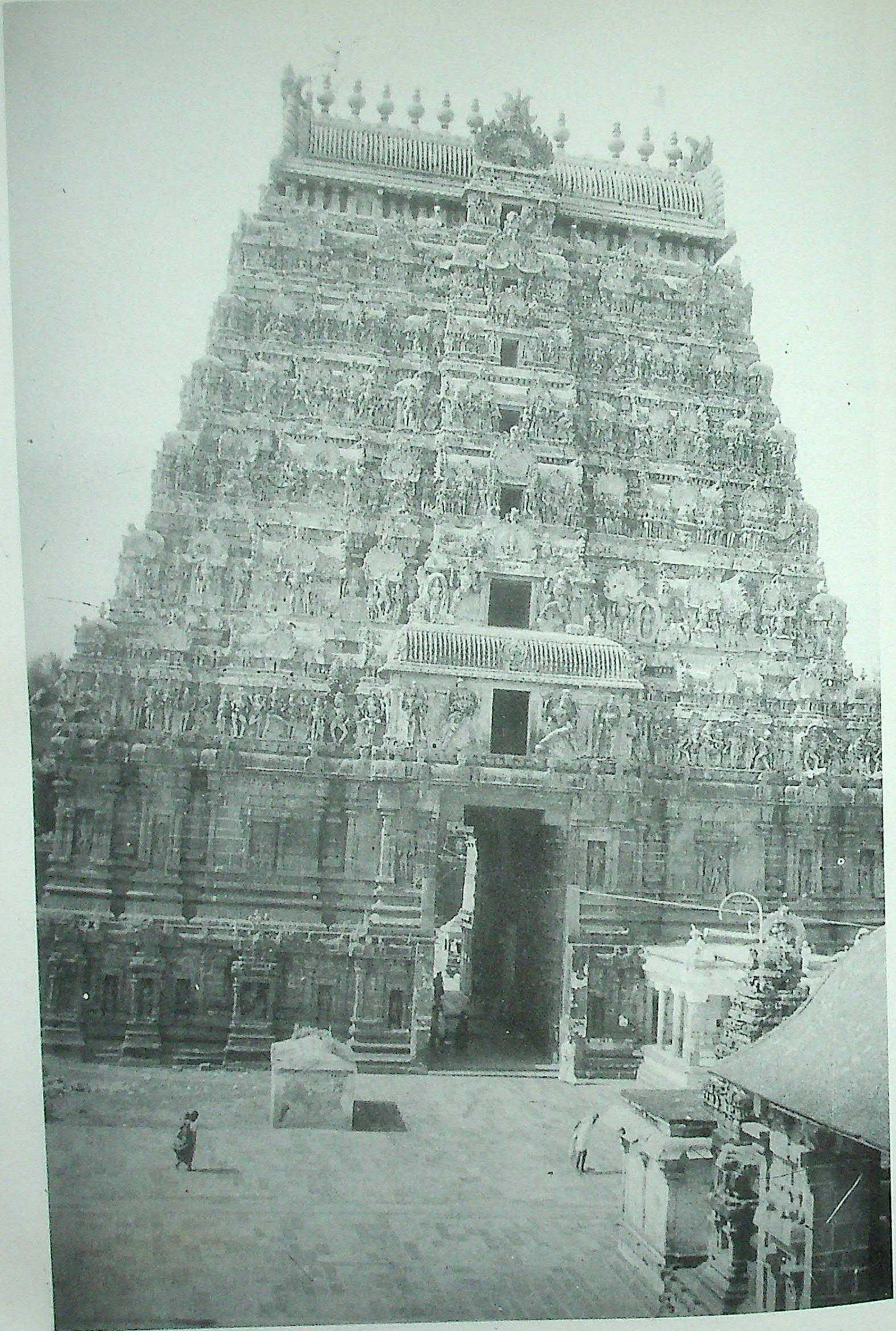
3. A view of the Sivaganga, Sivakamasundari shrine and North Gopuram
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)



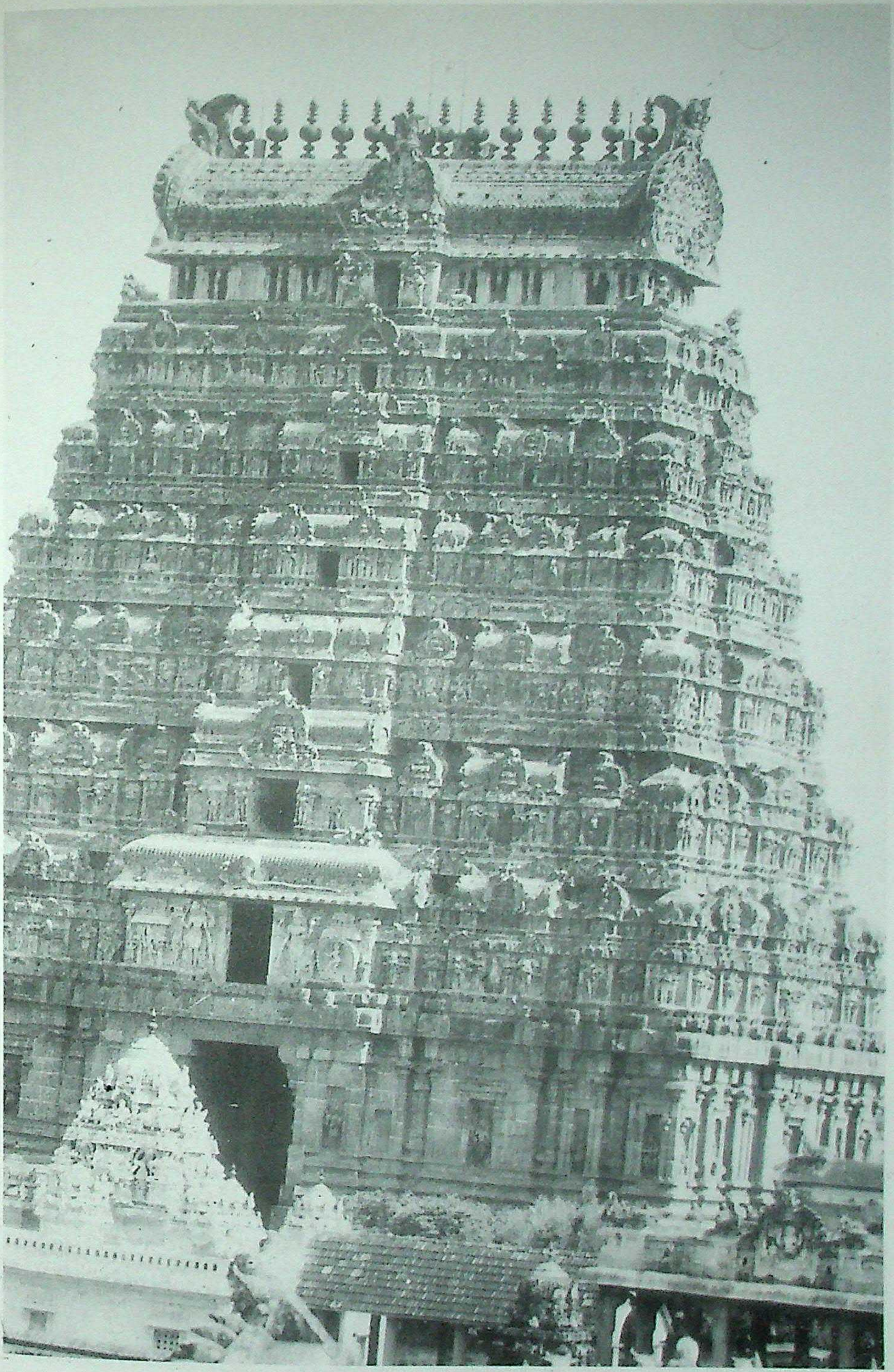
4. A view of West Gopuram, 100-Pillared Hall and Sivakamasundari shrine with Sivaganga in the foreground
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)



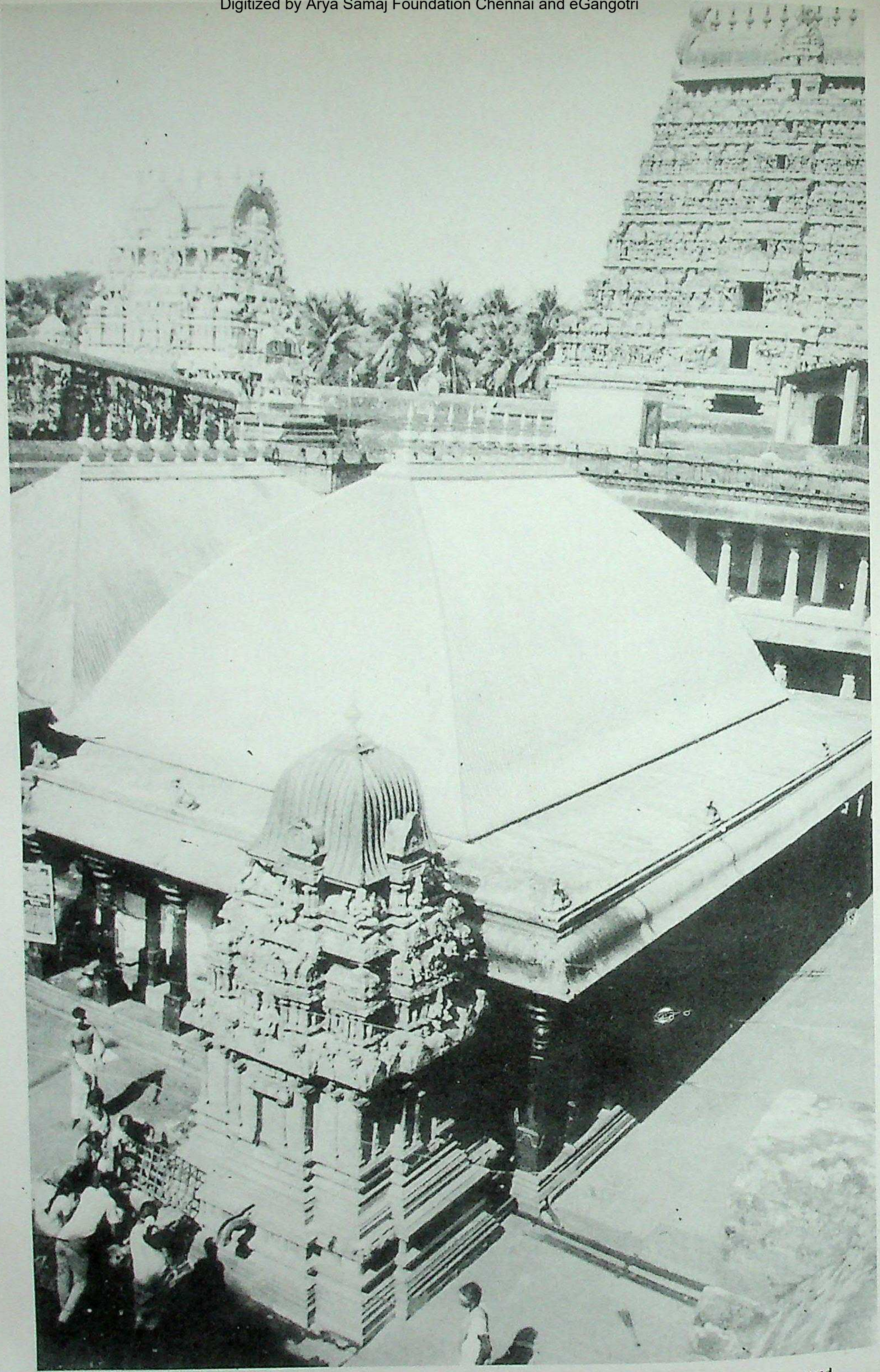
5. The Western side of the 1000-Pillared Hall, viewed across the Sivaganga — East Gopuram to the proper left
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)



6. Cidambaram, Nataraja temple, South Gopuram, north face (Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

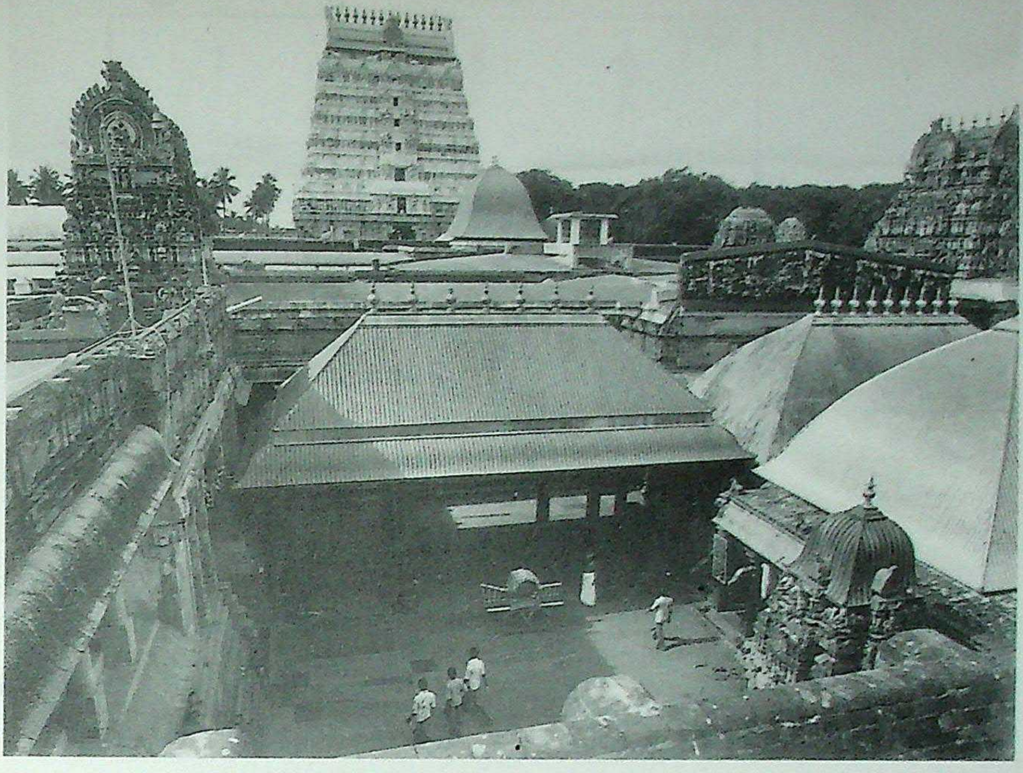


7. Cidambaram, Nataraja temple, North Gopuram (south-east view) (Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

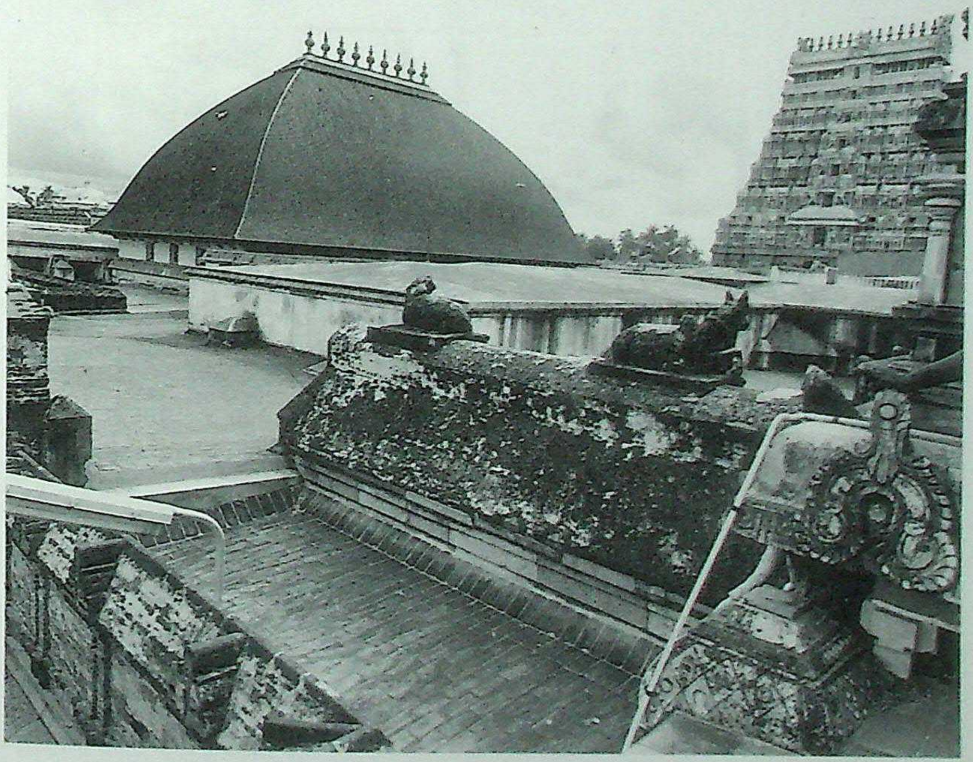


8. Overview of the Cit Sabha with Candesvara shrine in foreground and West Gopuram in the rear ground

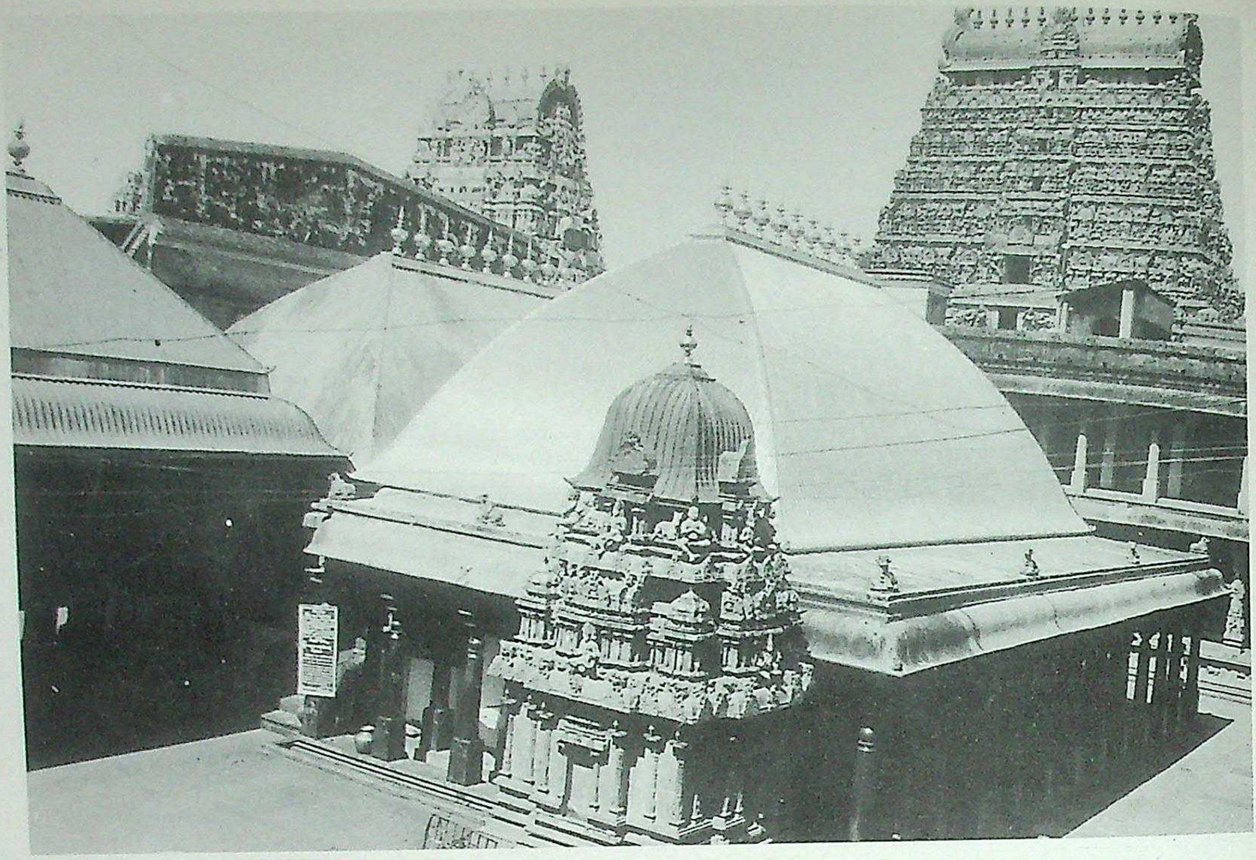
(Courtesy : [illegible])



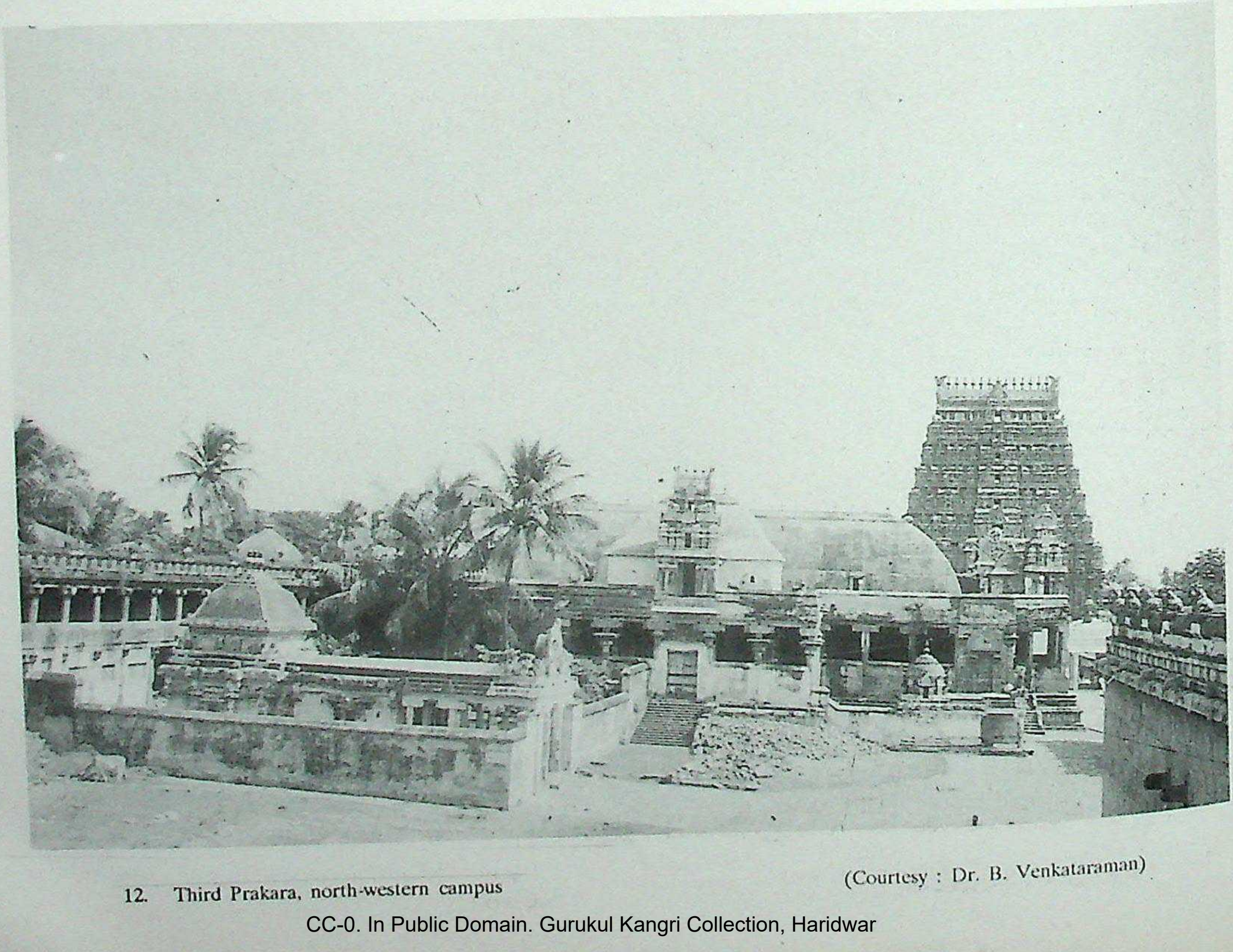
9. East wing of the first prakara; seen clockwise are : the Gopuram of Govidaraja Shrine, the South Gopuram, Nrtta Sabha roof, Tayar Sannidhi Srivimanam etc.,



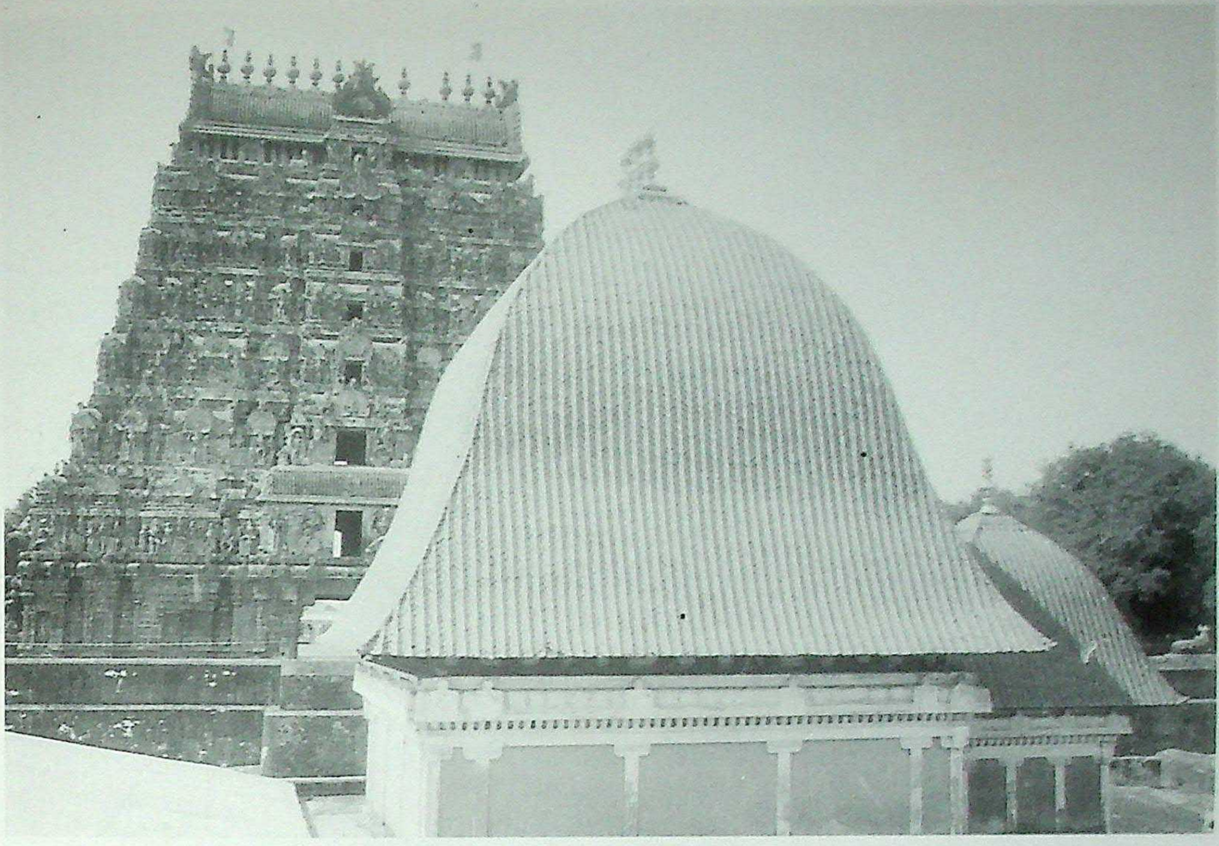
10. Deva Sabha (9 & 10 Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)



11. Cit Sabha and Kanaka Sabha with Candesvara shrine in foreground and West Gopuram in background (Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

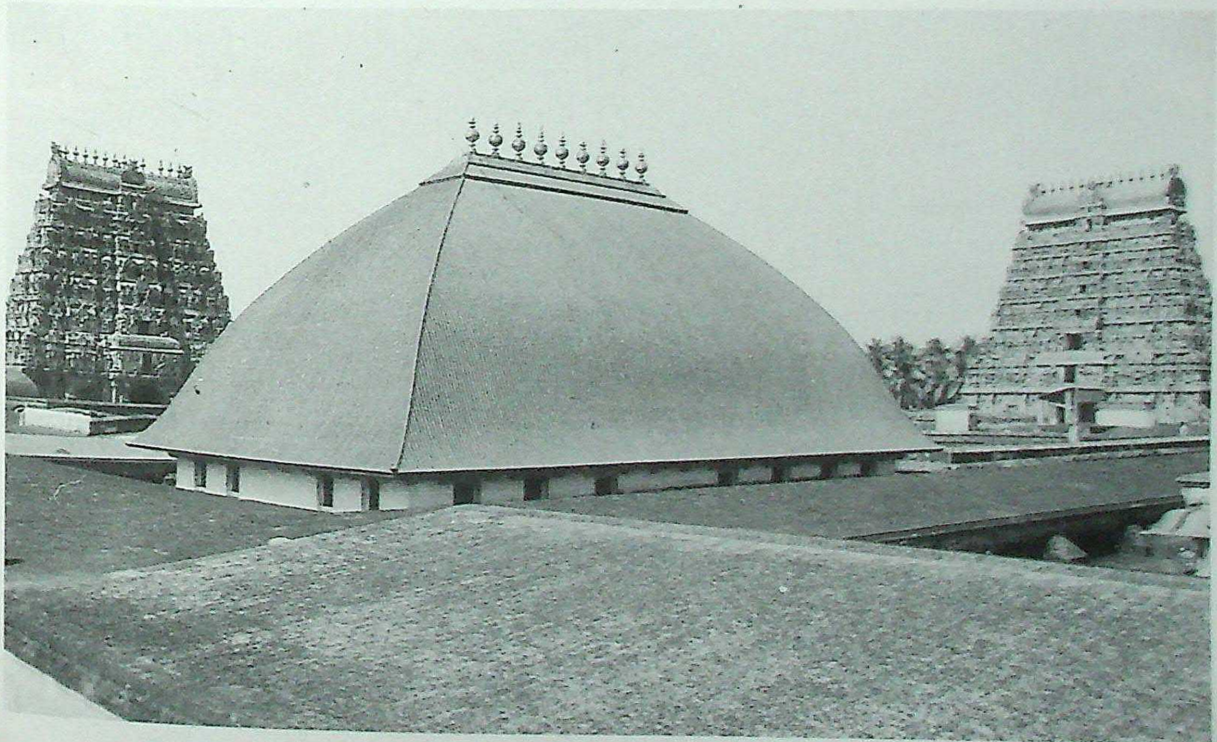


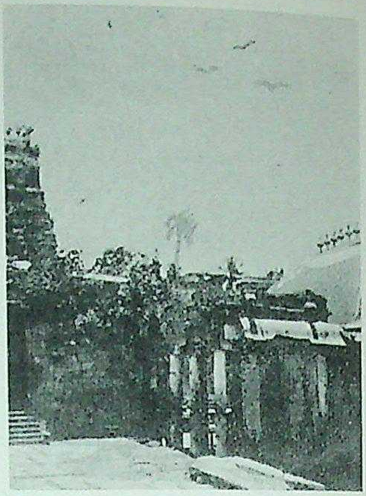
12. Third Prakara, north-western campus (Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



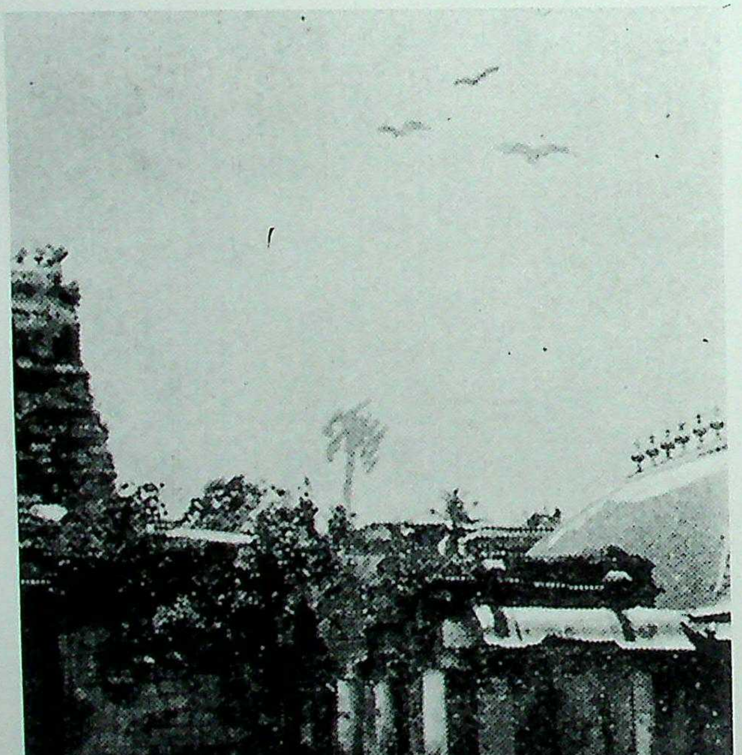
13. Nrtta Sabha, with South Gopuram in background (Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

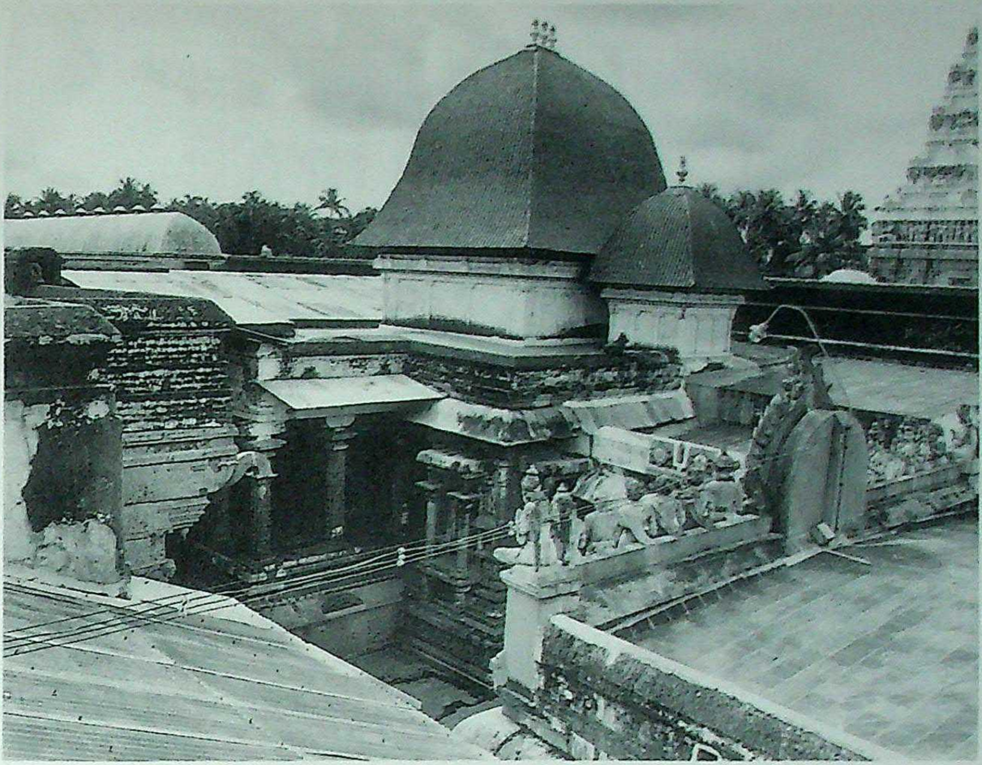
14. Deva Sabha (roof) with South Gopuram (proper right) and West Gopuram (proper left) in far background (Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



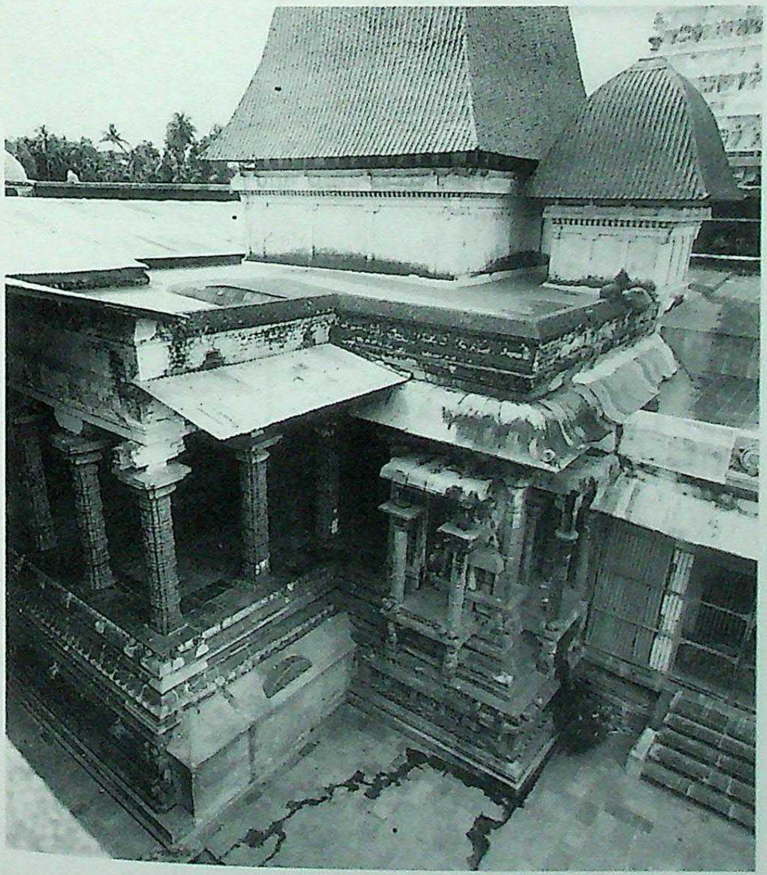


15 A & B The open area in front of the Kanaka Sabha and the Govindaraja shrine before the 1934 renovation (The Kanaka Sabha of the Nataraja shrine faces the tower of the Govindaraja shrine)
(Courtesy : S. R. Balasubrahmanyam)

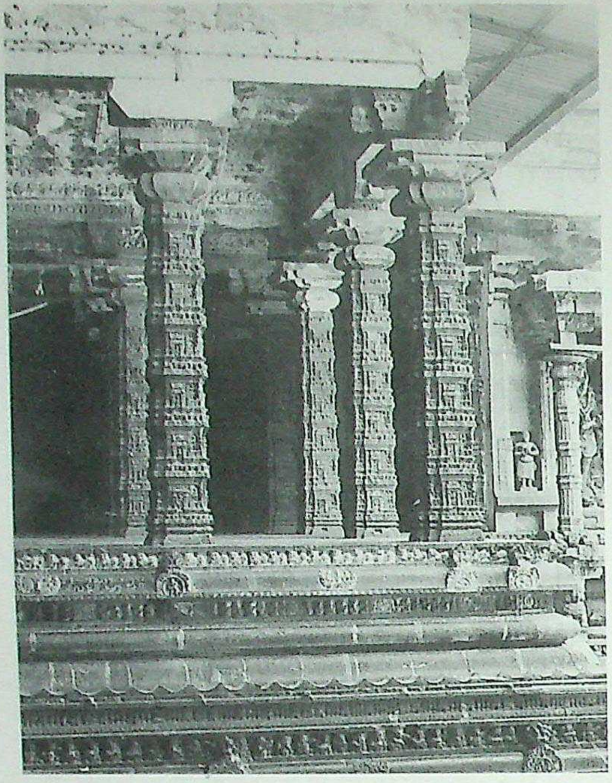




16. Overview of Nrtta Sabha from a north-west angle (madappali roof to proper right and the South Gopuram to proper left)
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)

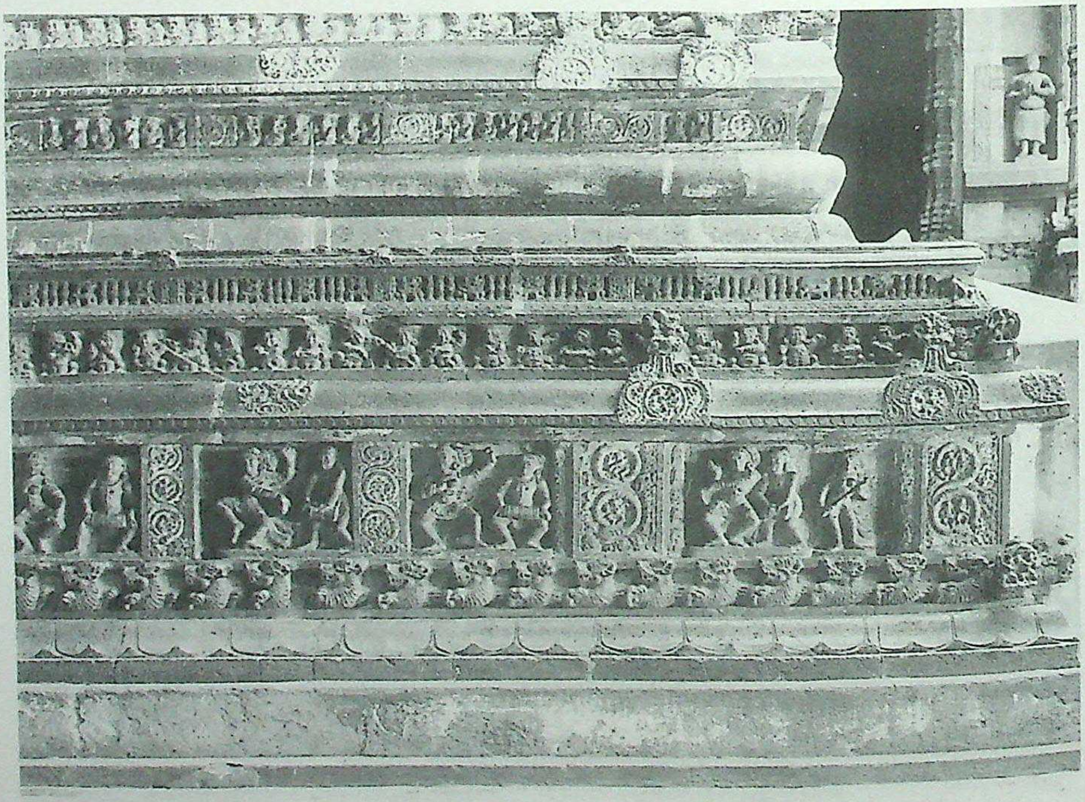


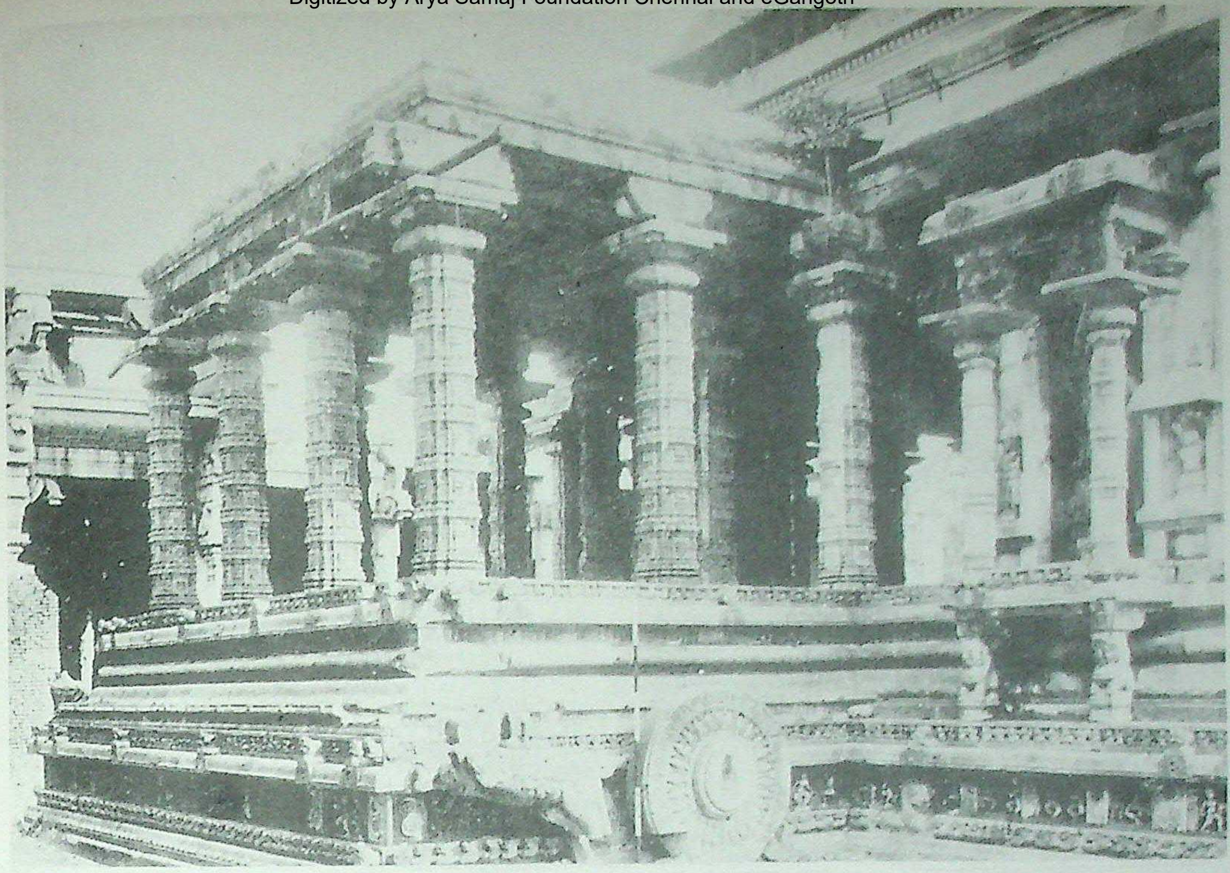
17. Overview of Nrtta Sabha from north-west angle (a close-up view)
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)



18. Nrtta Sabha facade, showing podium and its mouldings and the intricate carvings of the pillars
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)

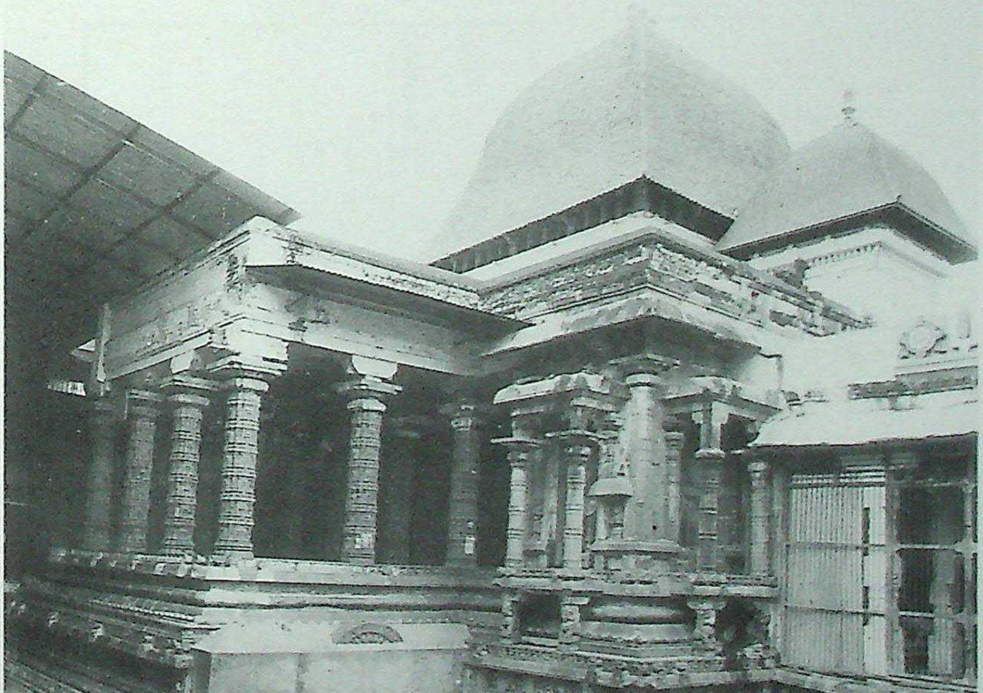
19. The two-tiered basement (adhishthanam) of Nrtta Sabha, with Bharatanatya panels in the socle (notice Bhutagana frieze above them)
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)

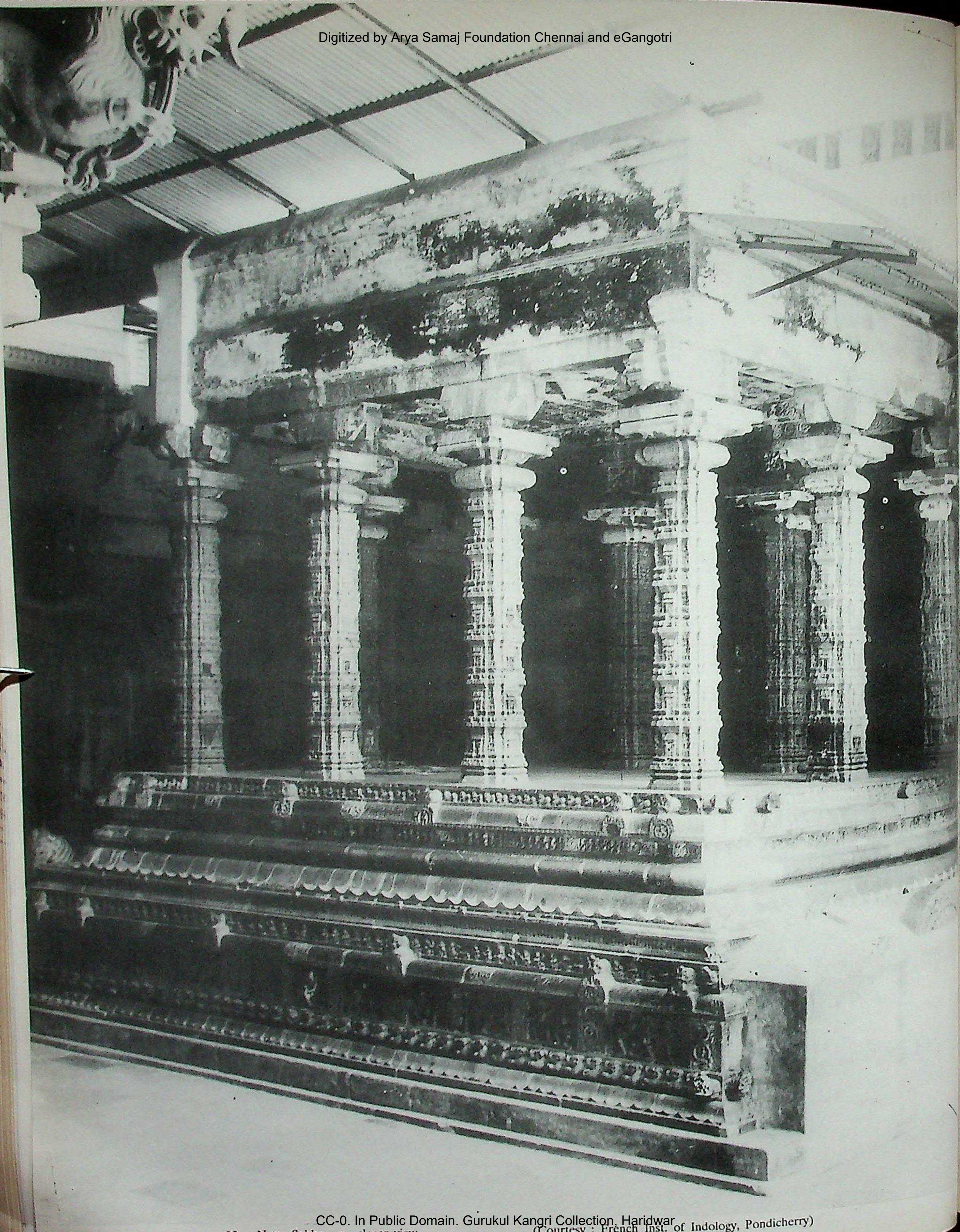




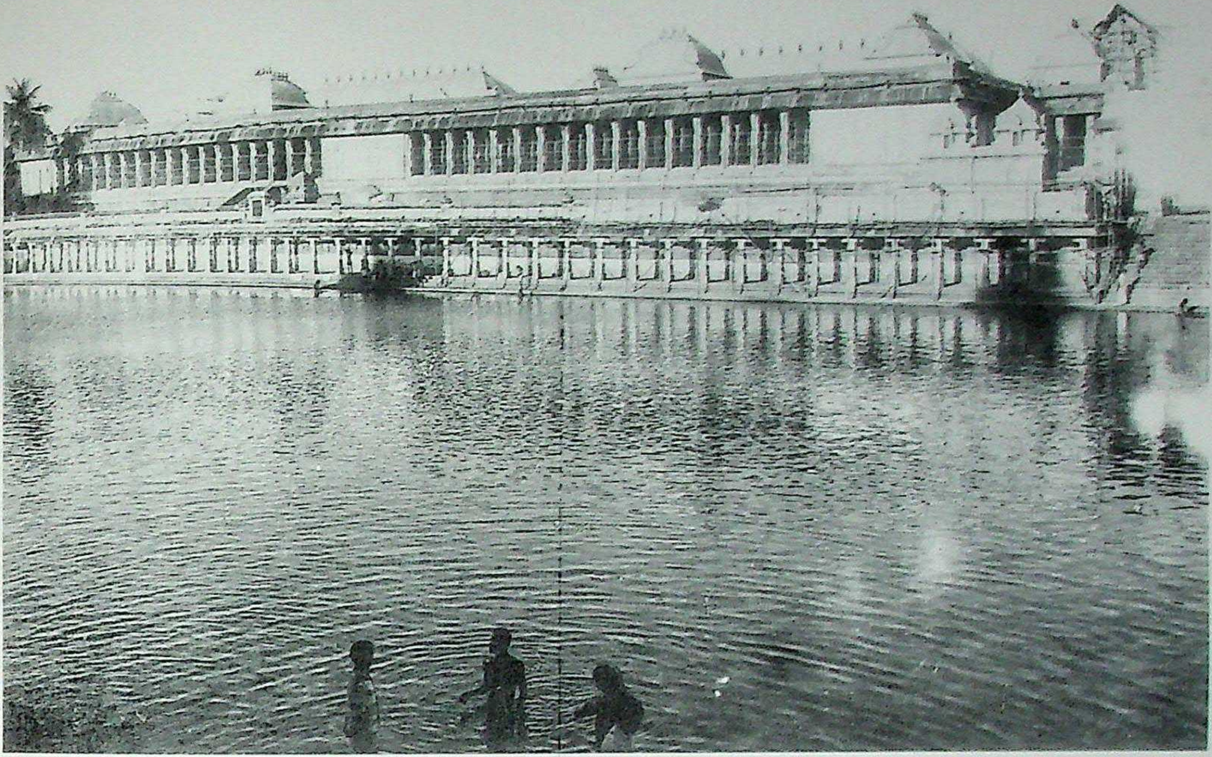
20. Early forties' picture of Nrtta Sabha before the horse and wheel were covered with masonry (notice front top open to sky cf. Illustration No.22) (Courtesy : S. R. Balasubrahmanyam)

21. Nrtta Sabha (north-west view) (showing the two mini-shrines at the north-west corner and the gilded roofs atop the hall and the Urdhva Tandavamurti shrine) (Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)



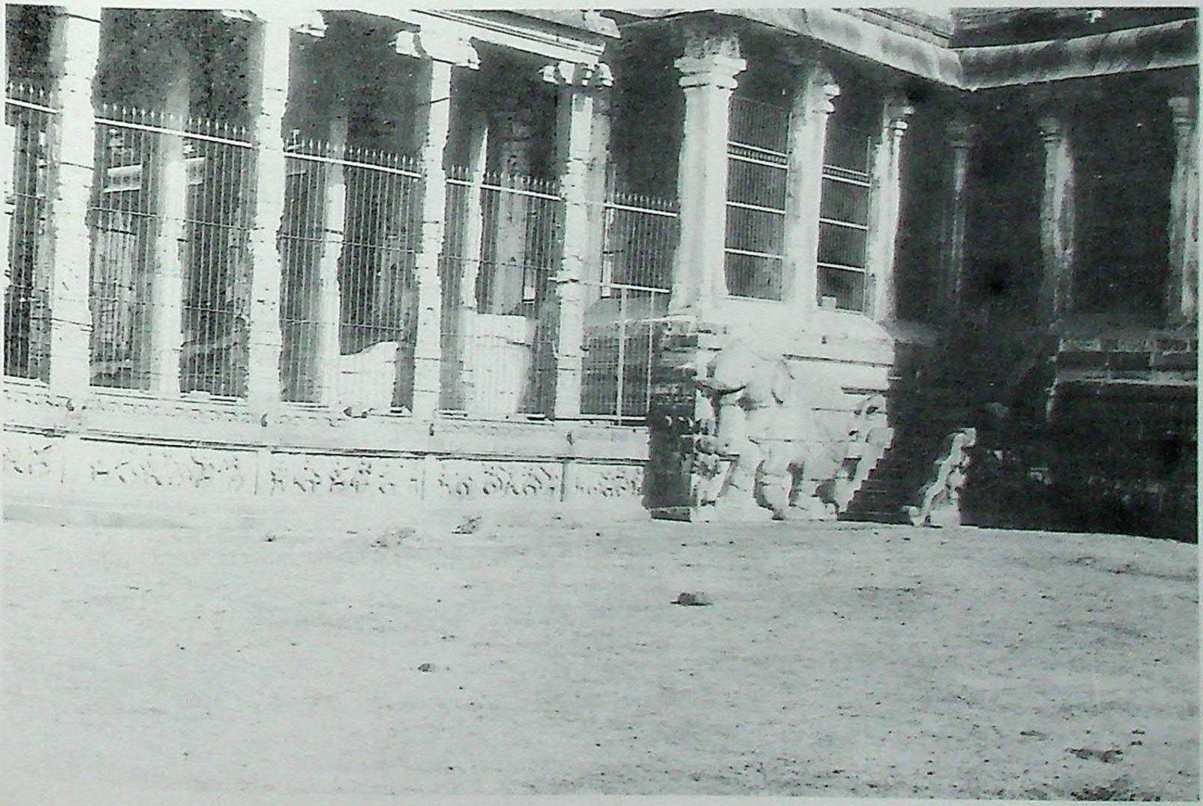


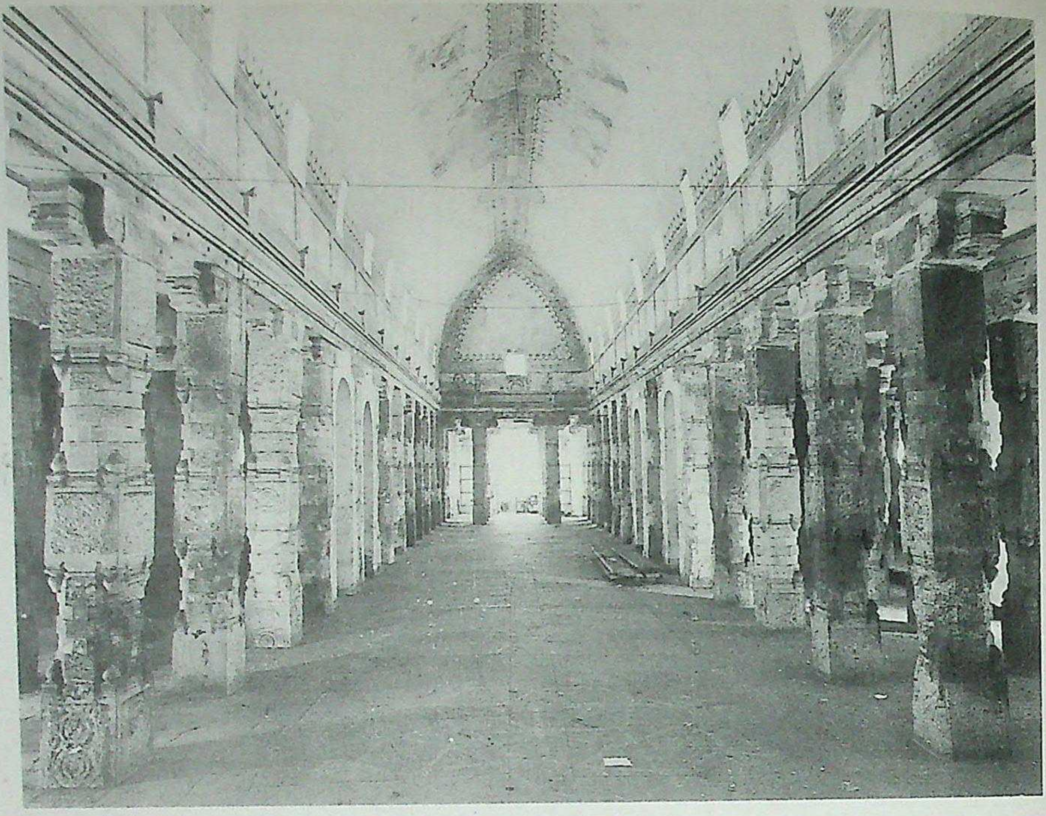
22. Nrtta Sabha, a closer view (Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)



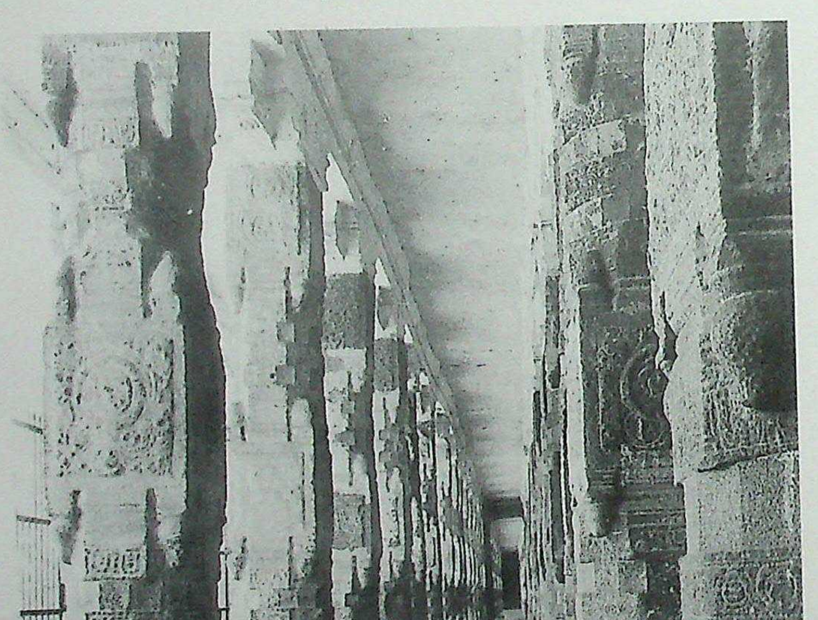
23. The 1000-Pillared Hall — western side with the Sivaganga in the foreground
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)

24. Forecourt of the 1000-Pillared Hall (see Bharatanatya karanas on the stylobate)
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



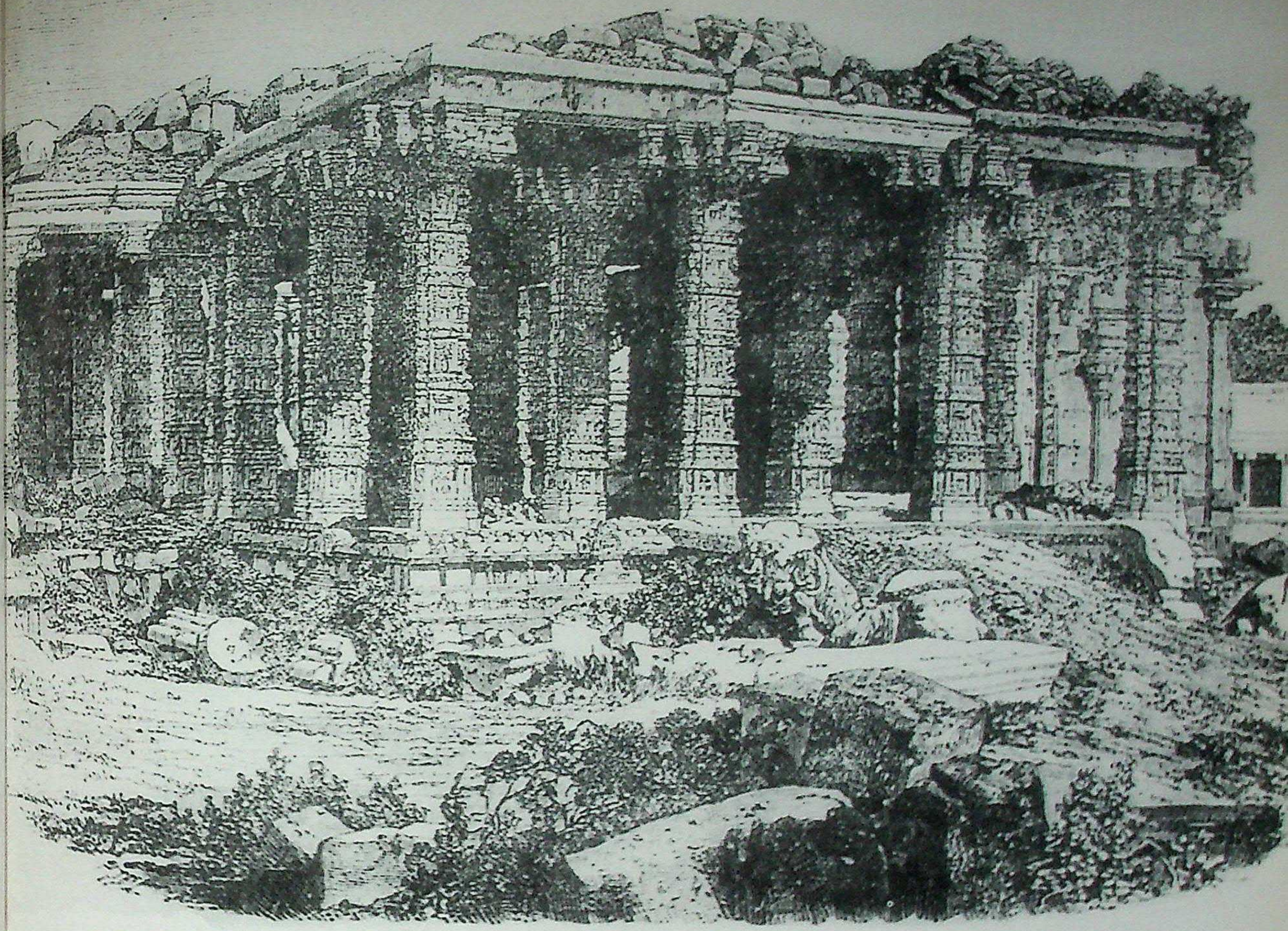


25. Vaulted Central Hall of the 1000-Pillared Hall
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)

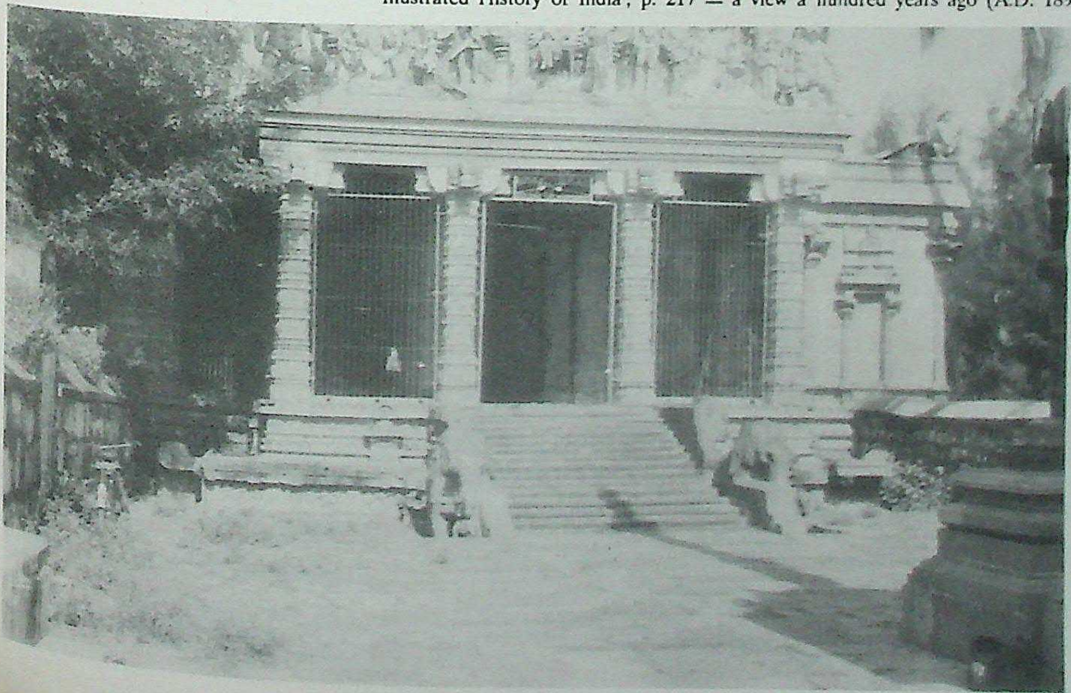


26. Interior view of 1000-Pillared Hall, showing two of the many rows of carved pillars, numbering a thousand

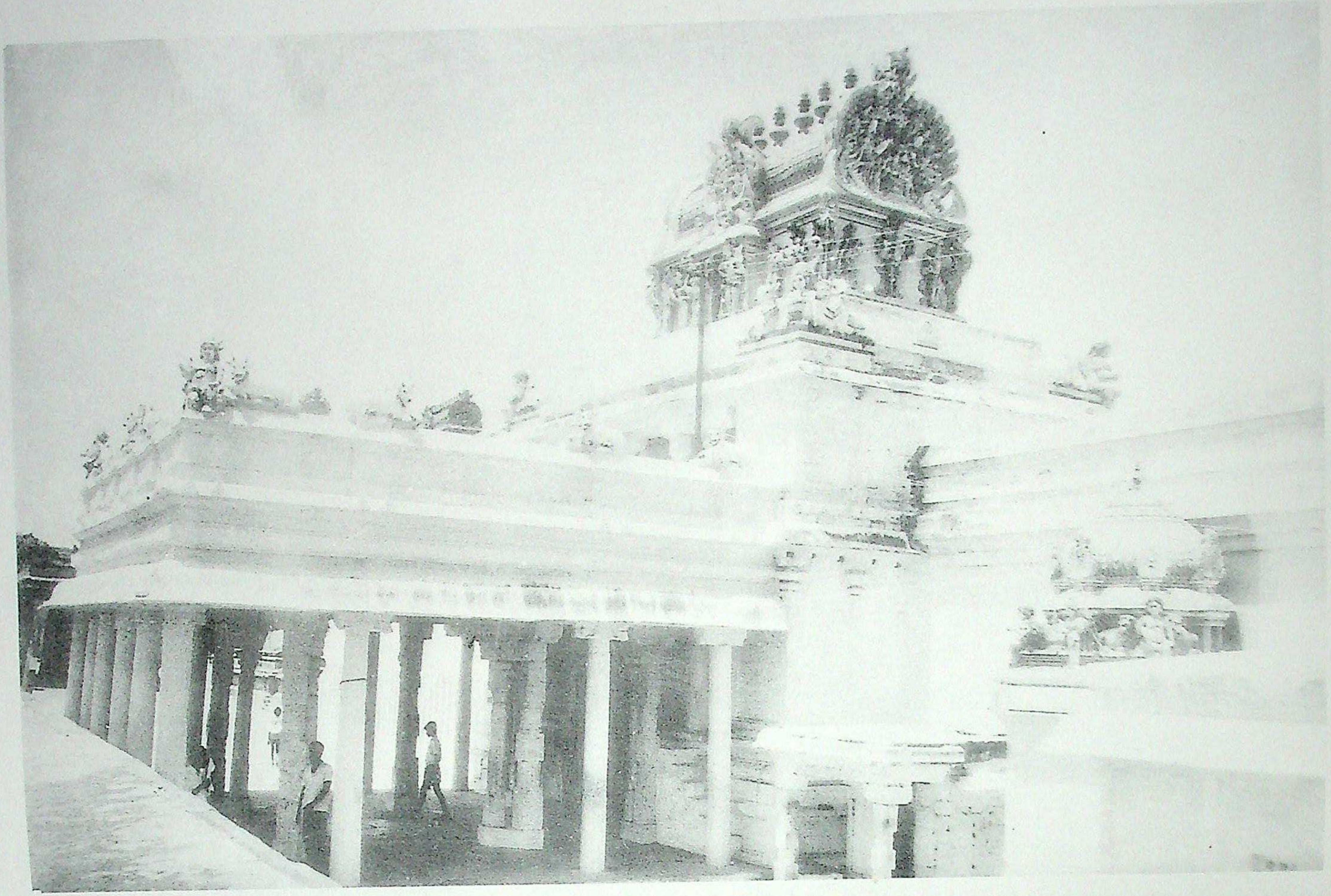
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)



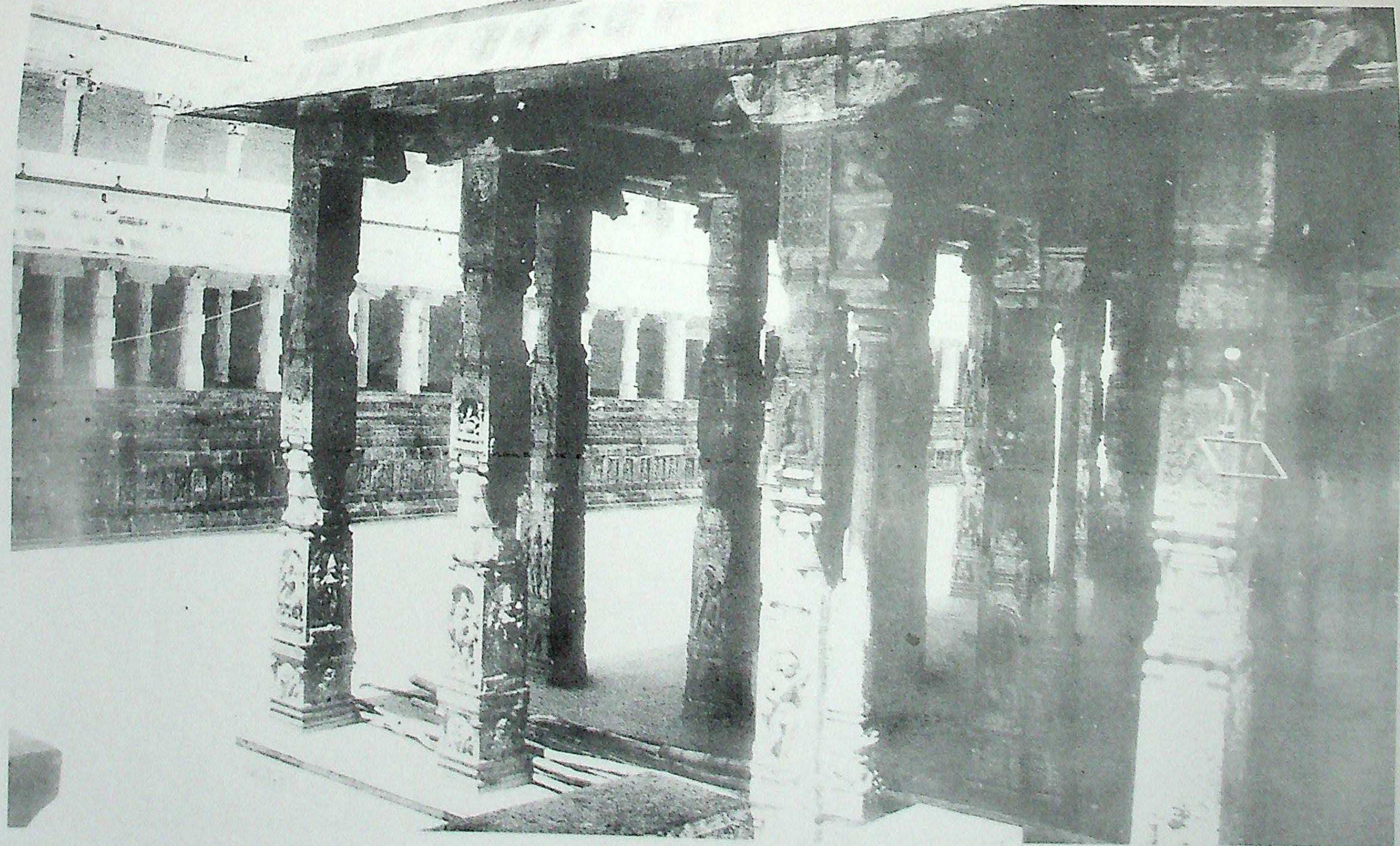
27. *'Ruined Temple of Chillambaram'* — as Cassel calls the Pandya Nayakam in his 'Illustrated History of India', p. 217 — a view a hundred years ago (A.D. 1891)



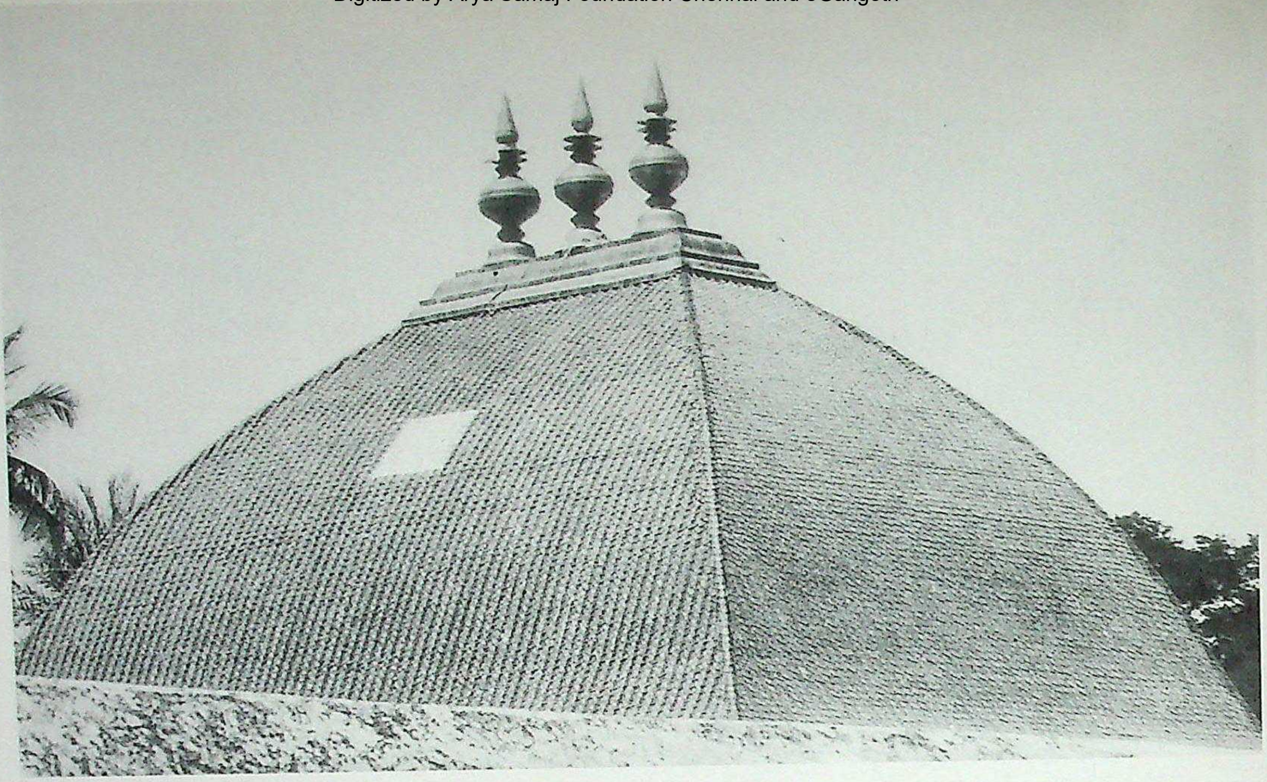
28. Pandya Nayakam : present view (After the renovation in 1948)
(Courtesy :
Dr. B. Venkataraman)



29. Sivakamasundari shrine, Mukhamantapa in front of the gopuram (Kulottunga III) (renovated)
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

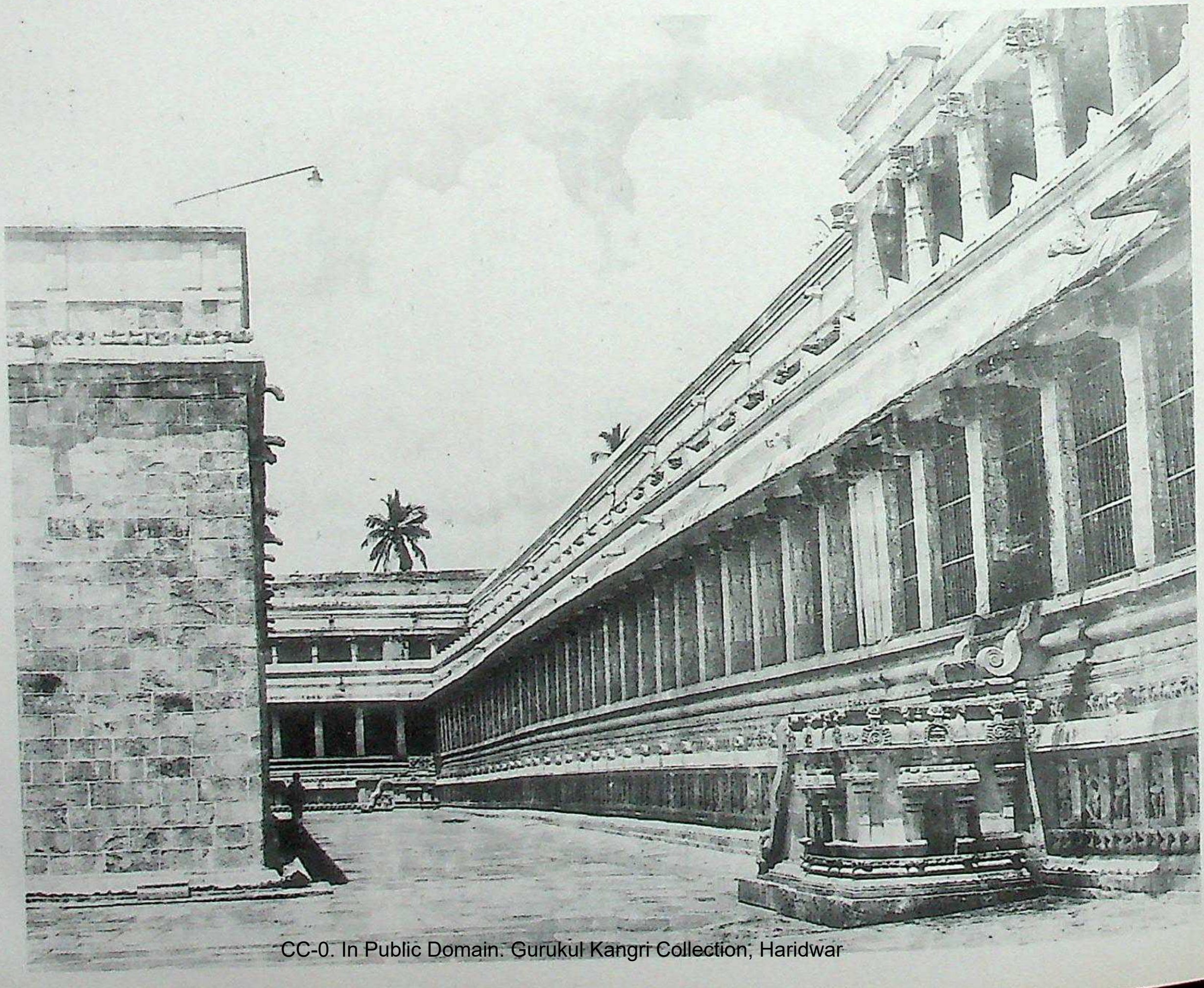


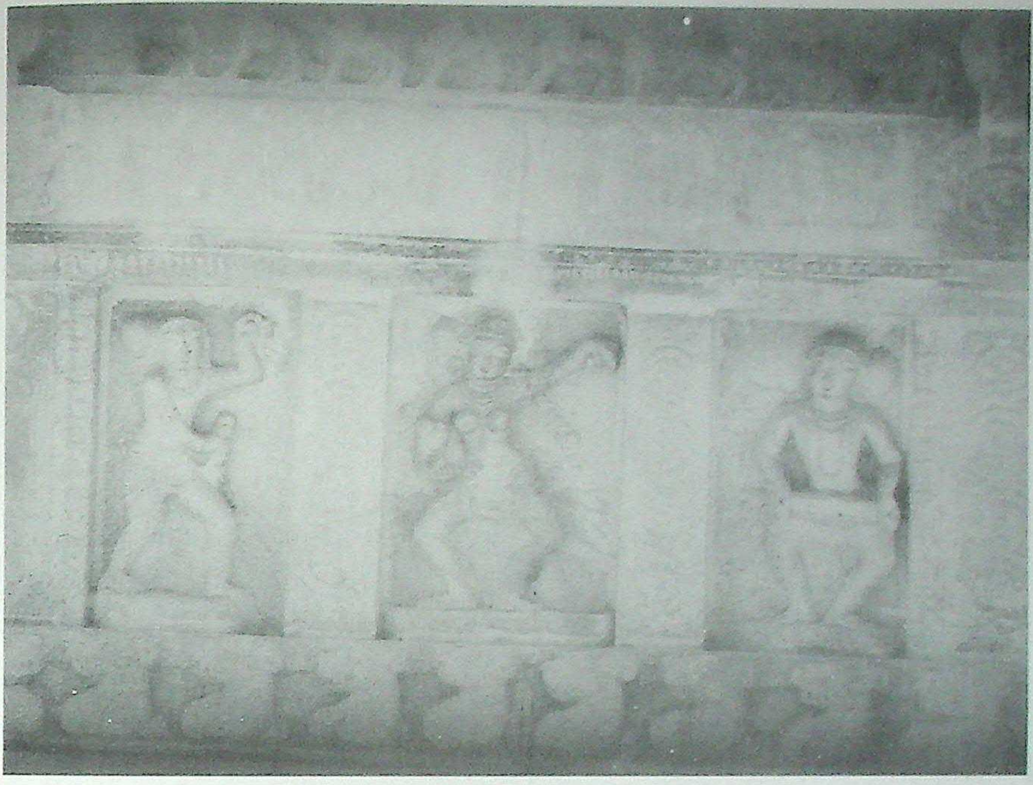
30. Sivakamasundari shrine : Mukhamantapa (of the Nayak period) with the double storeyed tiruc-curralai (peristyle) southern wing in the far ground (Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

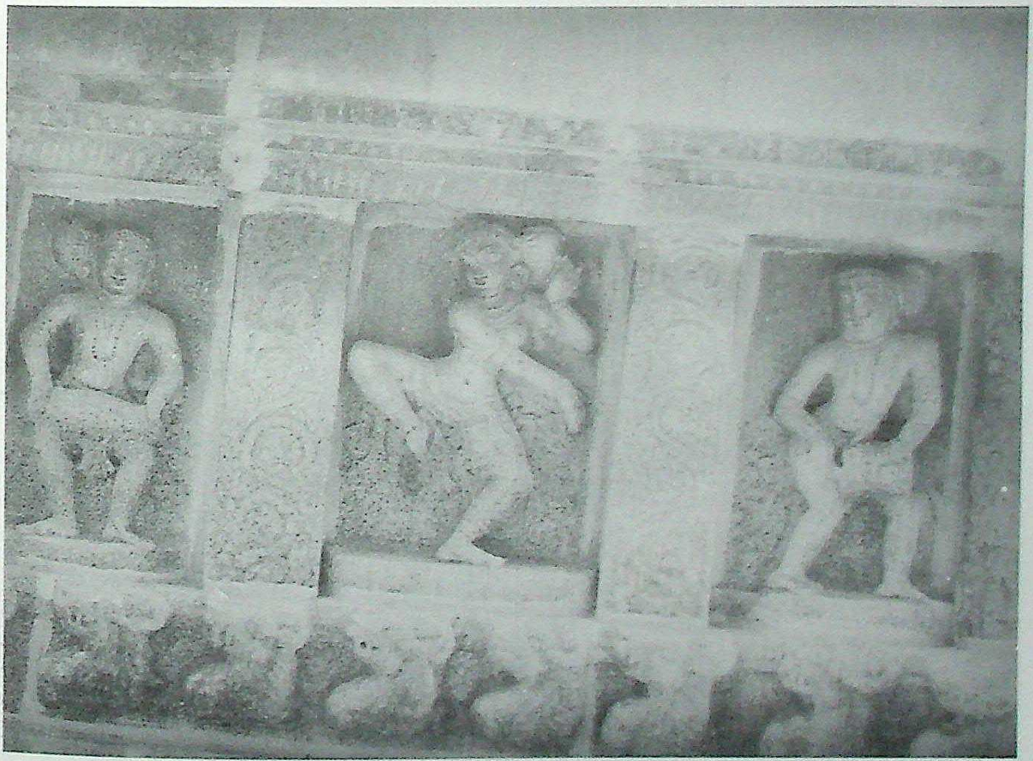


31. Sivakamasundari shrine : the metallic tiled roof of the garbhagrha
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

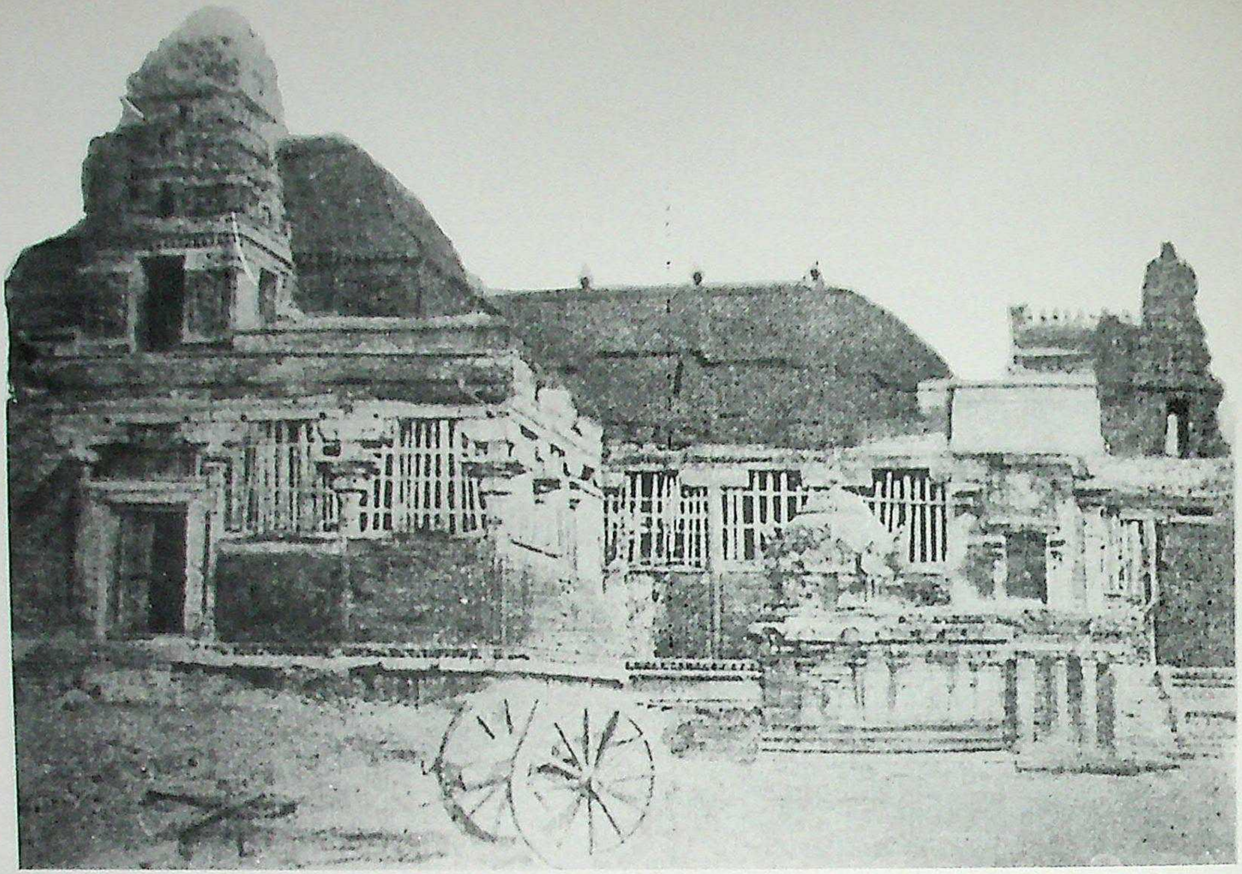
32. Sivakamasundari shrine : view of the North Prakara (Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)

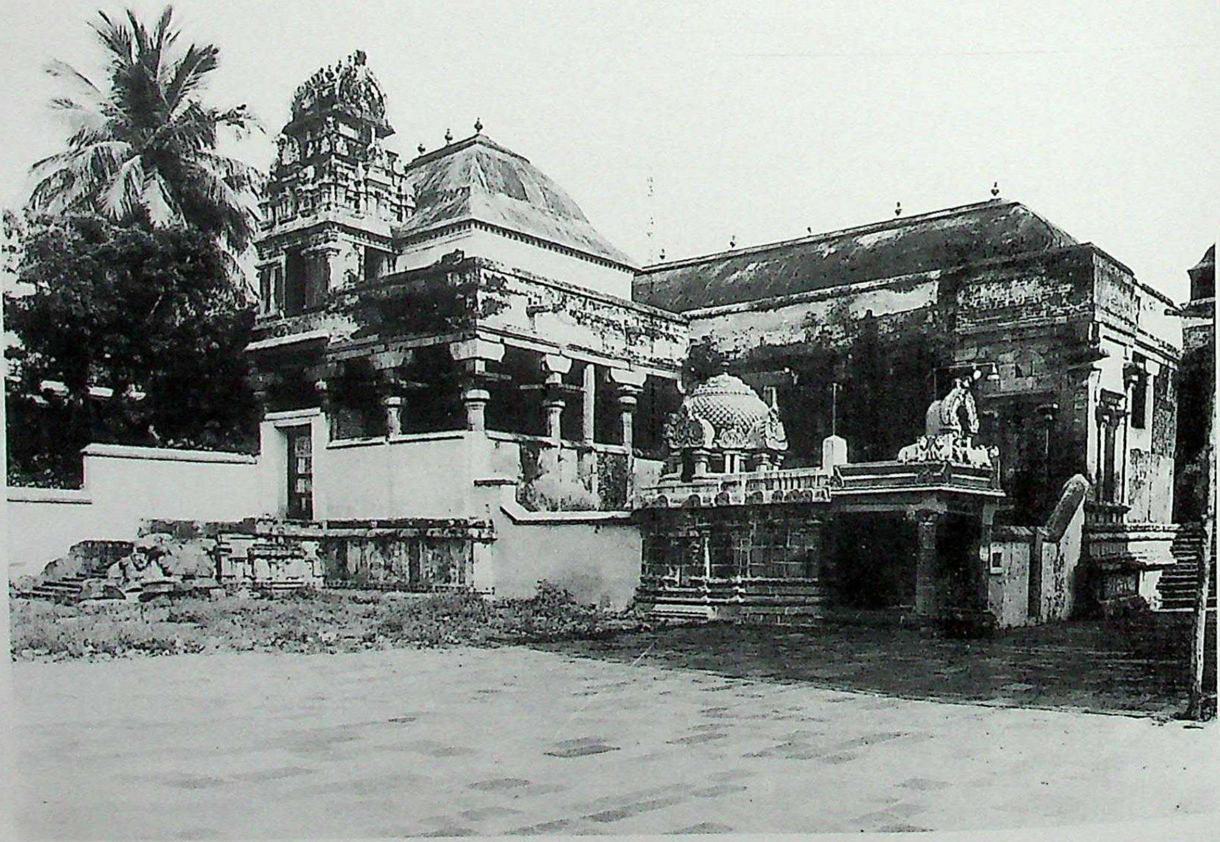






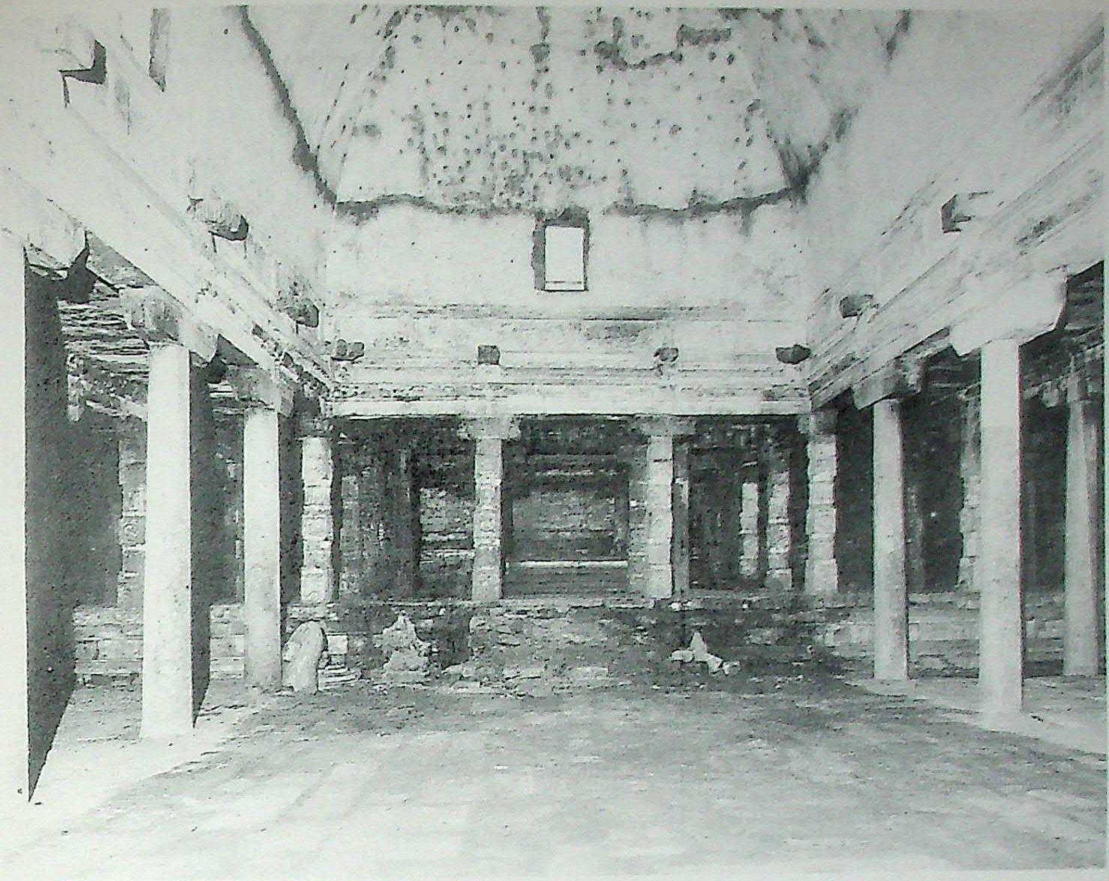
33 & 34 Sivakamasundari shrine : Bharatanatya panels in the socle of the prakara peristyle (Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



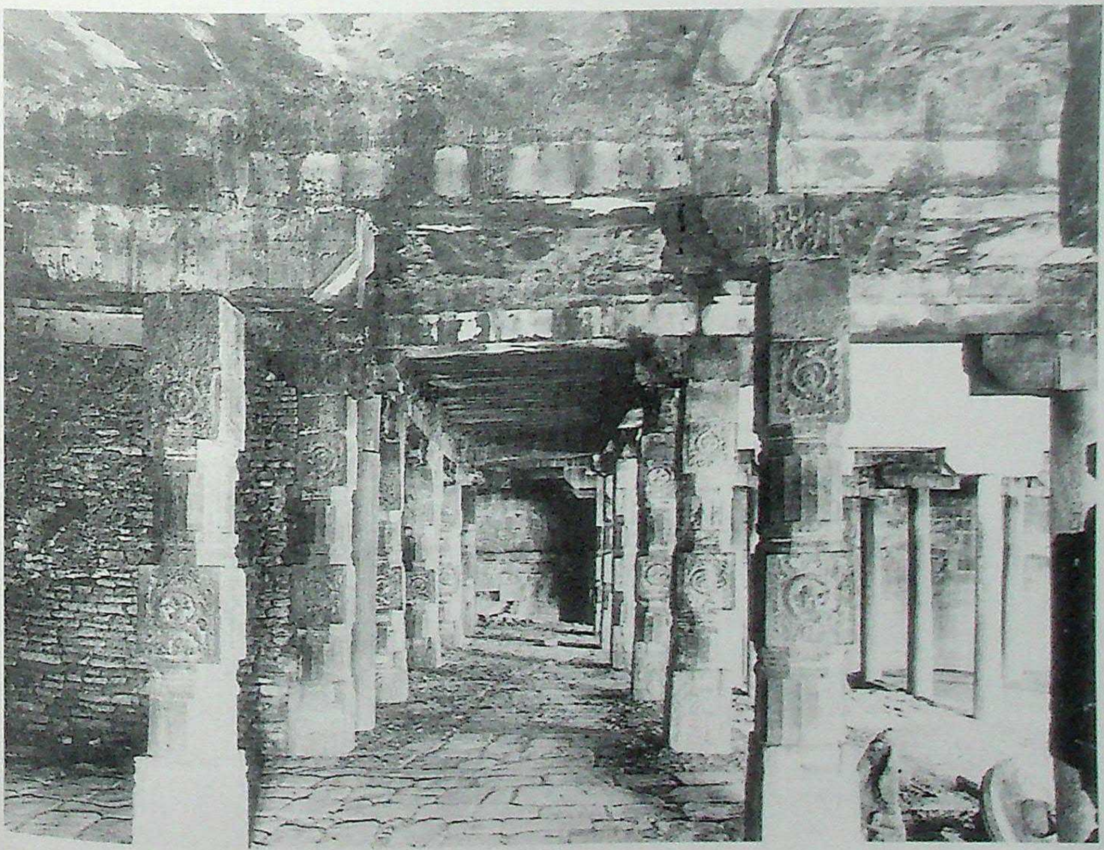


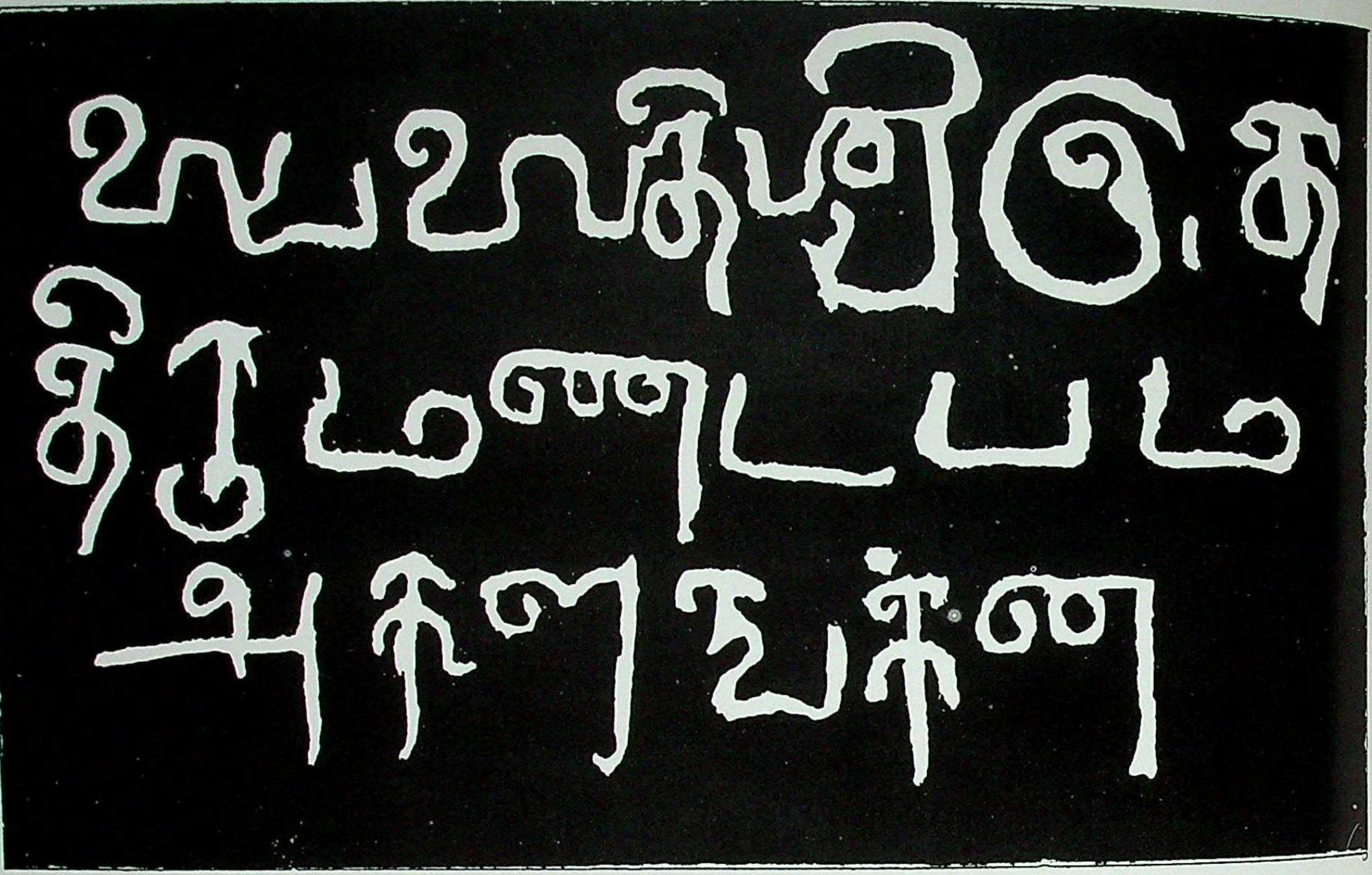
35 The 100-Pillared Hall (from a 1935 photograph)
(Courtesy : S. R. Balasubrahmanyam)

36. The 100-Pillared Hall (the present view)
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)



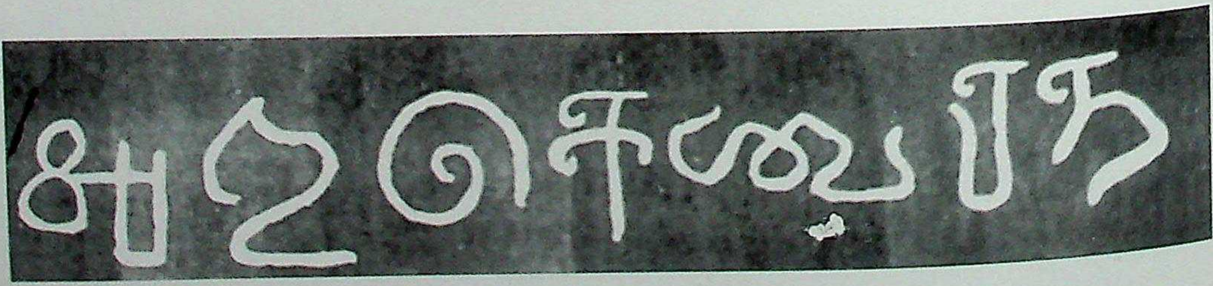
37 & 38 Interior views of 100-Pillared Hall
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)

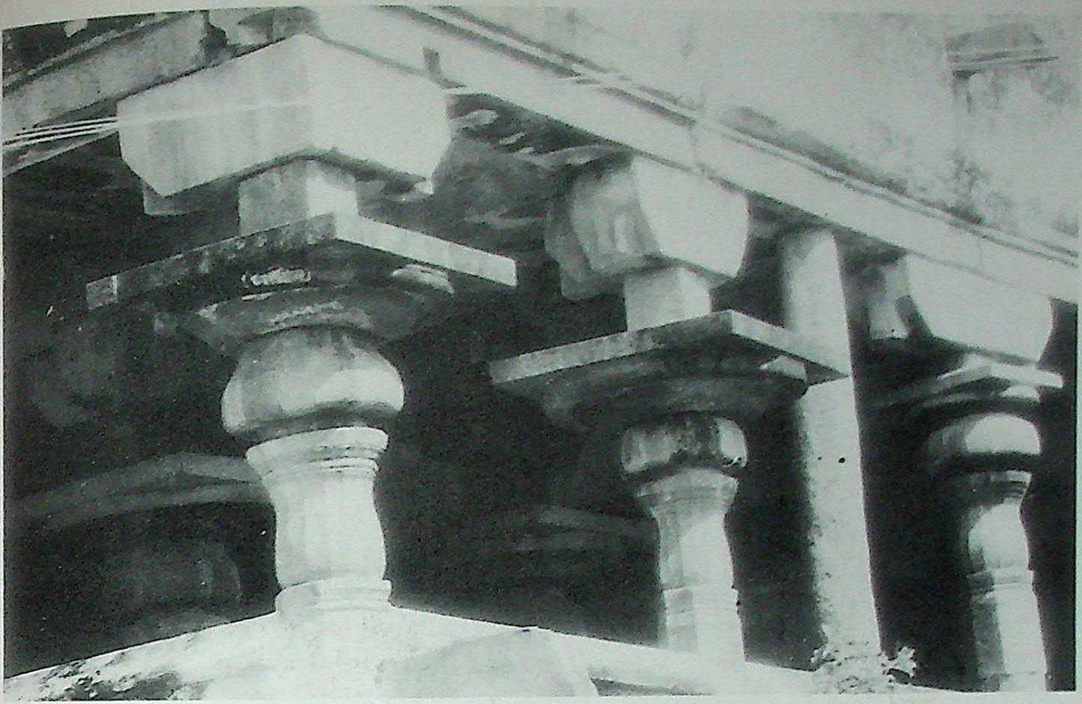




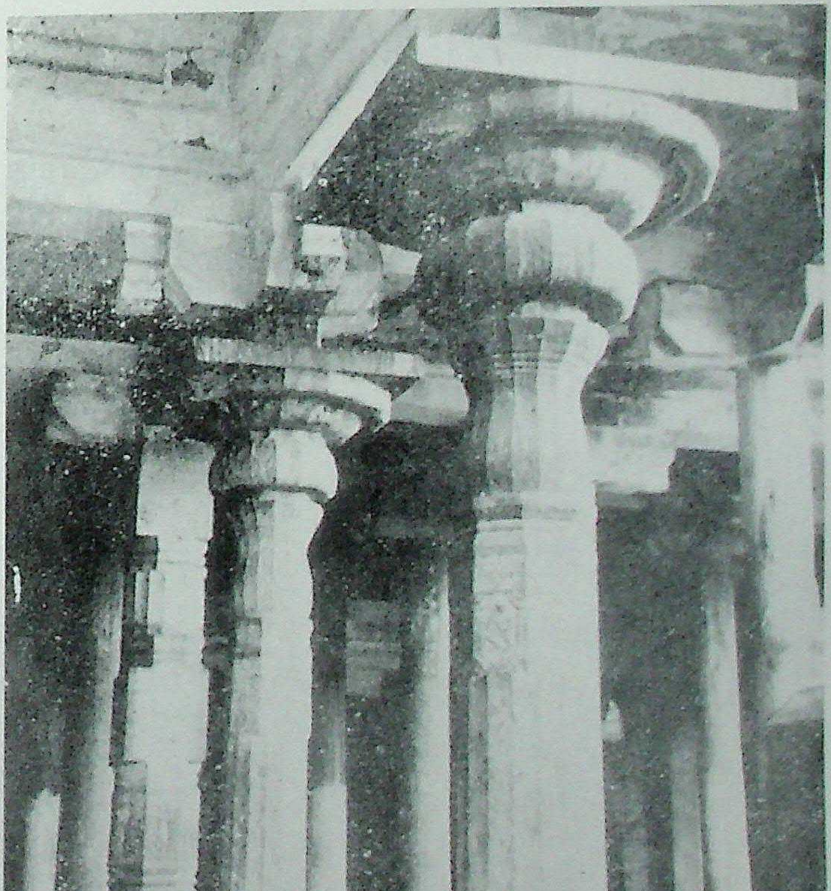
39. Inscription reading 'Svasti Sri It tirumantapam Akalankan' (='This is the Sacred Hall of Akalankan'), found in the 100-Pillared Hall, known also as 'Vikrama Colan Mantapa'
(Courtesy : S.R. Balasubrahmanyam)

40. Label over the icon of Alakesvaran in the North Gopuram reading : "A-la-ke-sva-ra-n" — 'The Lord of Alaka(puri)'
(Courtesy : S.R. Balasubrahmanyam)

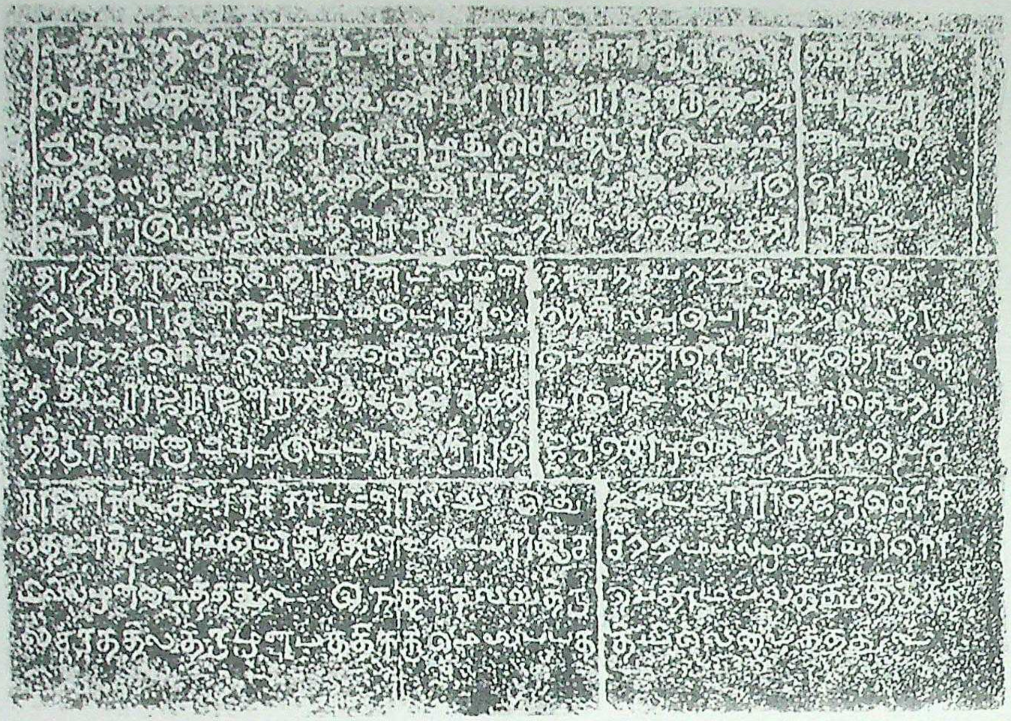




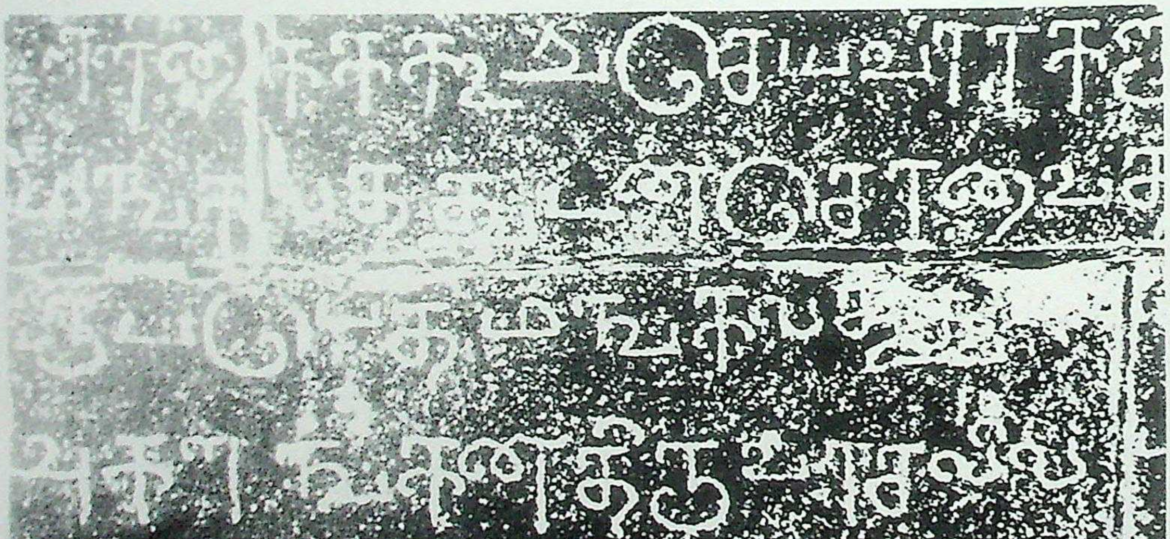
41 Depicting different pillar designs in the 100-Pillared Hall
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



42 Depicting different pillar designs in the 100-Pillared Hall
(Courtesy : S.R. Balasubrahmanyam)

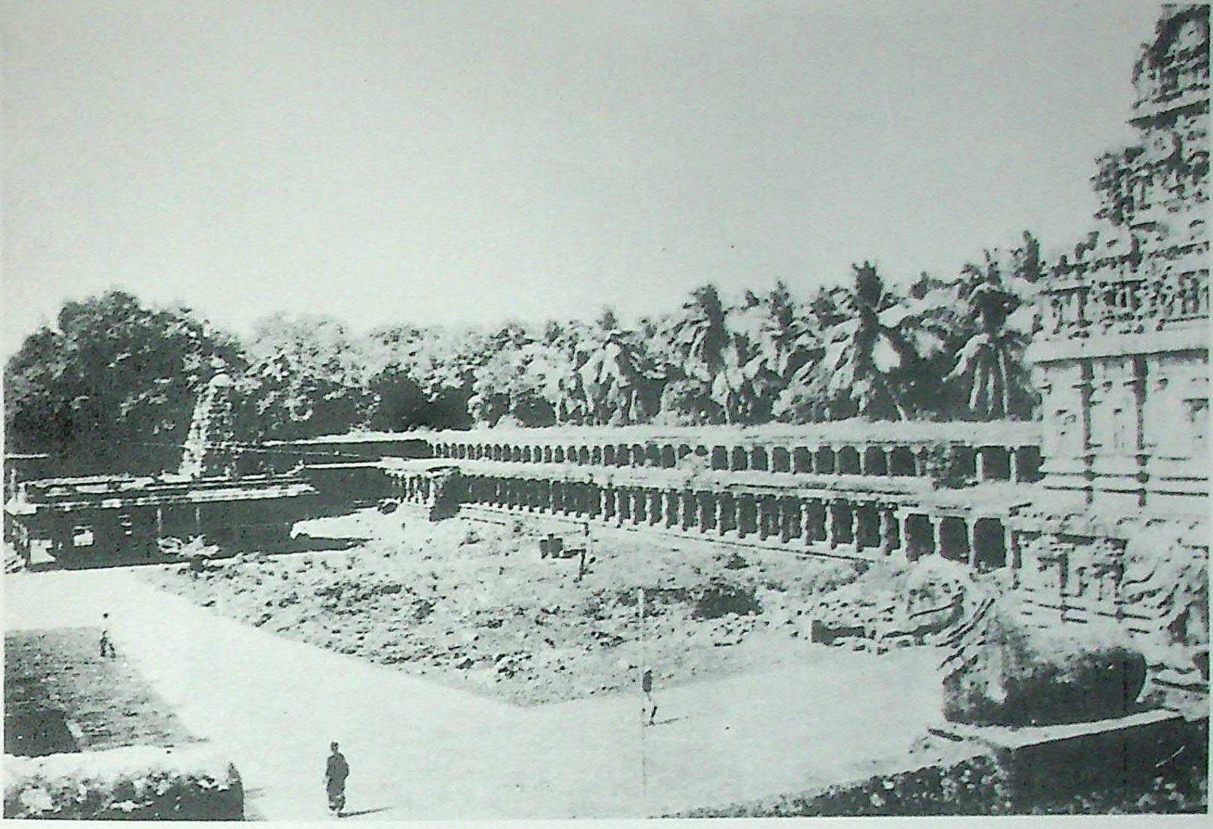


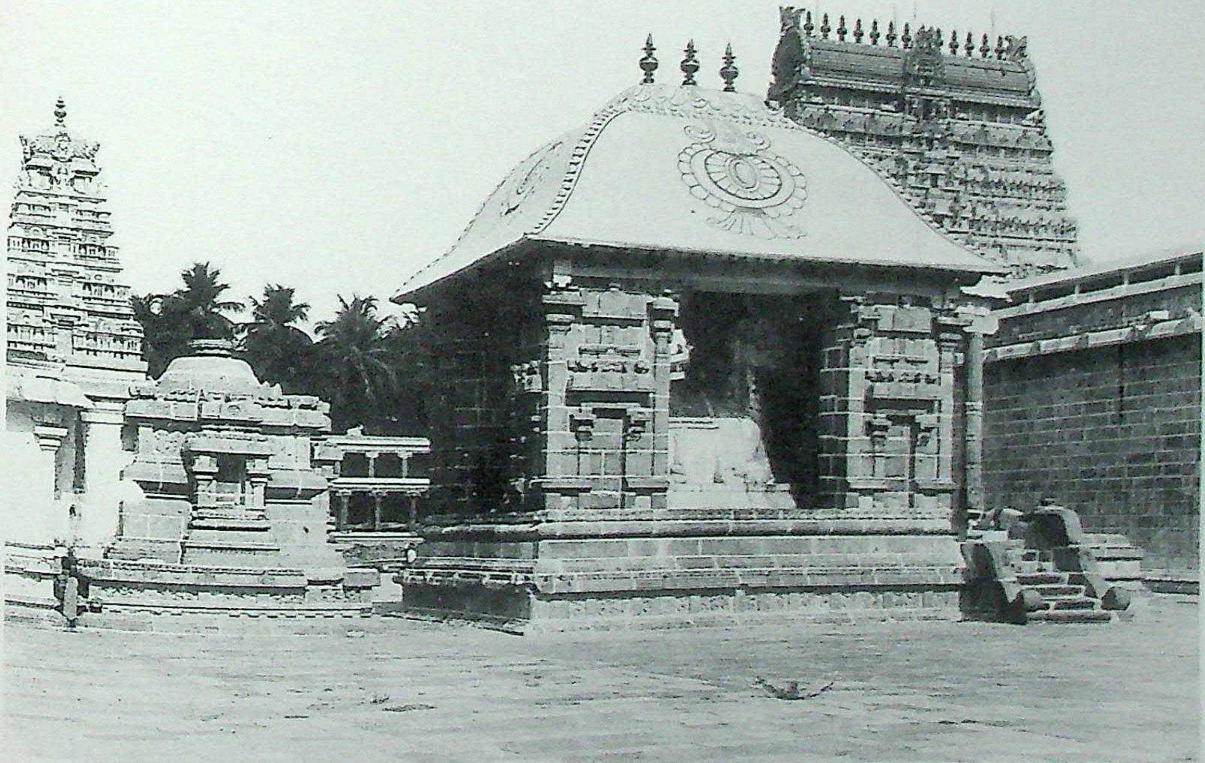
43. Inscription of Kulottunga I dated in his 44th regnal year (A.D. 1114), engraved on the outer face of the north wall of Kulottunga Colan Tirumaligai (see Appendix I-C)
(Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India)



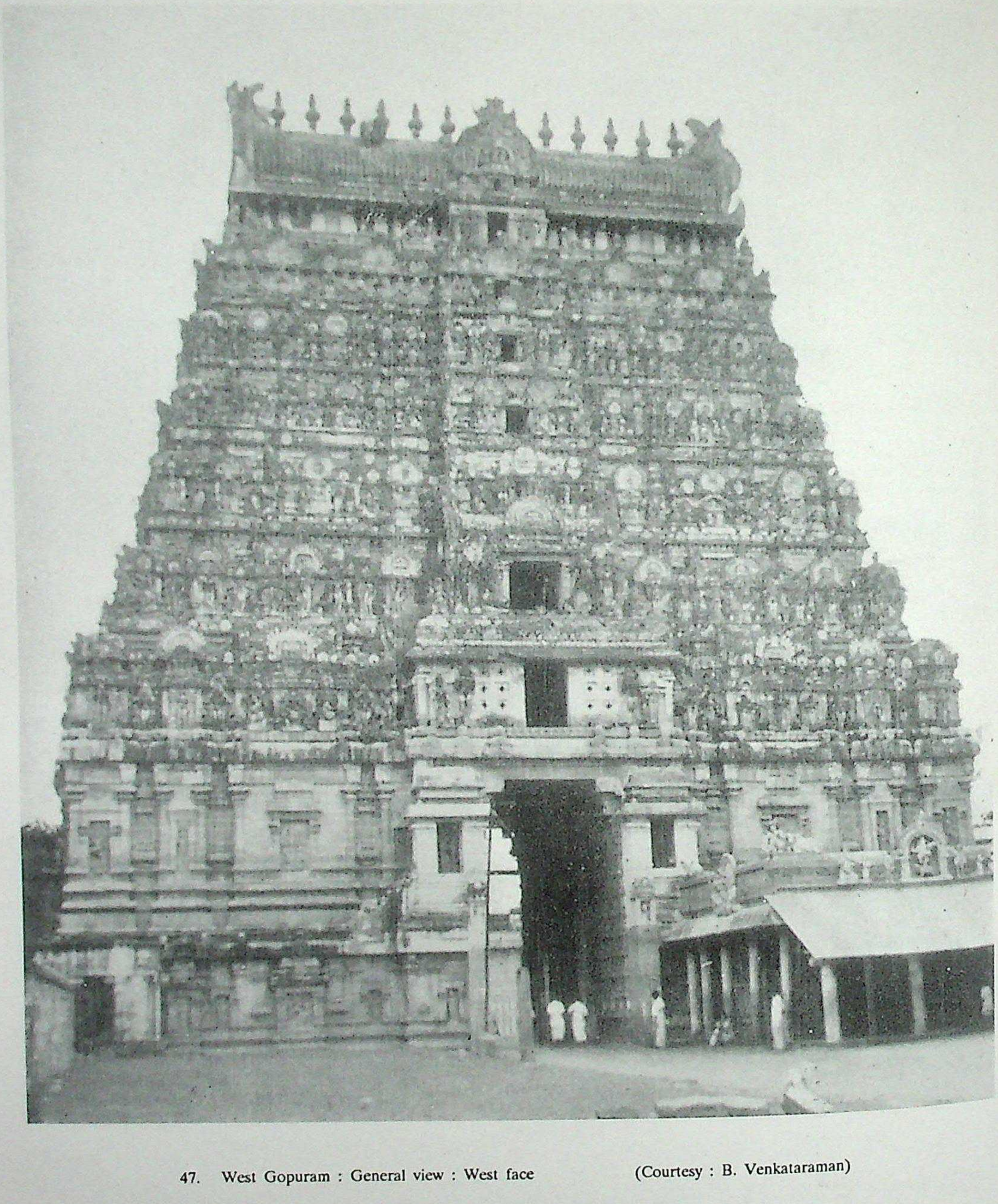
44. Inscription at the western entrance through the second wall of enclosure, giving the name of the entrance — "the Sacred Gate of Akalankan" (*Akalankan Tiruvasal*)
(Courtesy : B. Venkataraman)

45. Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai (Courtesy : B. Venkataraman)

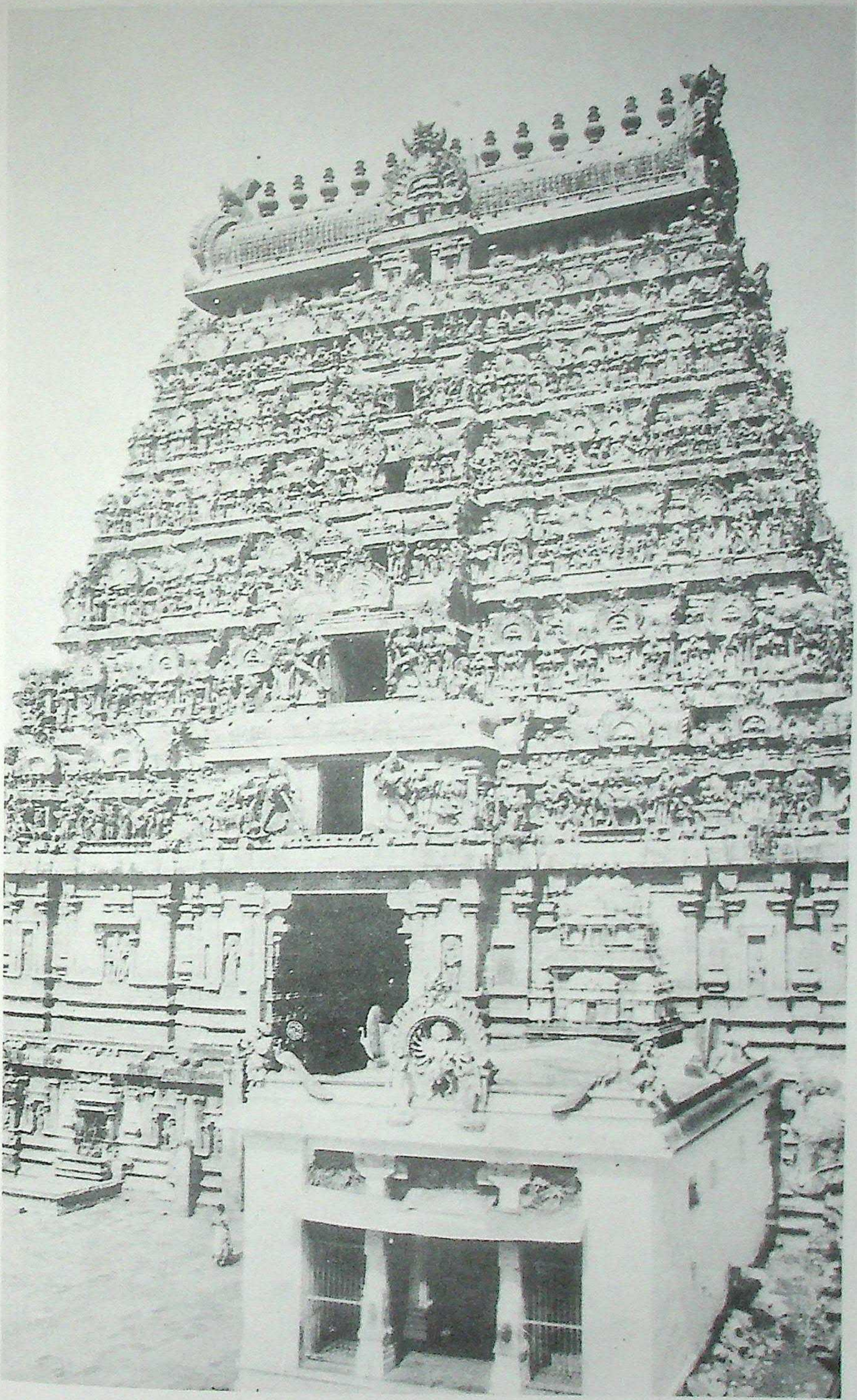




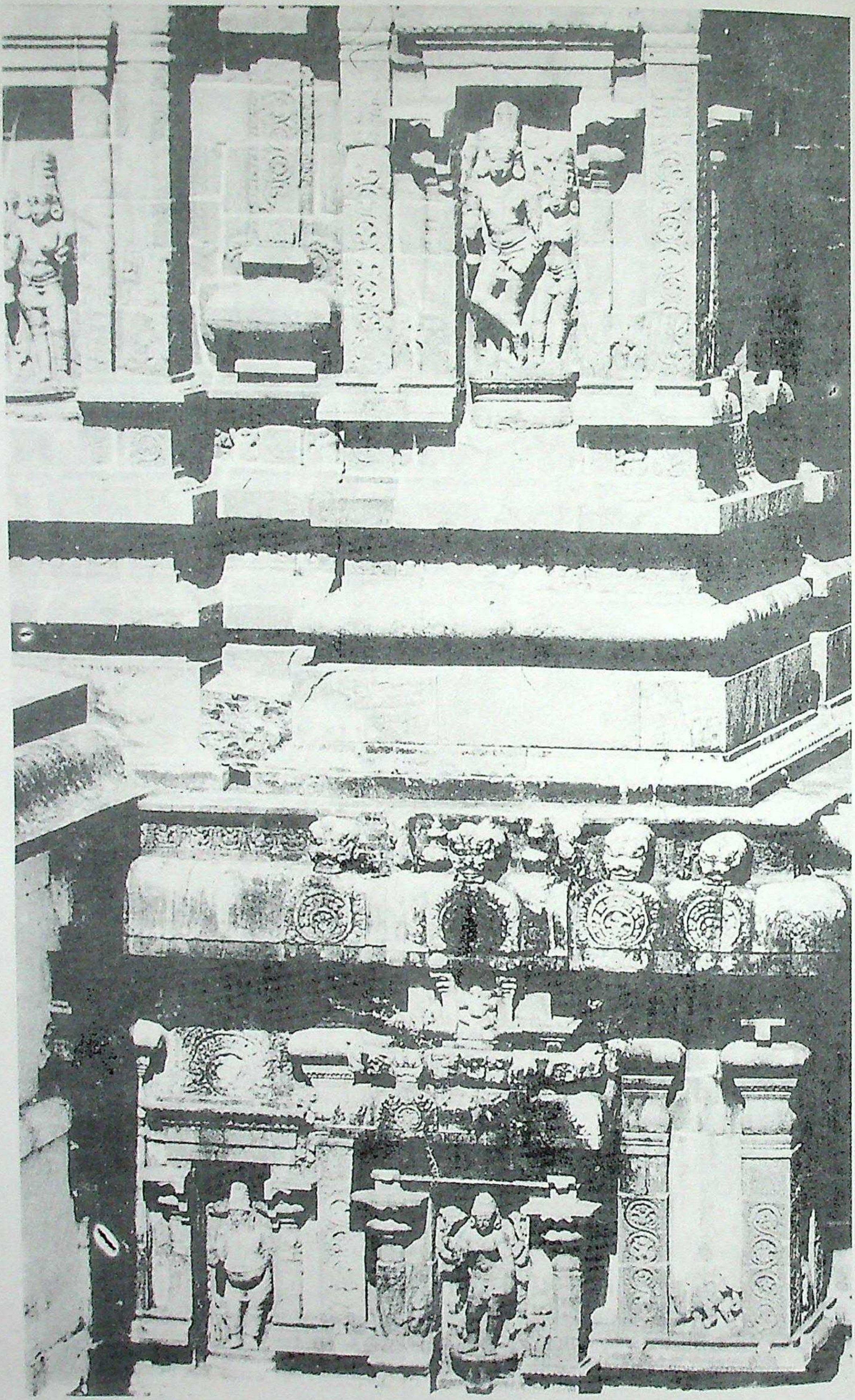
46. South quarter of the Third Prakara, showing the Balipitham and the Nandi Mantapa (West Gopuram in the back)
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)



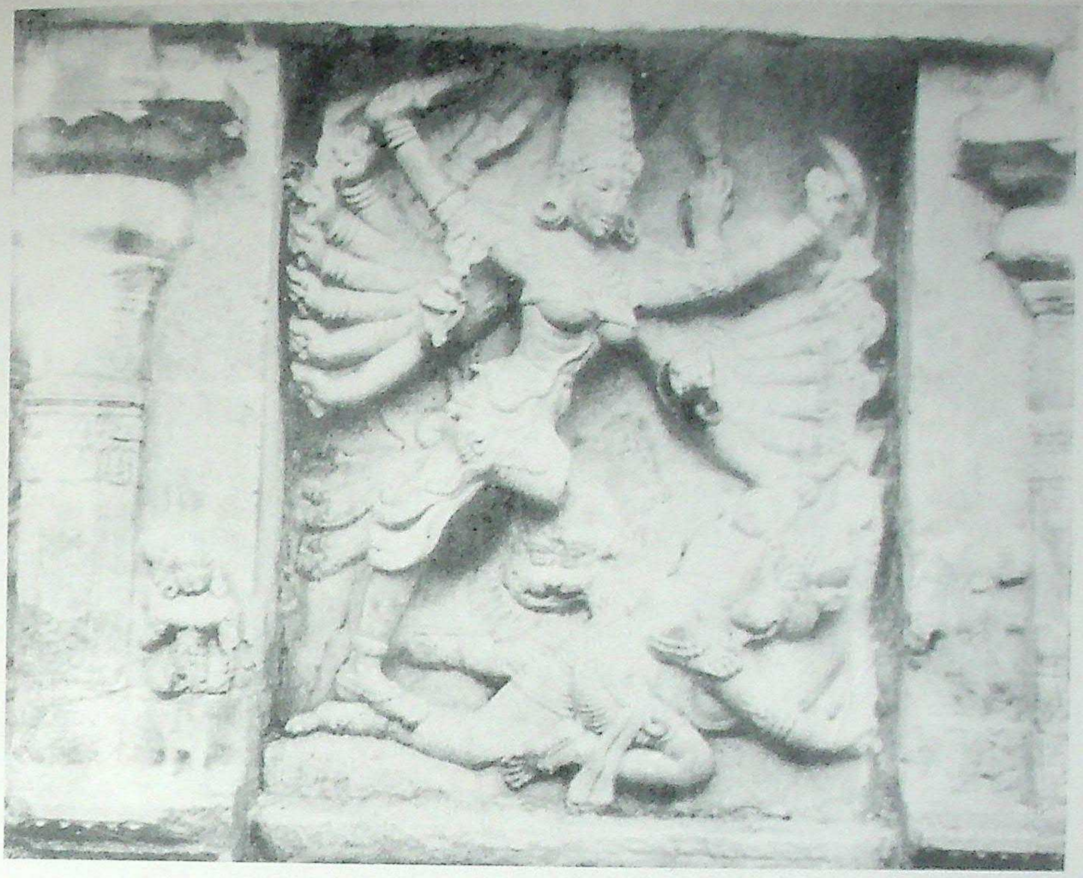
47. West Gopuram : General view : West face (Courtesy : B. Venkataraman)



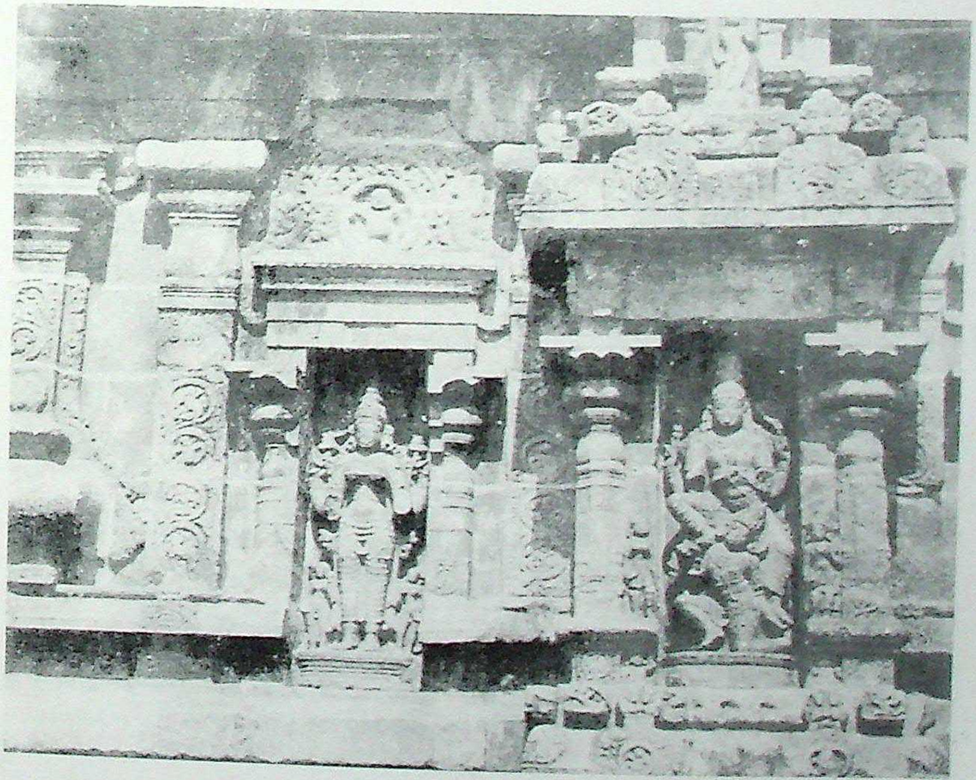
48. West Gopuram, General view : East face (Courtesy : B. Venkataraman)



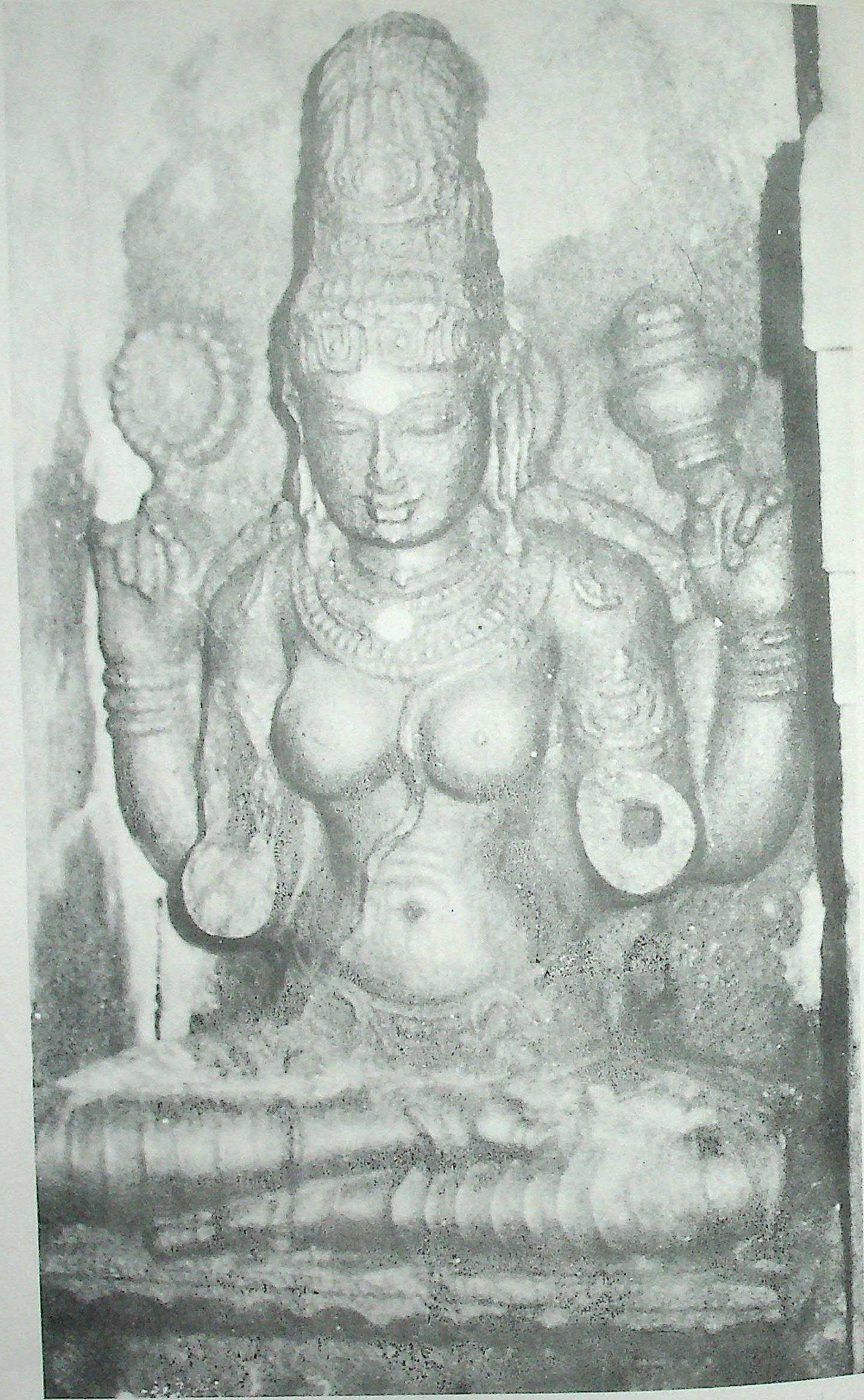
49. West Gopuram : General view of the north-east corner (Courtesy : B. Venkataraman)



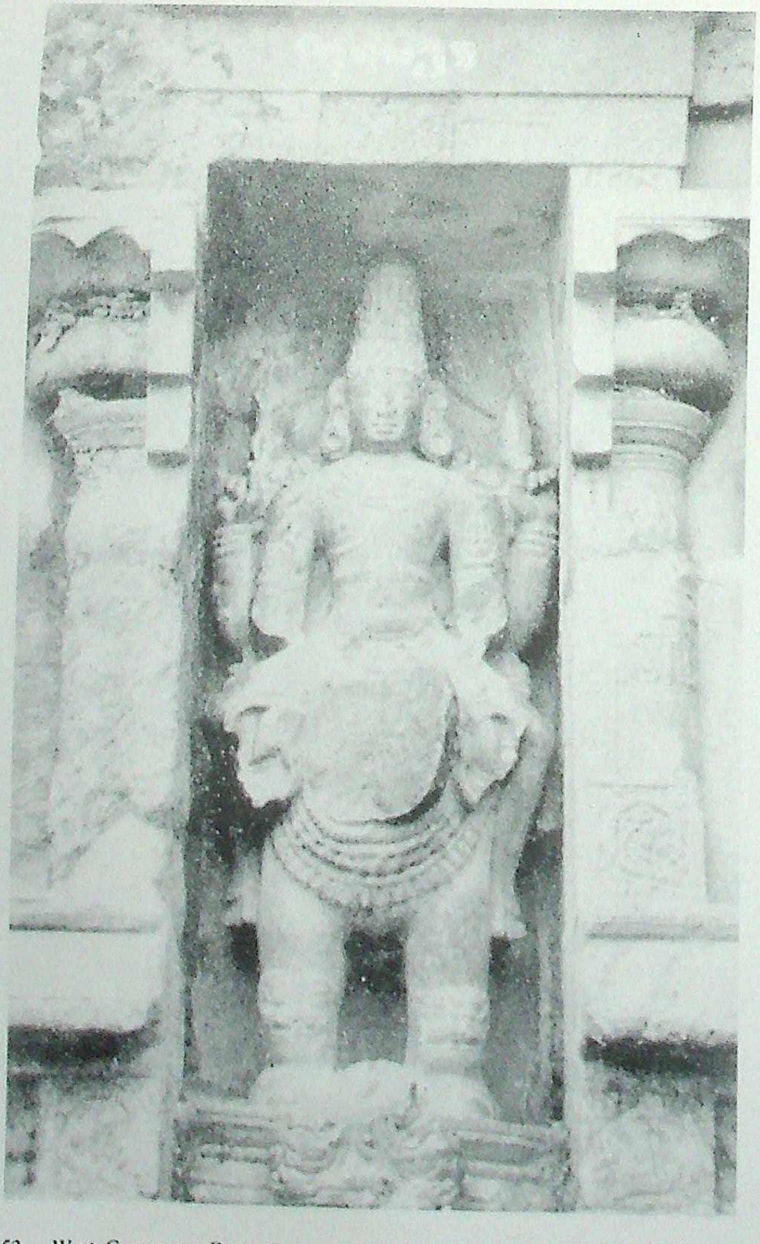
50. West Gopuram, west face, north wing, lower tier : labelled sculpture of Mahishasuramardani (Courtesy : S.R. Balasubrahmanyam)



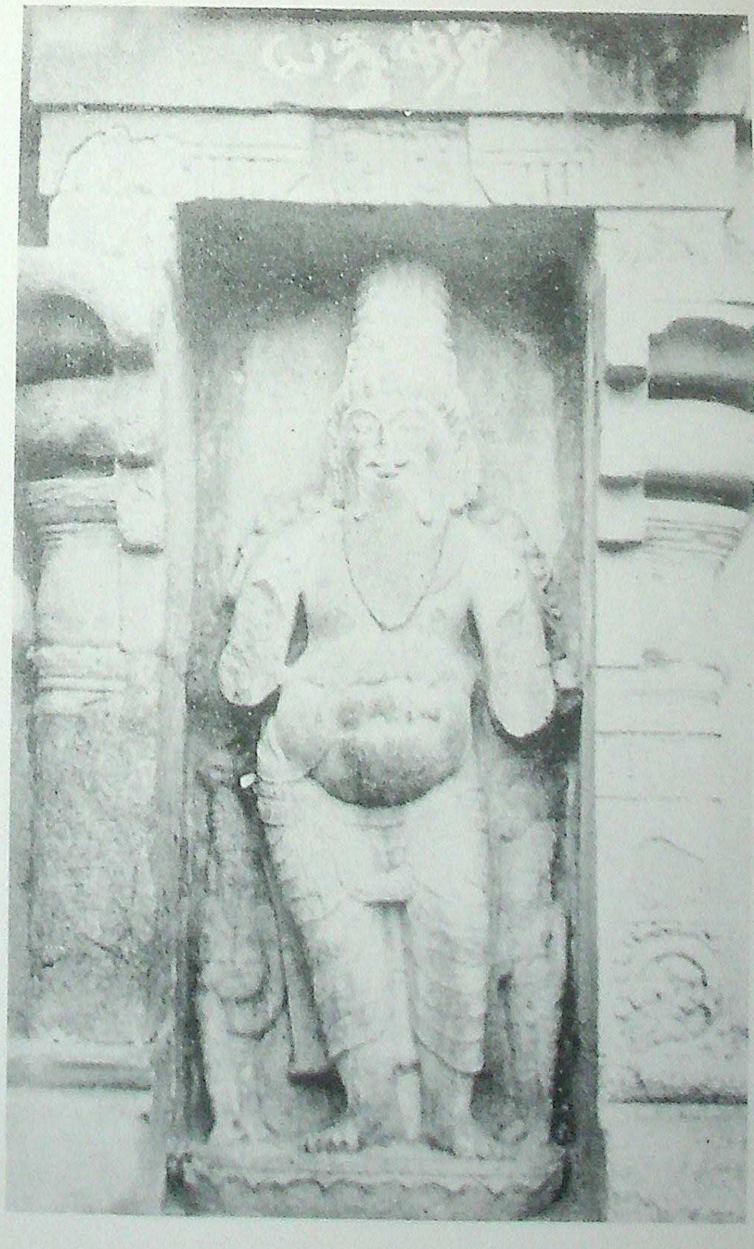
51. West Gopuram, east face, north wing, lower tier, labelled sculptures of Sridevi and Vishnu on Garuda (Courtesy : S.R. Balasubrahmanyam)



52. West Gopuram, east face, north wing, labelled sculpture of Sarasvati (Courtesy : B. Venkataraman)

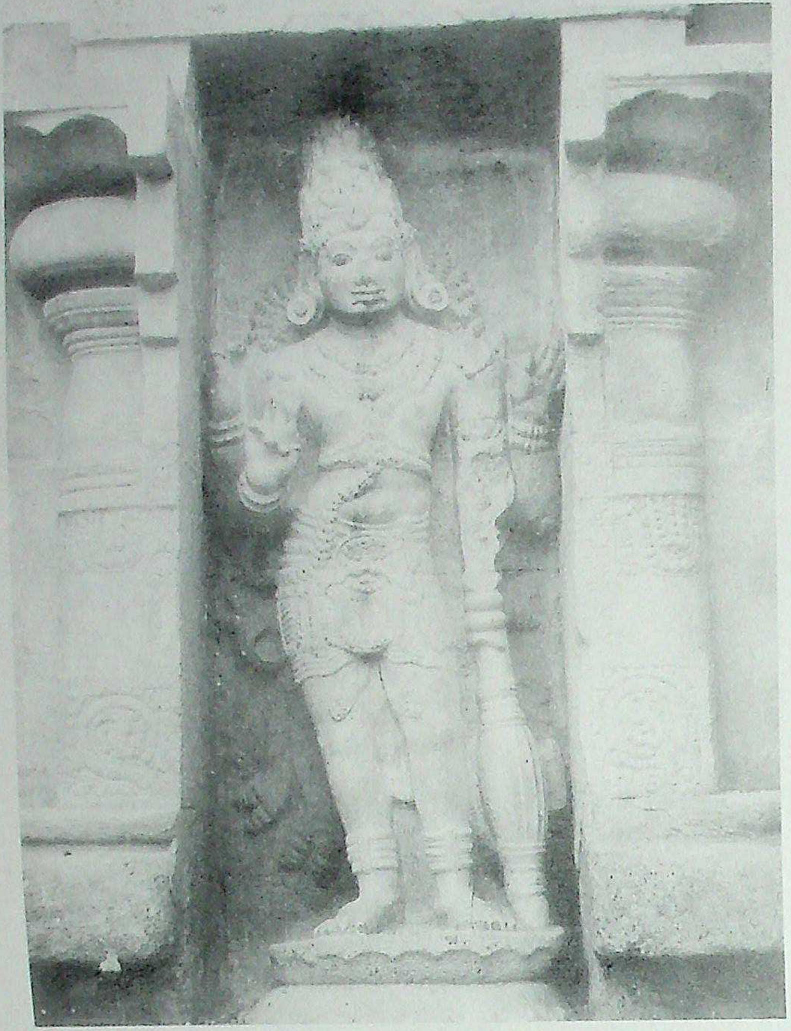


53. West Gopuram : Devendran (Courtesy : B. Venkataraman)

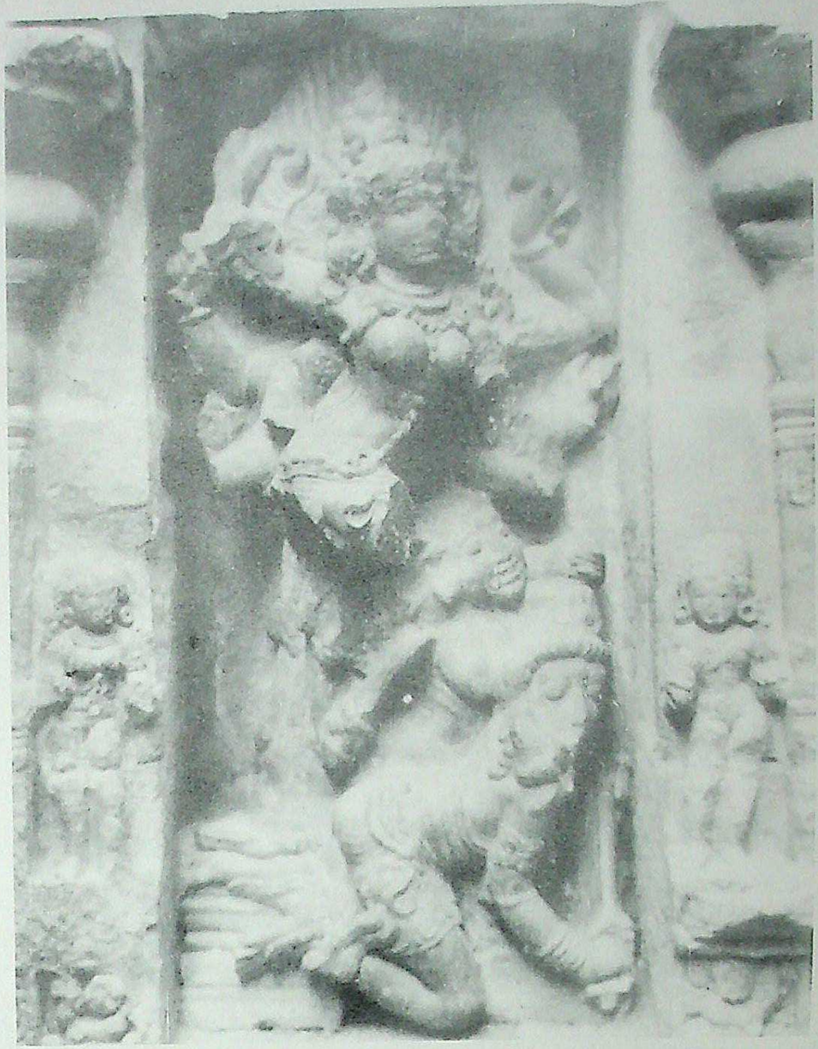


54. West Gopuram : Dhanvantari (Courtesy : B. Venkataraman)

West Gopuram, west face, north wing, lower tier

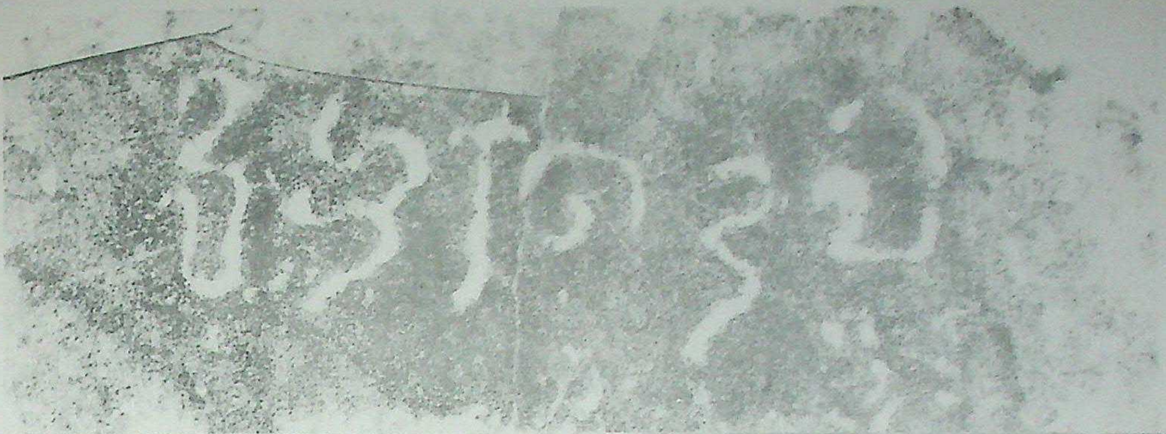


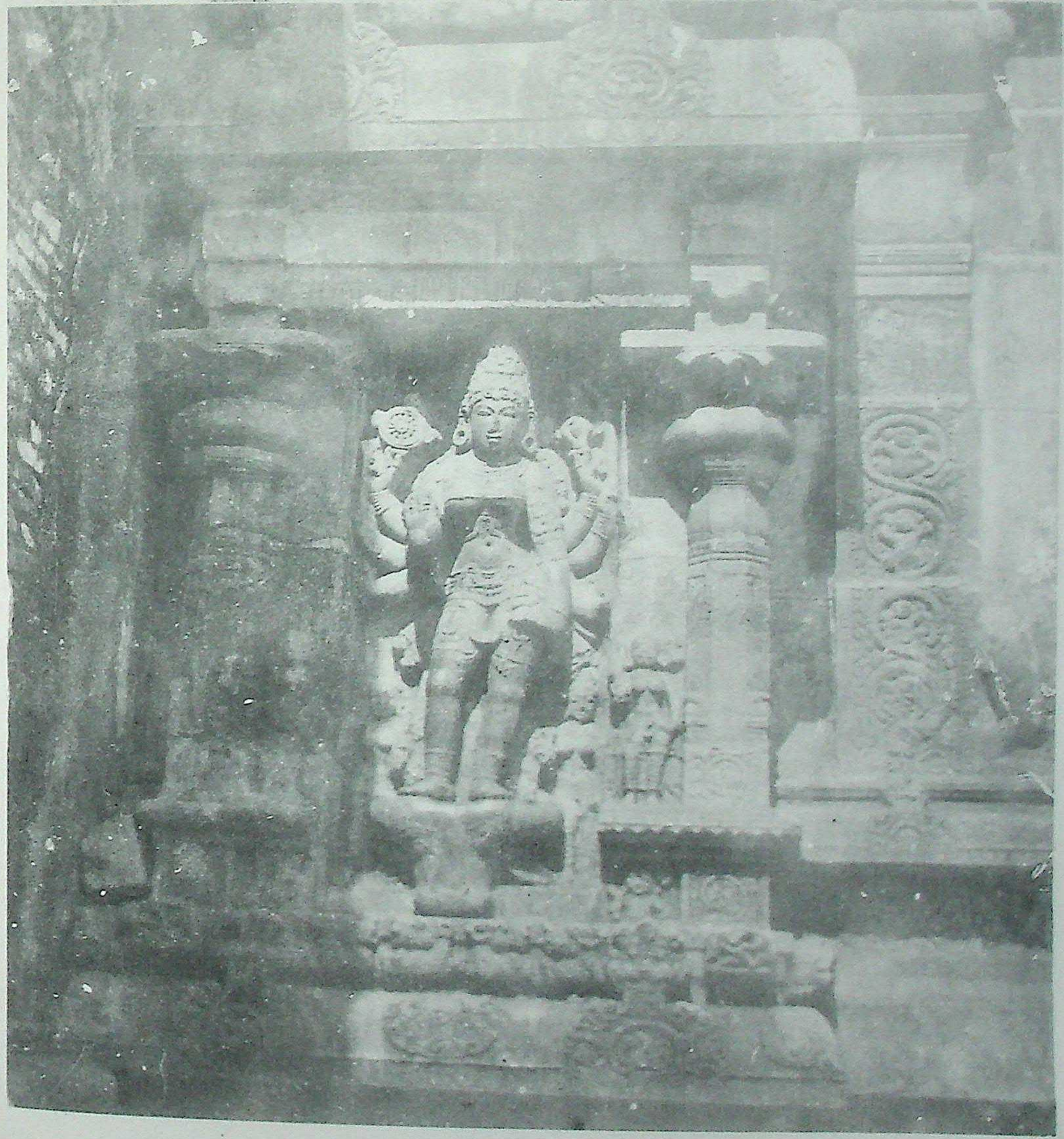
55. West Gopuram, west face, south wing, lower tier, labelled sculpture of Vaijayan
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology. Pondicherry)



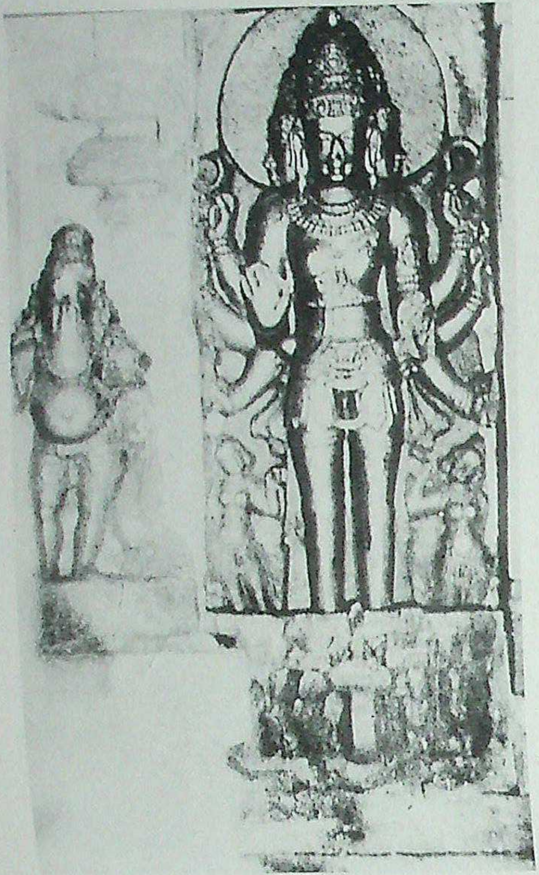
56. West Gopuram, west face, south wing, lower tier, extreme south, labelled sculpture of Bhadrakali
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)

57. Estampage of label 'Durga Devi' on the niche lintel below

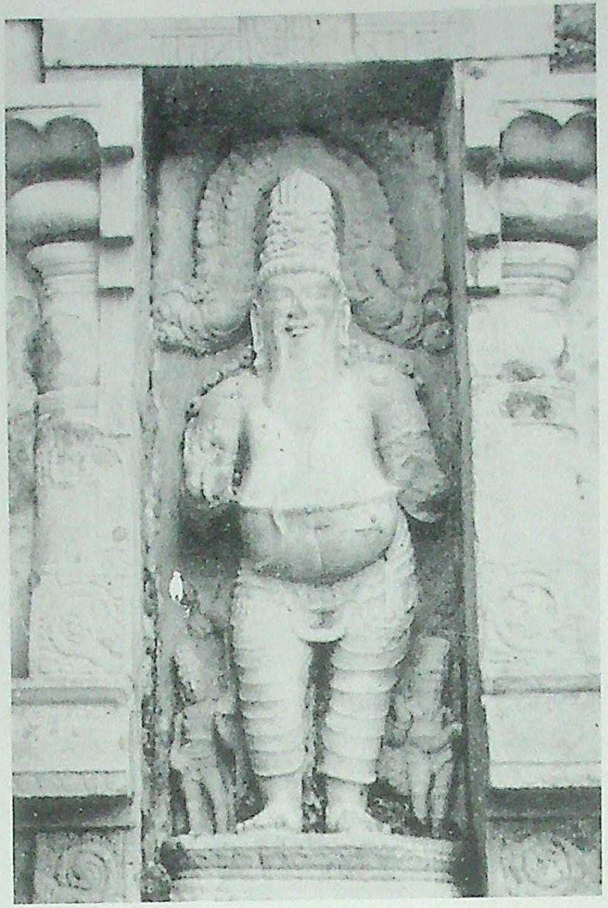




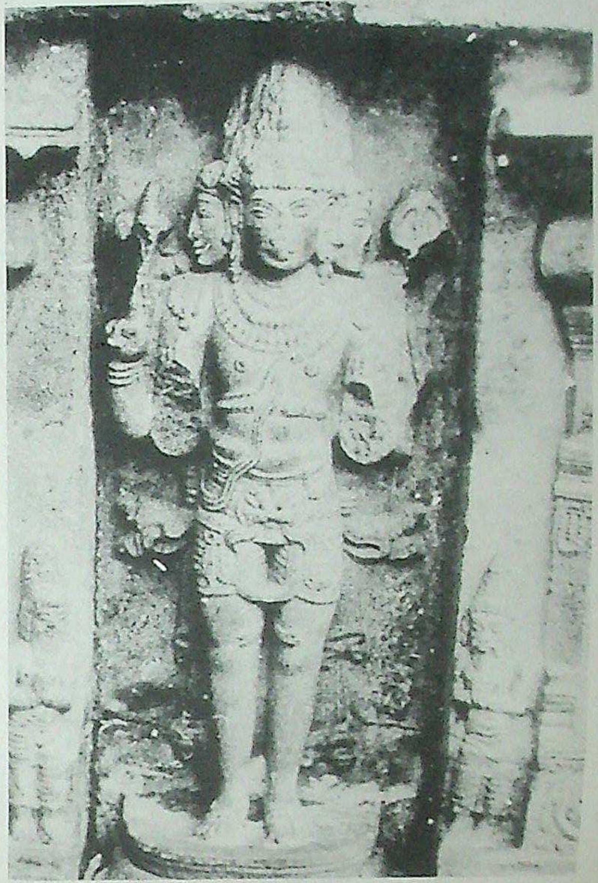
58. West Gopuram, east face, labelled sculpture of 'Durga Devi'
(Courtesy : 57 & 58 S.R. Balasubrahmanyam)



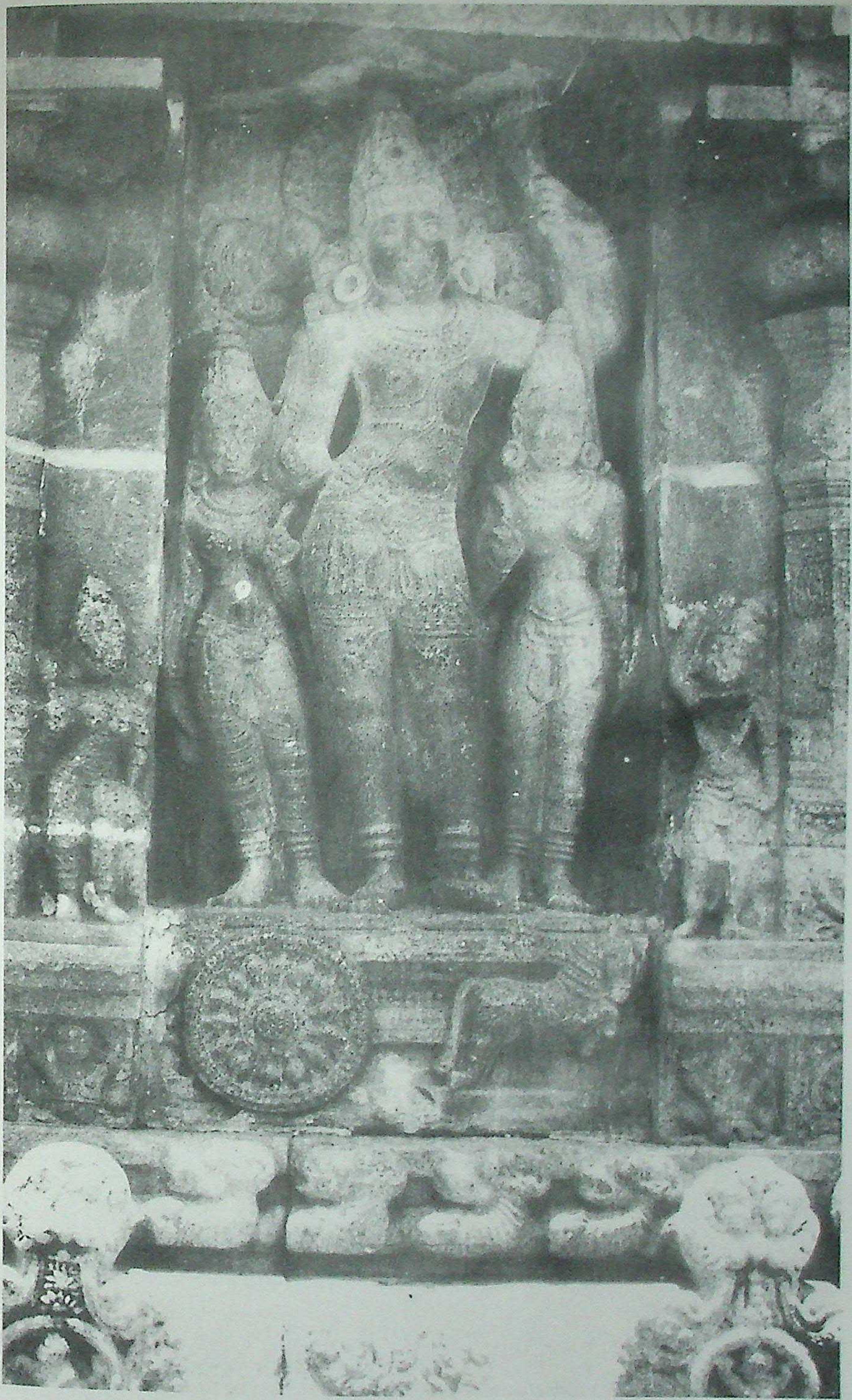
59. West Gopuram, east face, north wing, lower tier, labelled sculpture of Surya (Courtesy : S.R. Balasubrahmanyam)



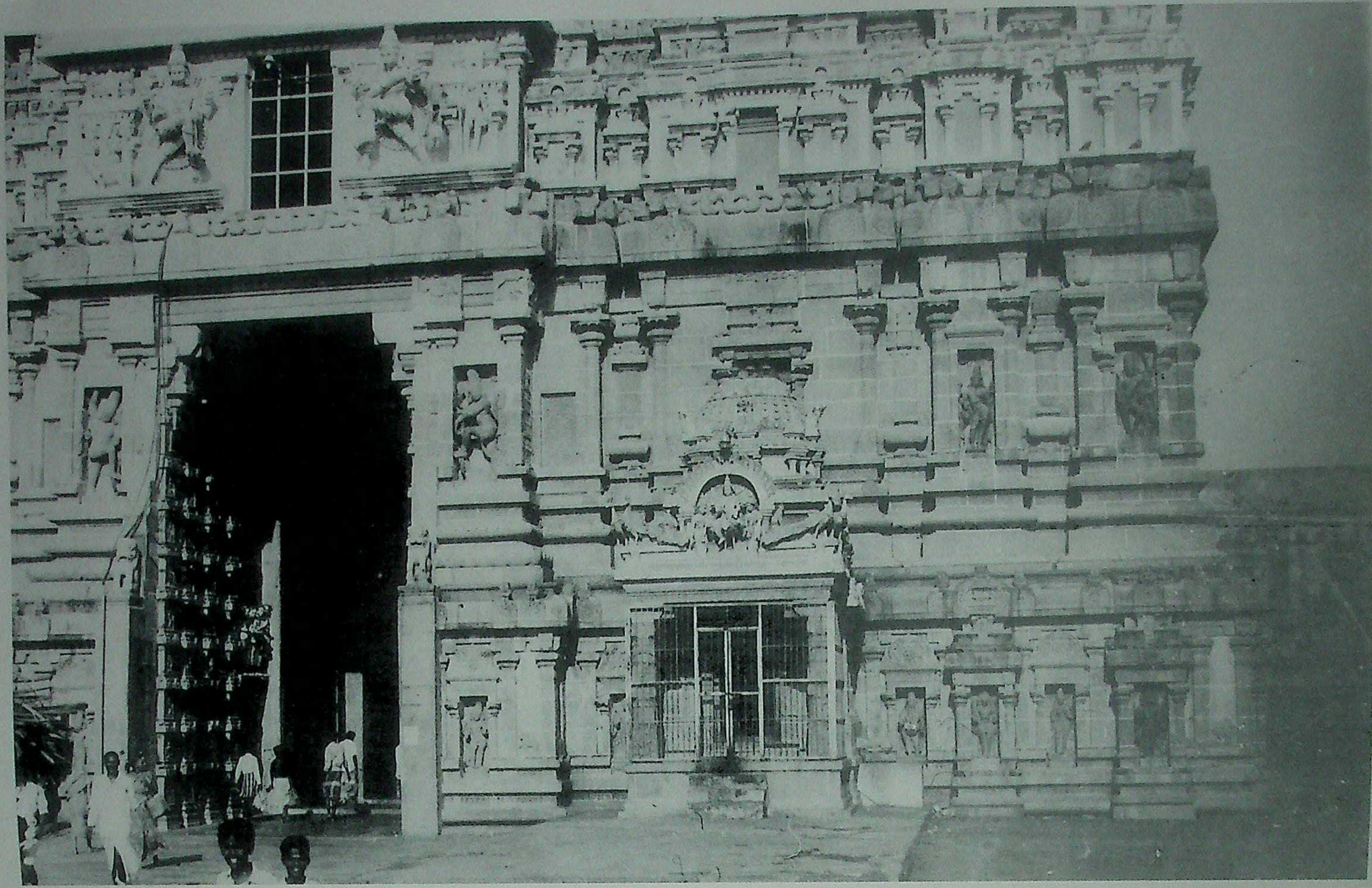
60. West Gopuram, east face, north wing, lower tier, labelled sculpture of Visvakarma (Courtesy : S.R. Balasubrahmanyam)



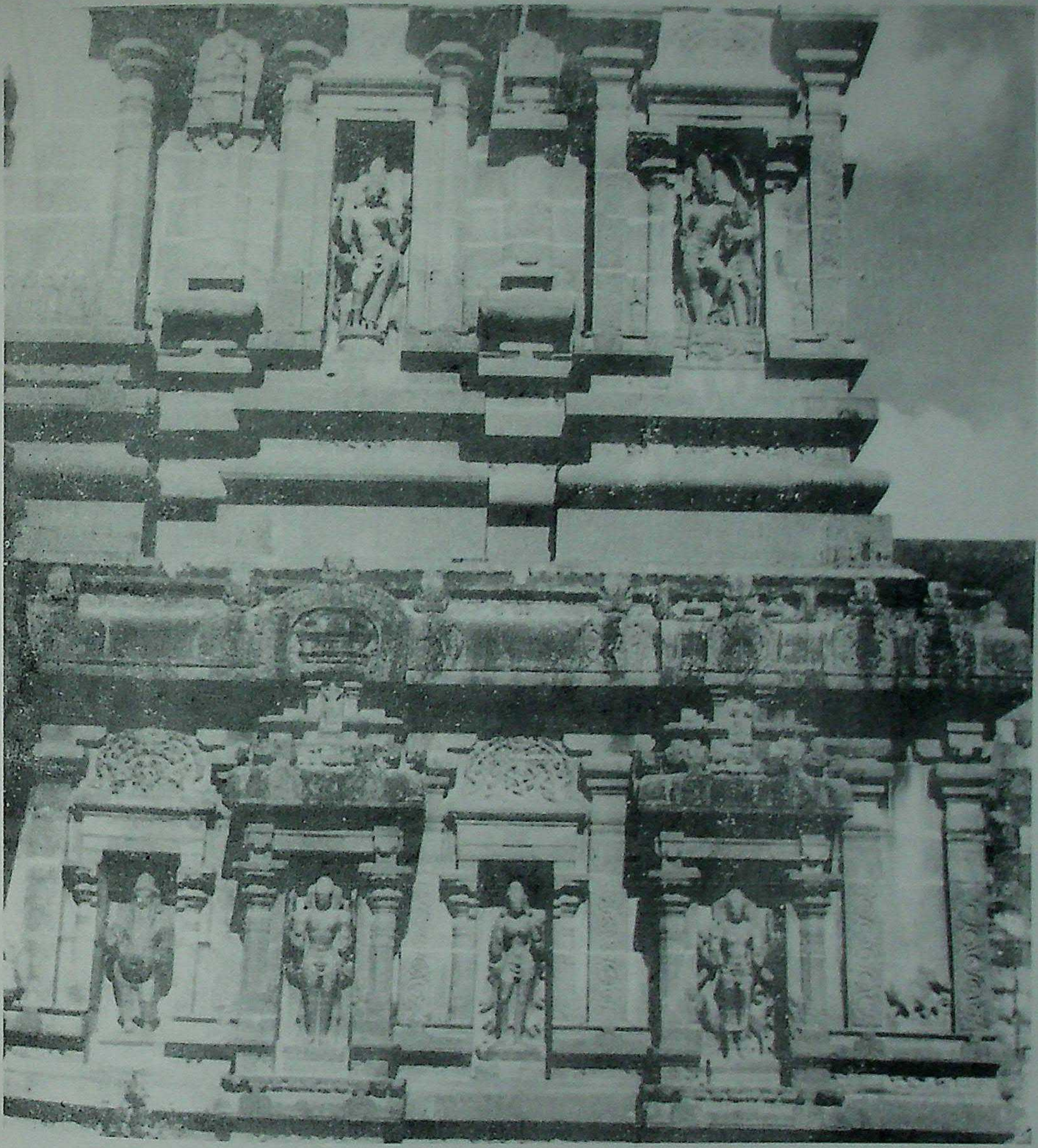
61. West Gopuram, west face, north wing, lower tier, labelled sculpture of Adi Candesvara (Courtesy : S.R. Balasubrahmanyam)



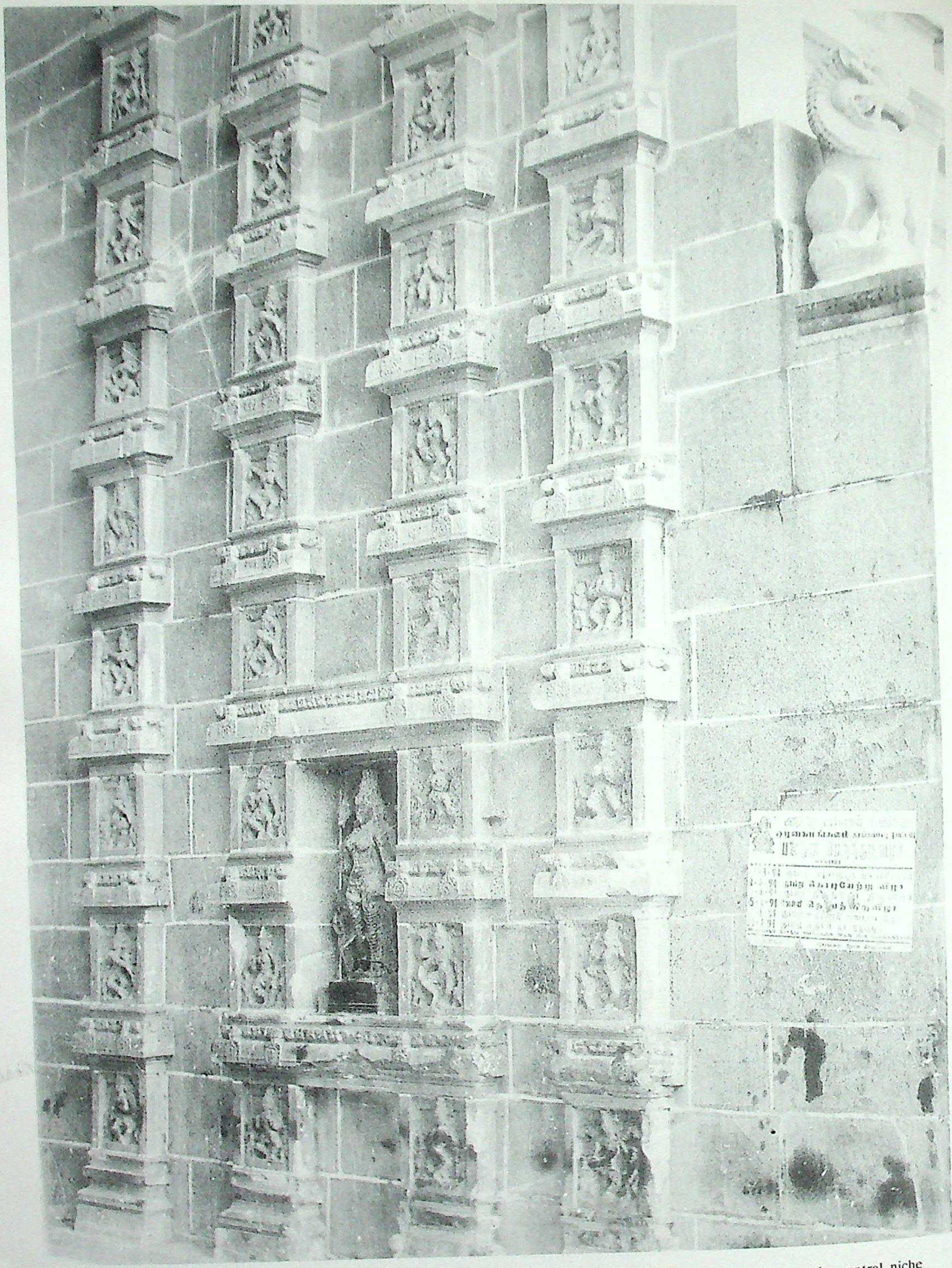
62. West Gopuram : 'Kamadevan' with Consorts Rati and Prithi (Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



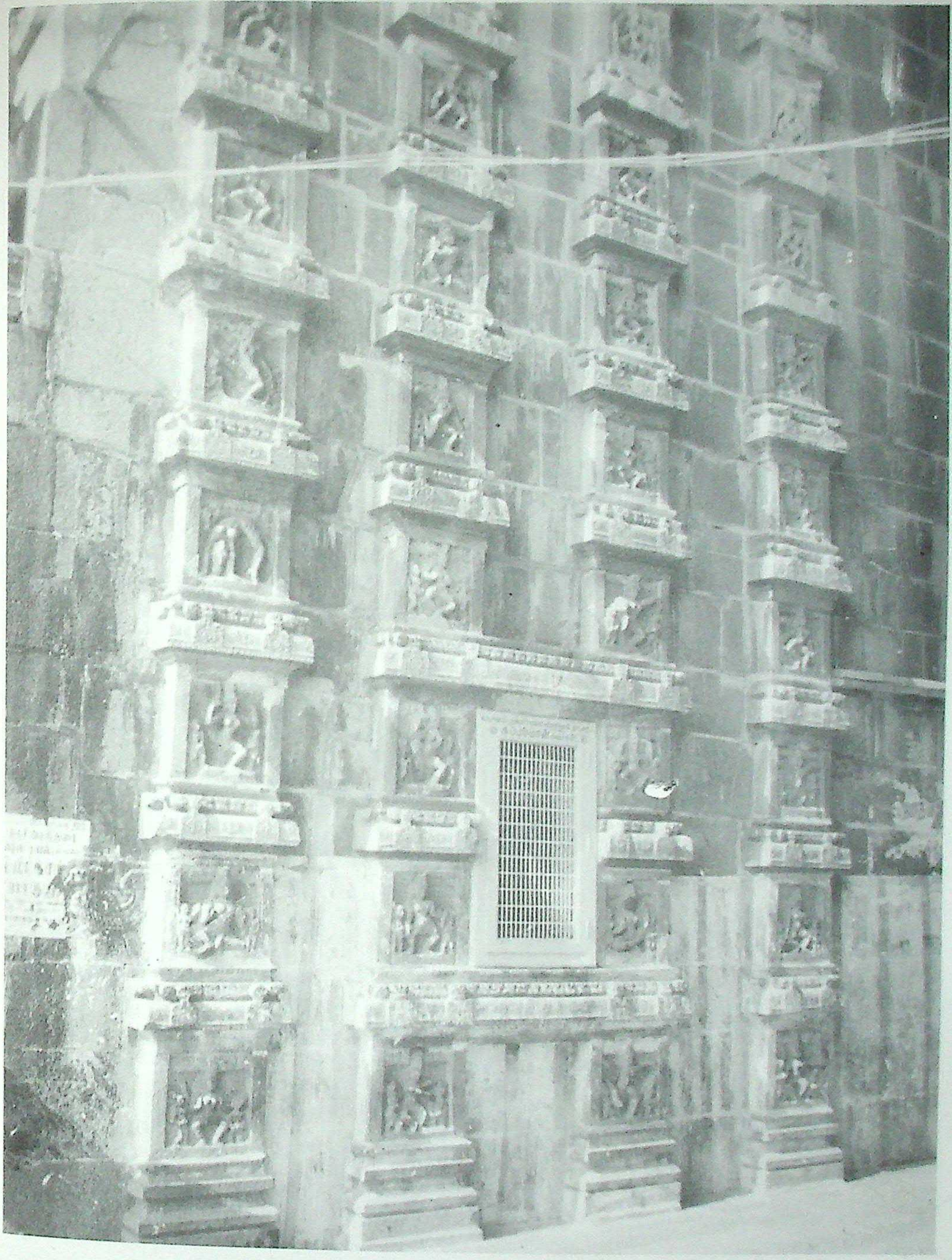
63. East Gopuram, east face, north side, showing the passageway with Bharatanatya karanas, and the lower and upper tiers
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



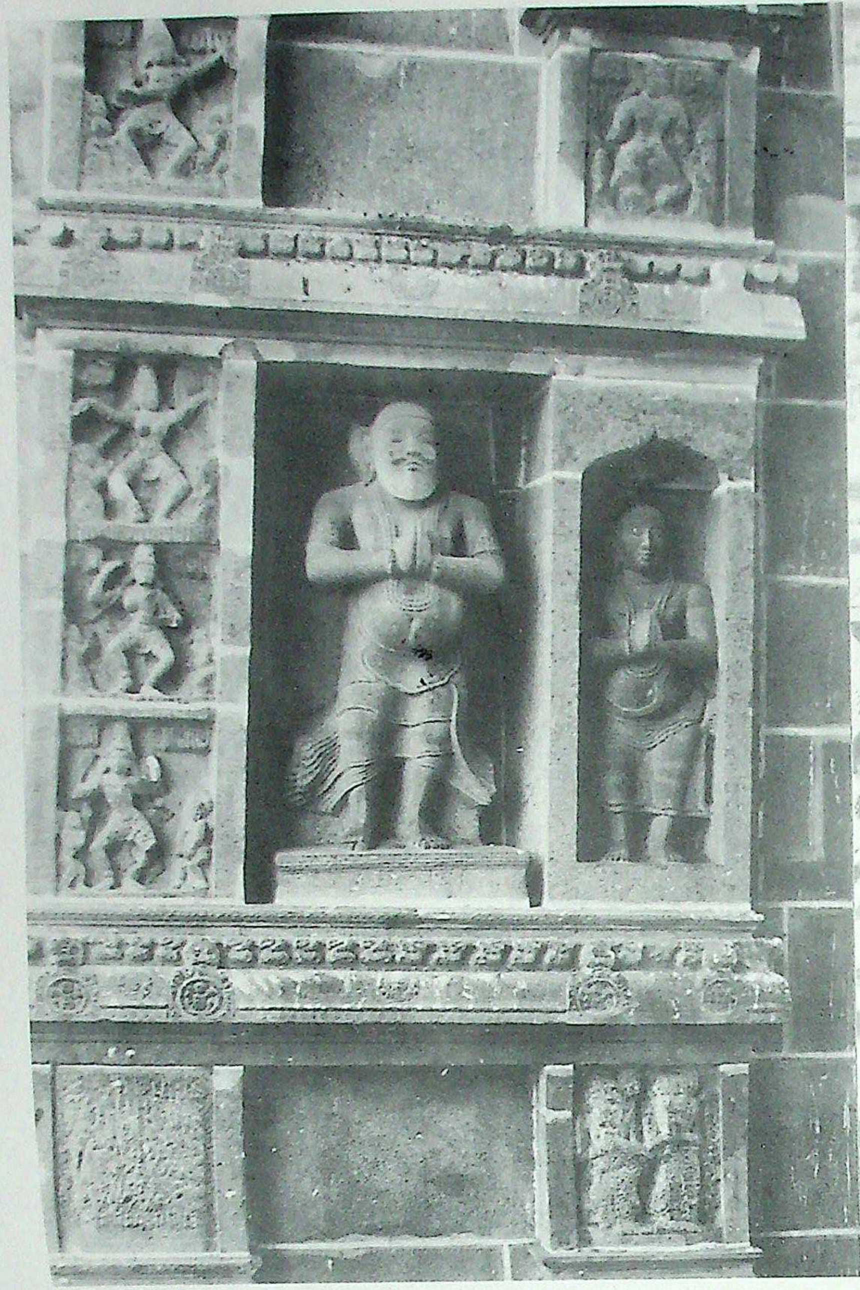
64. East Gopuram, east face, north wing, northern half — architectural details of the two tiers with sculptures — Ardhanari, Tripurantaka (upper tier), Agastya, Adi Candesvara, Yamuna and Kshetrapala (in lower tier)
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



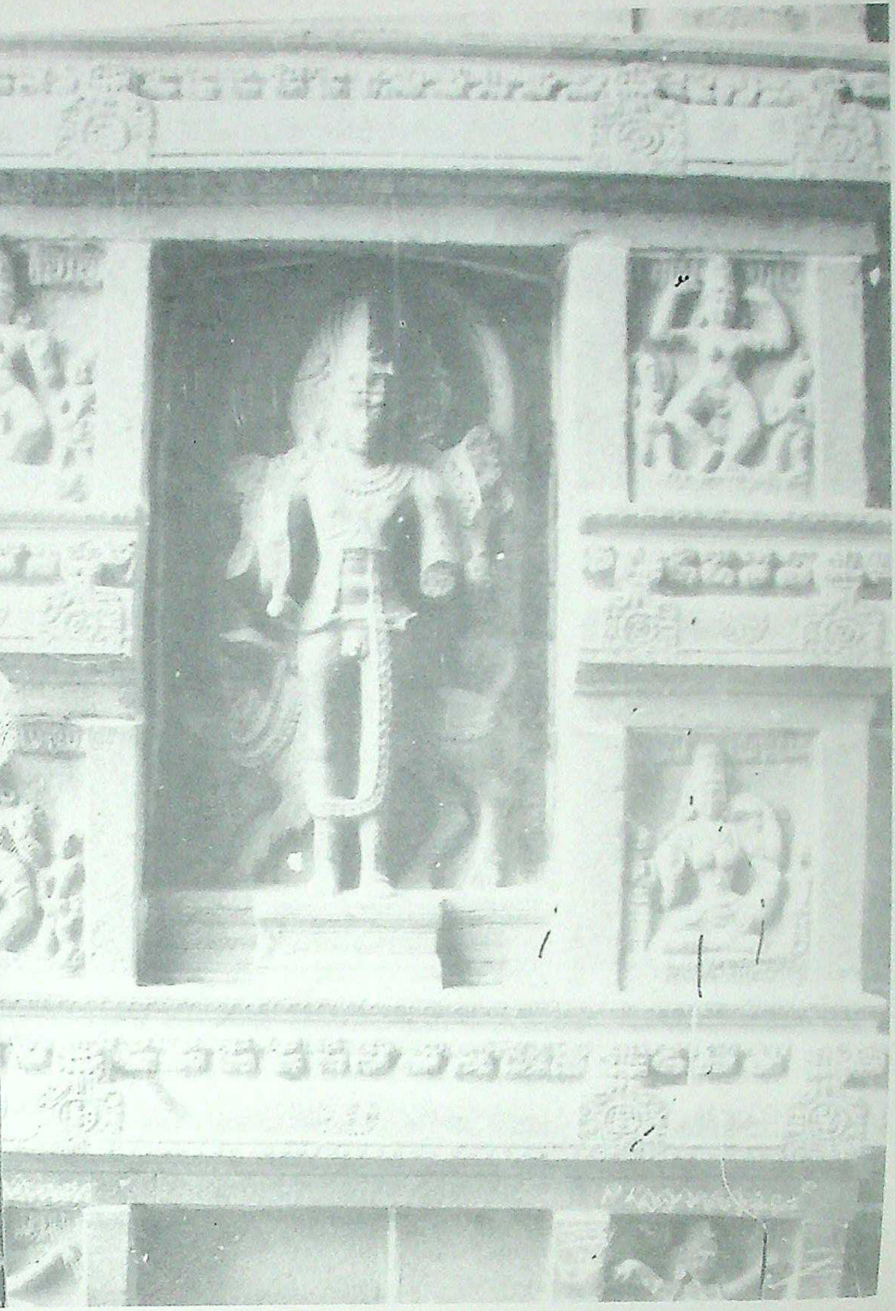
65. East Gopuram, passageway, northern face, eastern wing, depicting Bharatanatya karanas with Durga in the central niche (Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



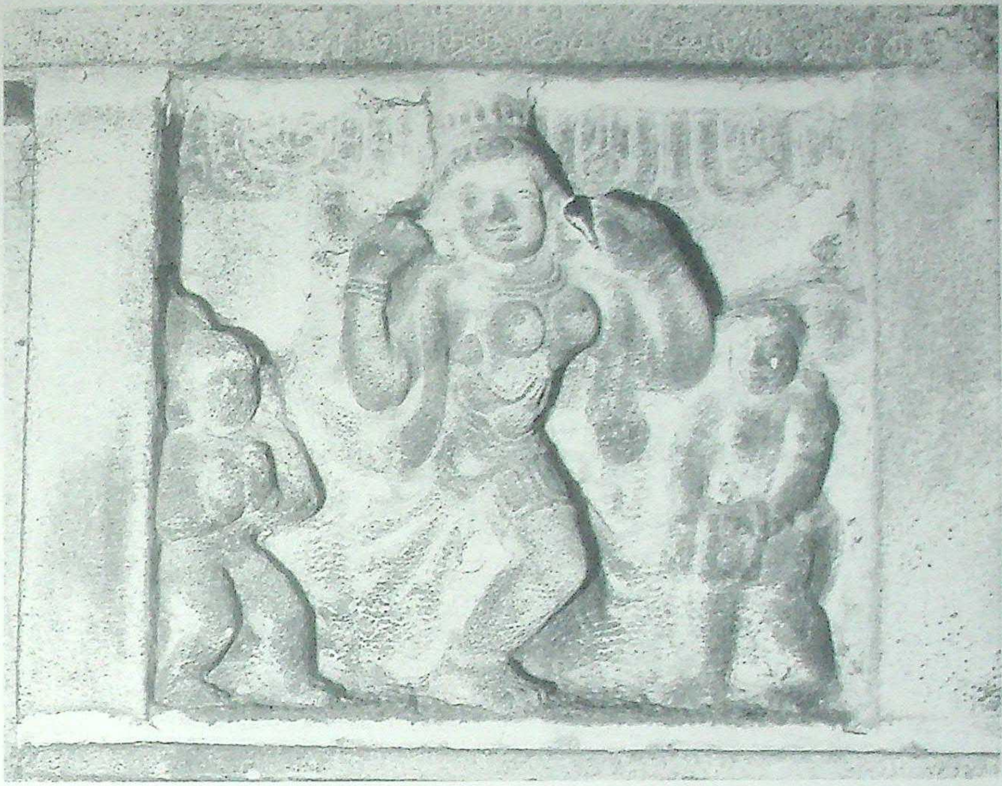
66. East Gopuram, passageway, southern face, eastern wing, depicting Bharatanatya karanas with Bhairava in the deep central niche (covered by meshwork)
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



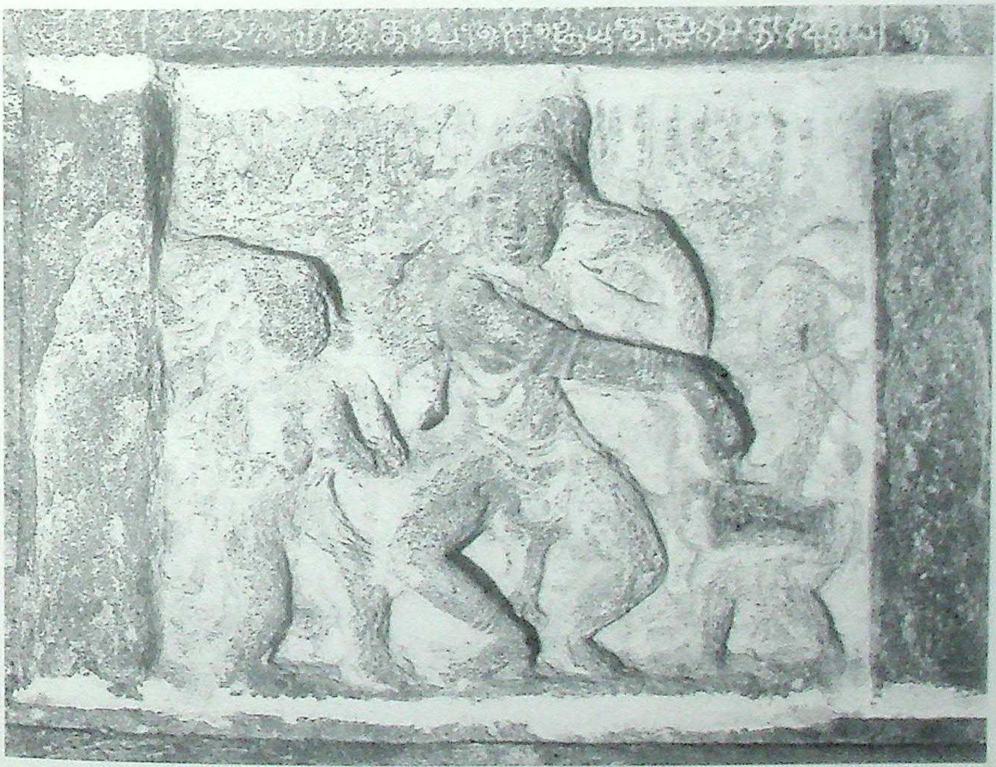
67. East Gopuram, passageway, north face, west wing, unknown dignitary
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



68. East Gopuram, passageway, north face : Karana panels
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

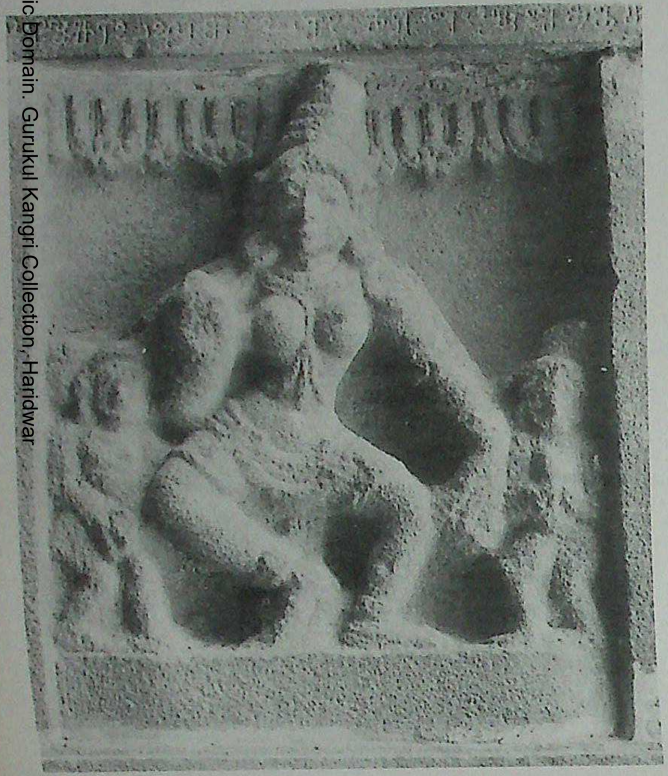


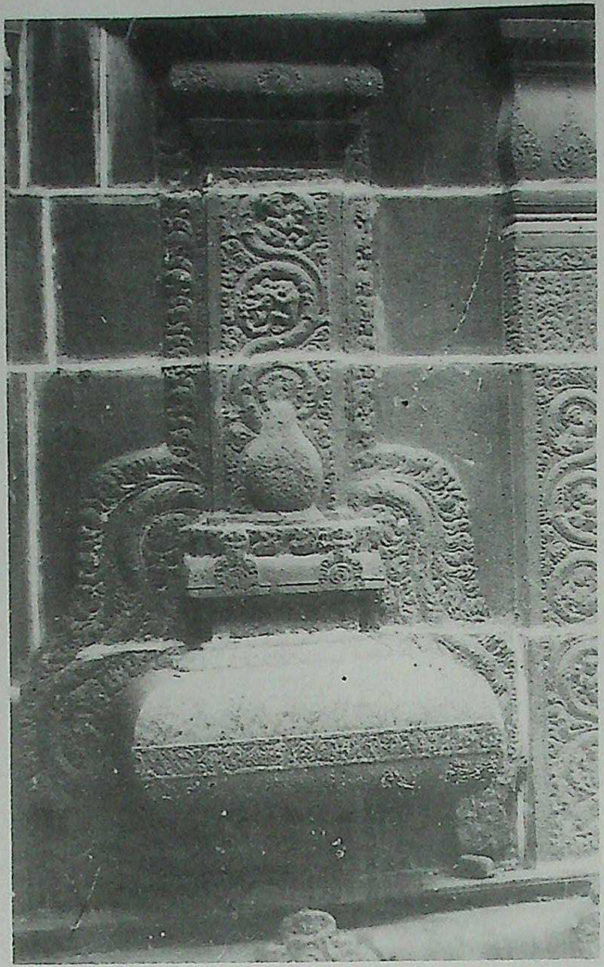
69. & 70. Bharatanatya karanas with the corresponding Natyasastra karana verses describing them — East Gopuram



(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)

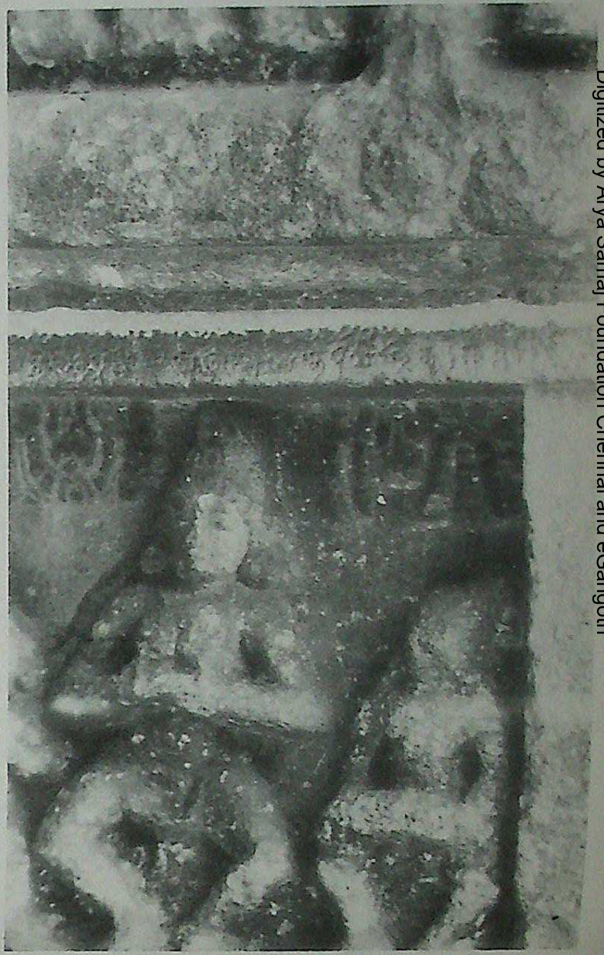
71. East Gopuram — A Bharatanatya karana (with sloka)
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)

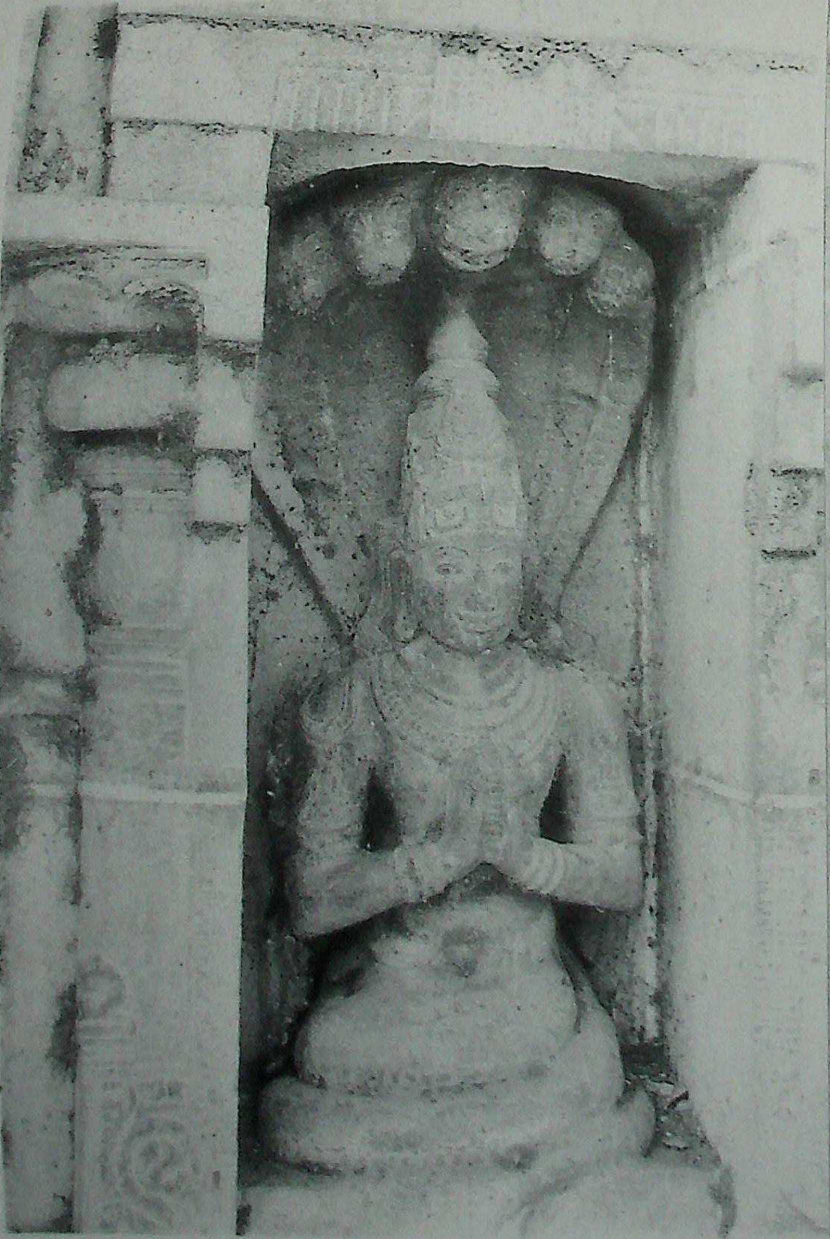




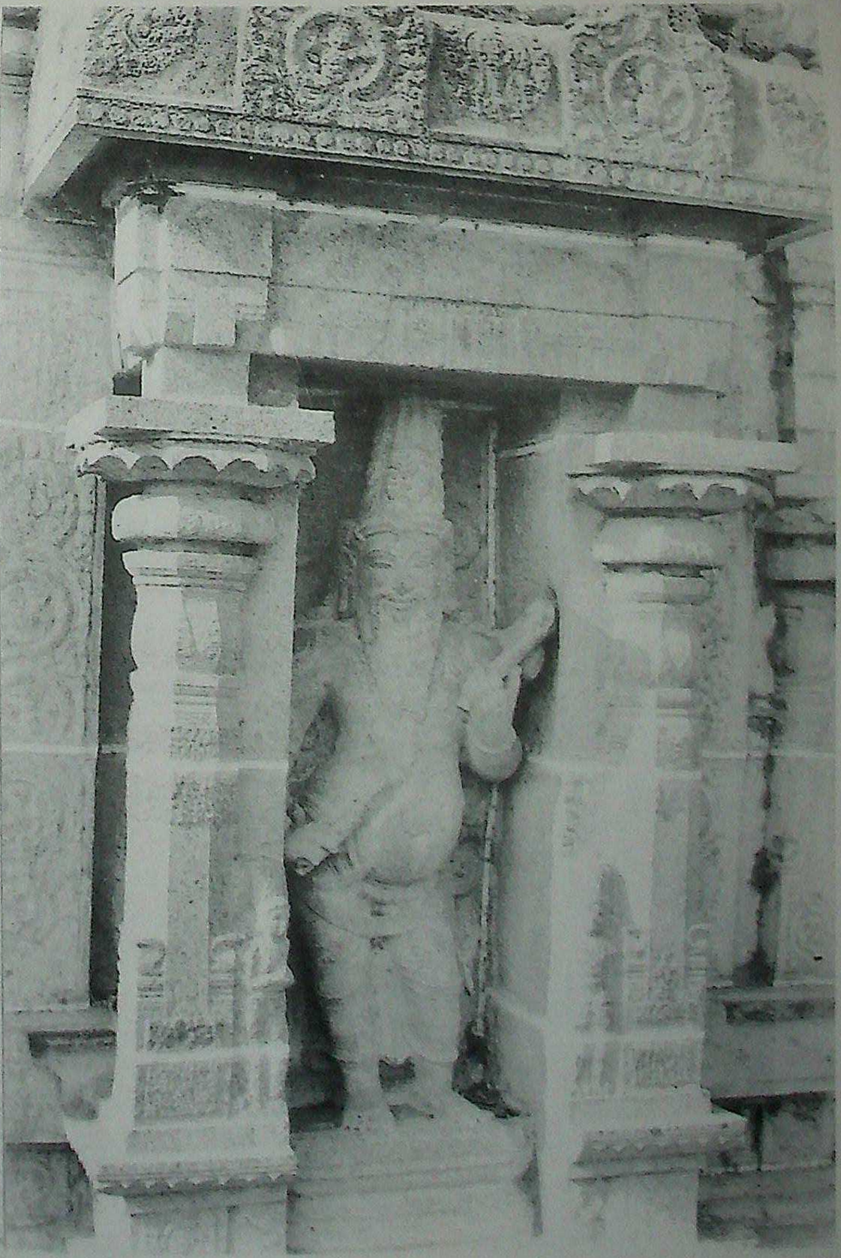
72. East Gopuram — Kumbha-pancara
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

73. East Gopuram — A Bharatanatya karana (with sloka)
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



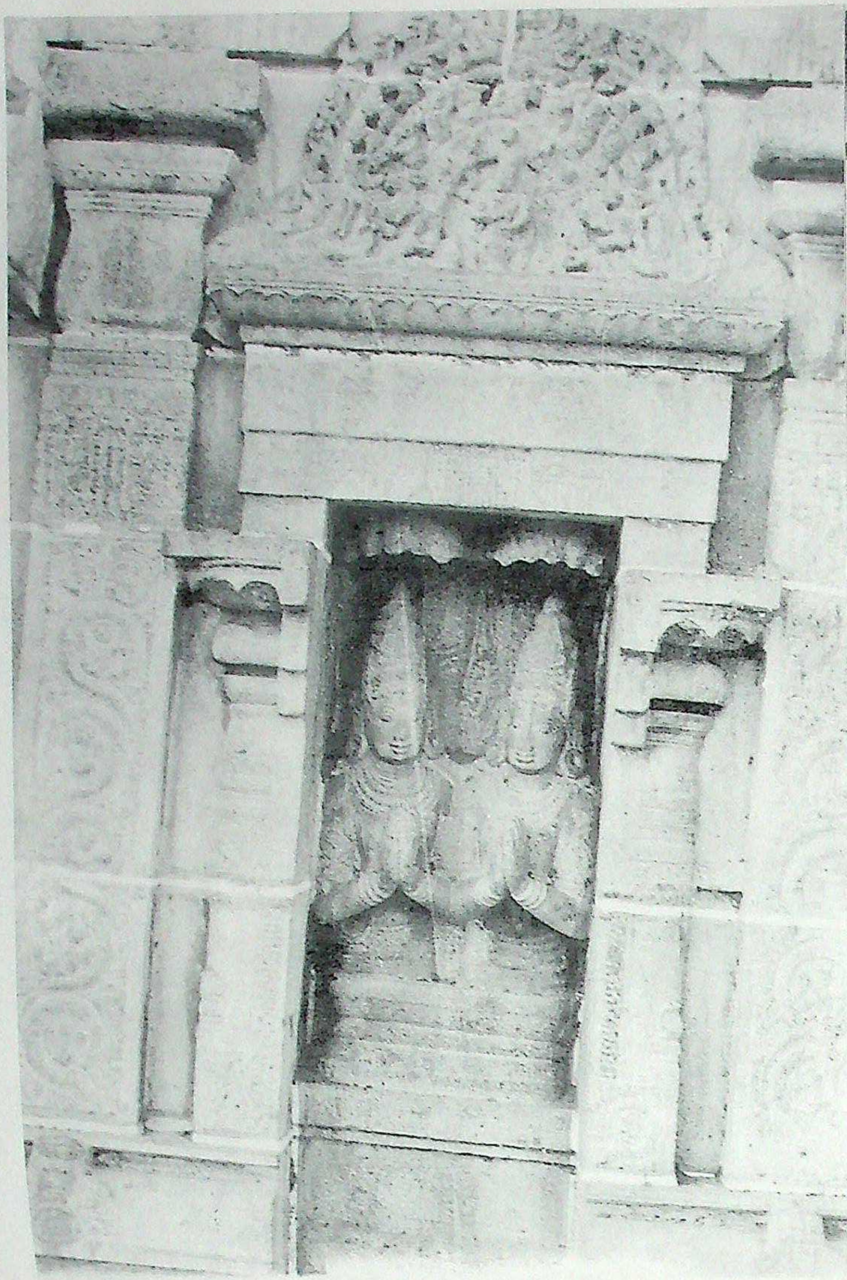


74. Patanjali

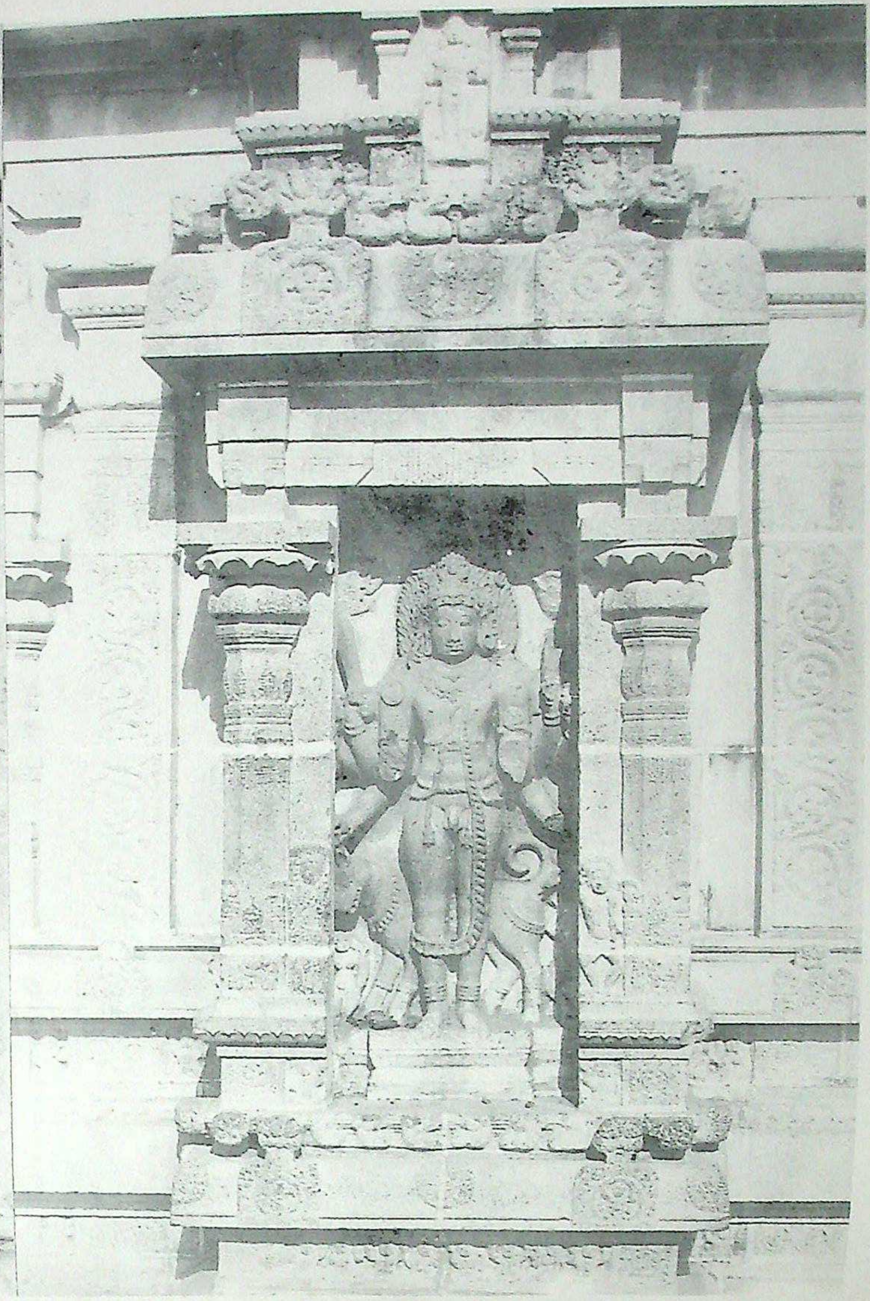


Narada 75.

(East Gopuram, north face, lower tier, eastern wing)
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



76. Rahu and Ketu (north face, east wing)

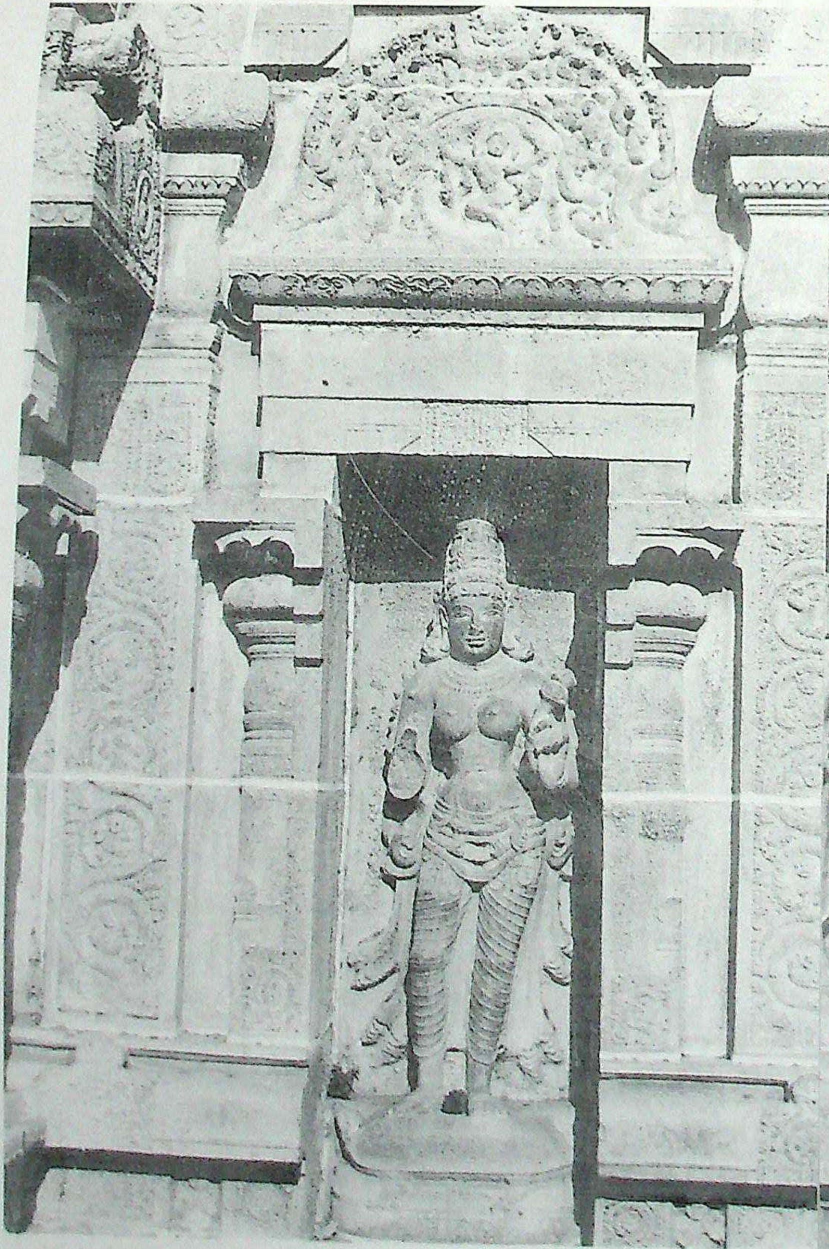


(east face, south wing) Kshetrapala 77.

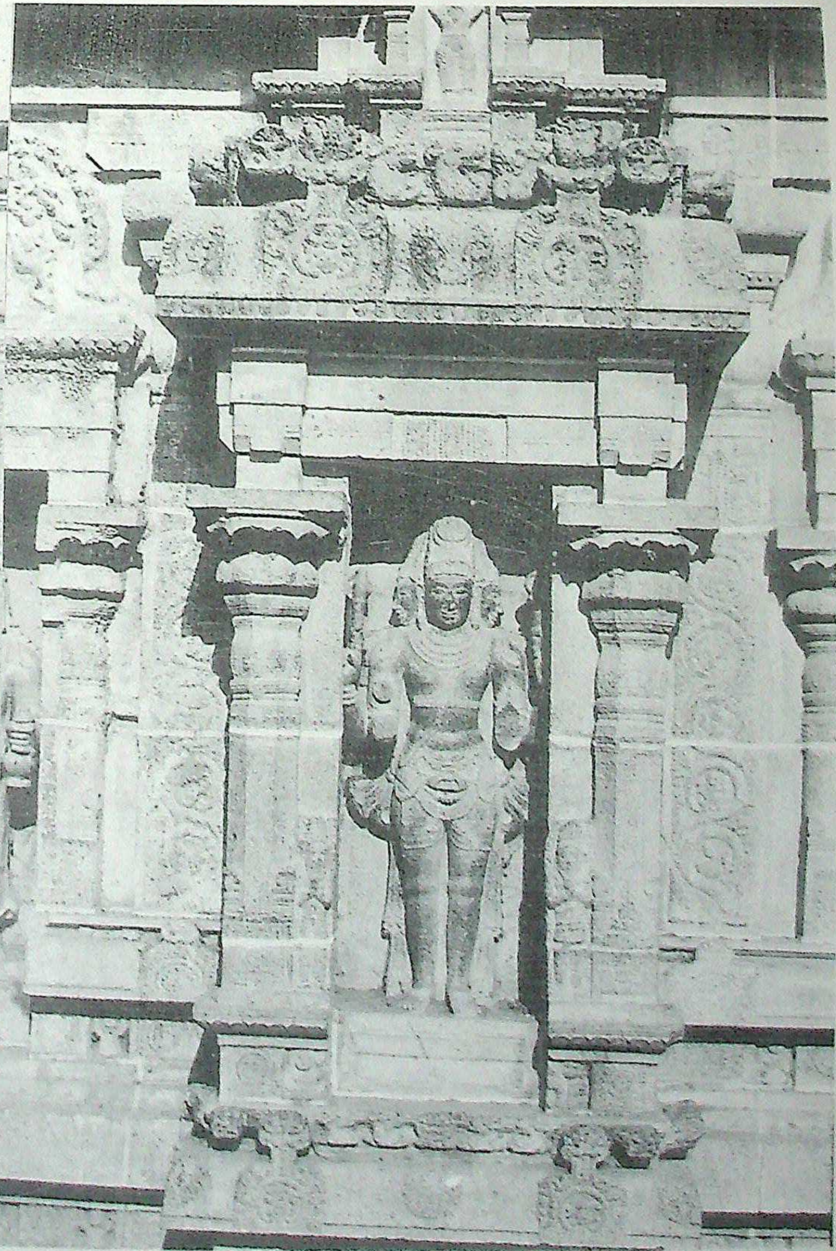
(East Gopuram, lower tier)
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

76. Rahu and Ketu (north face, east wing) (east face, south wing) Kshetrapala 77.

(East Gopuram, lower tier)
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

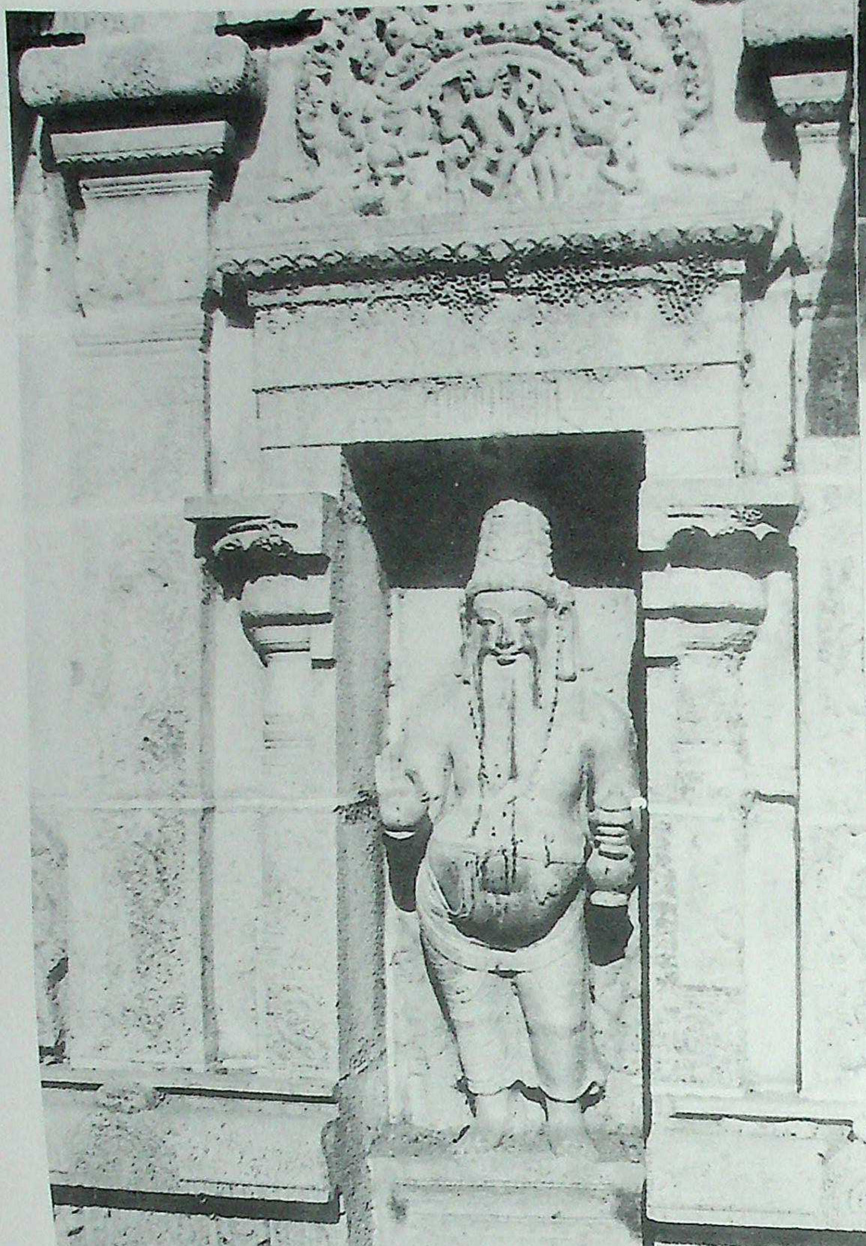


78. Yamunai

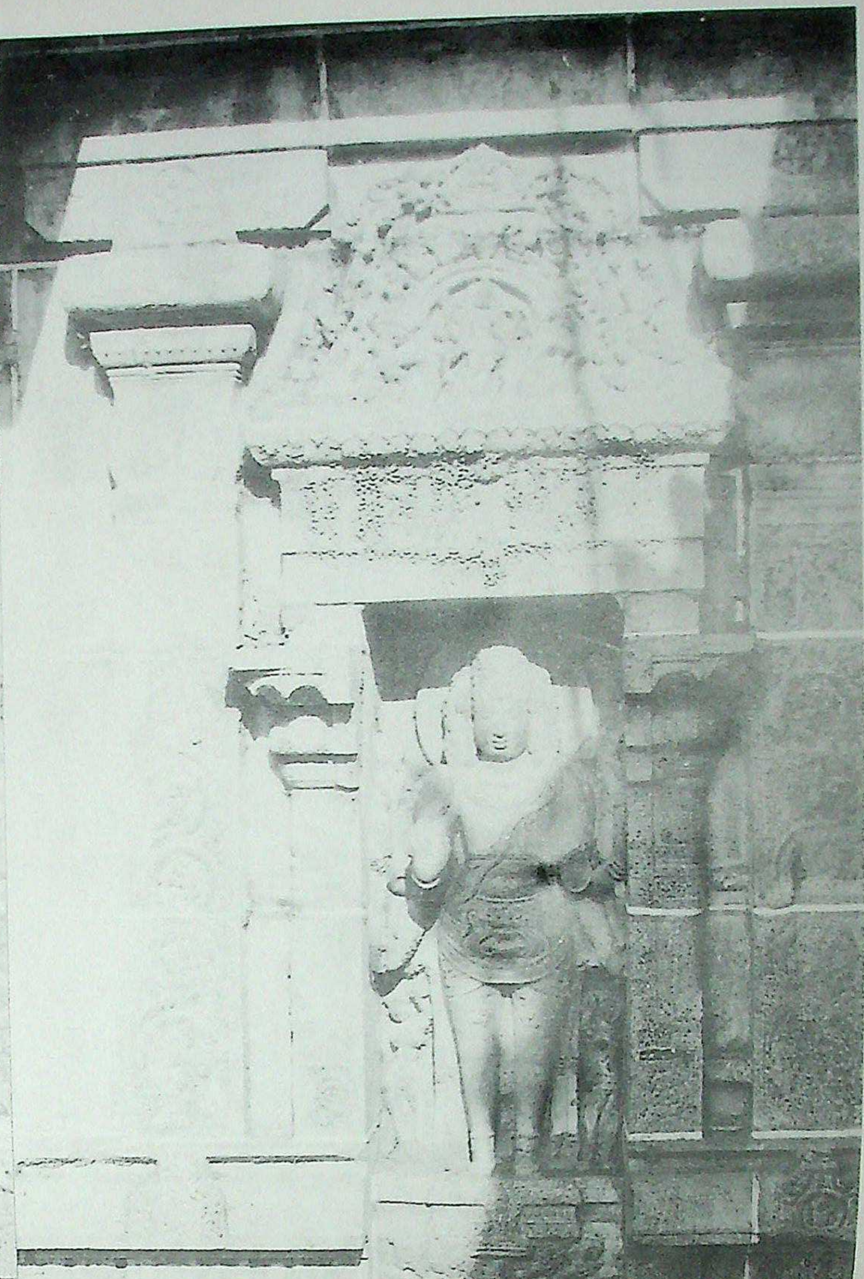


Adi Candesvarar 79

(East Gopuram, east face, lower tier, north wing)
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



80. Agastya



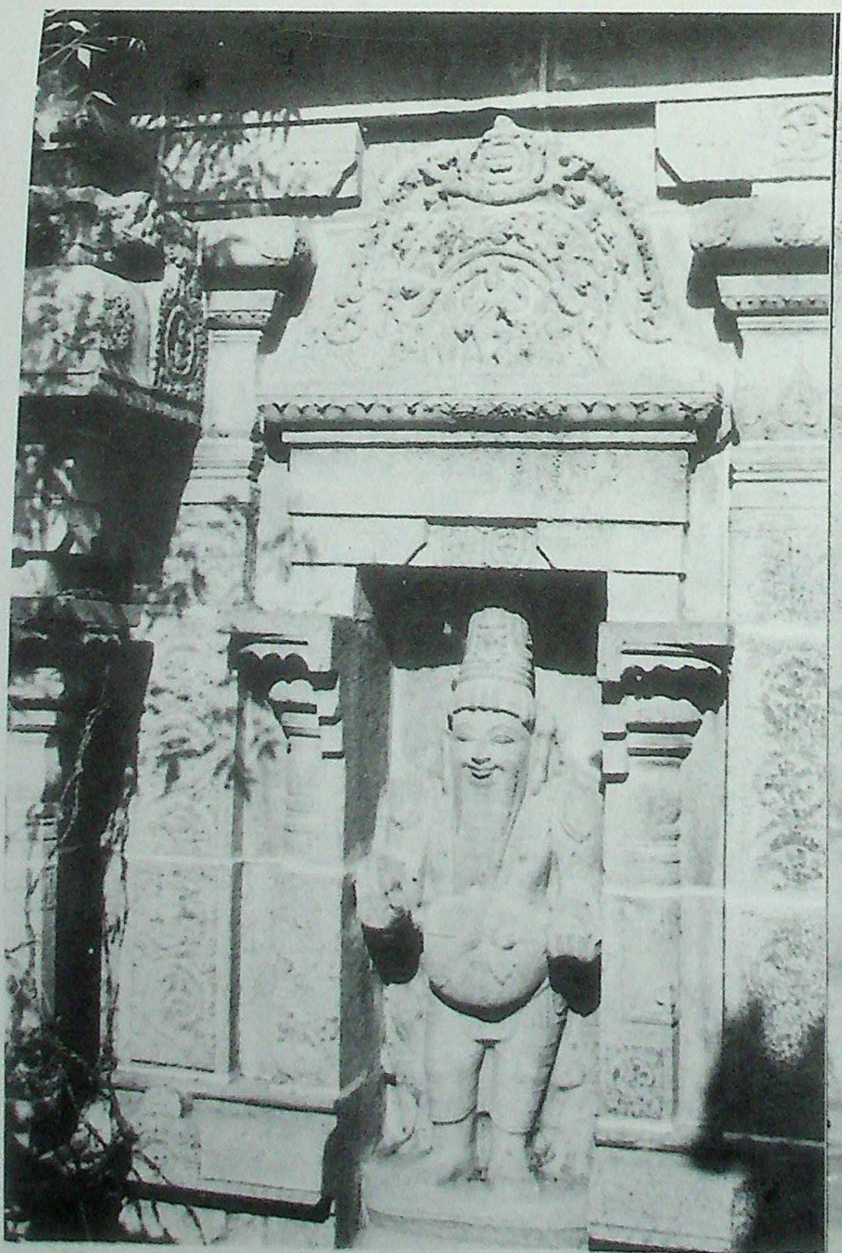
Surya 81.

(East Gopuram, east face, lower tier, north wing)
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

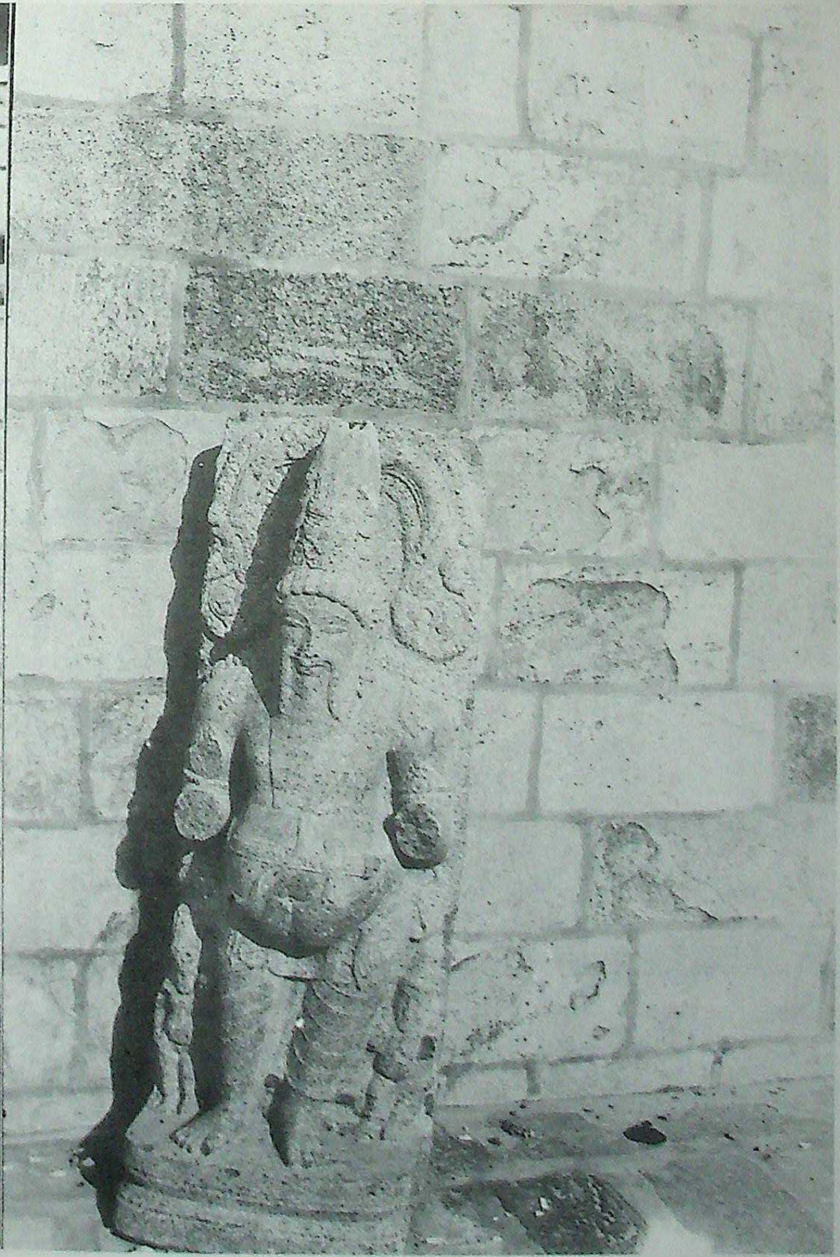
80. Agastya

Surya 81.

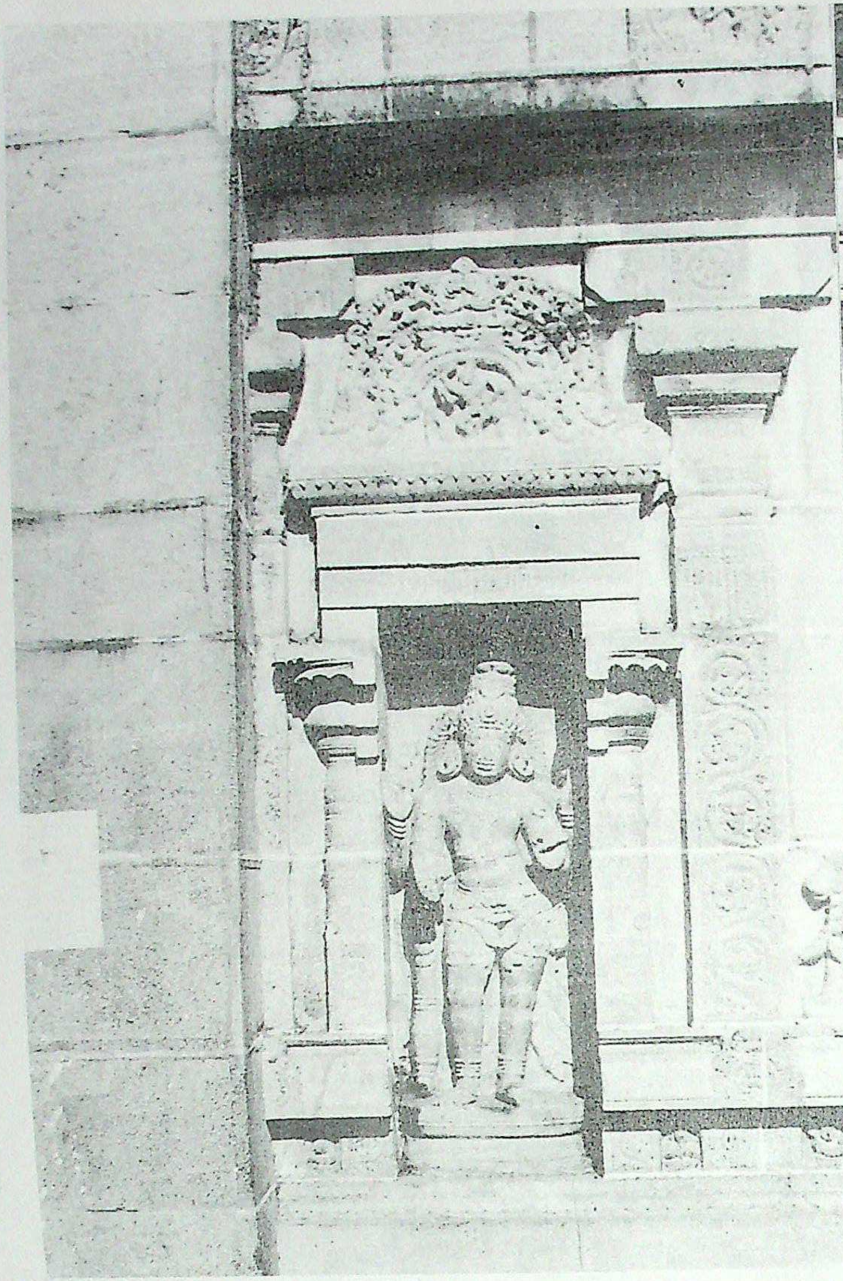
(East Gopuram, east face, lower tier, north wing)
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

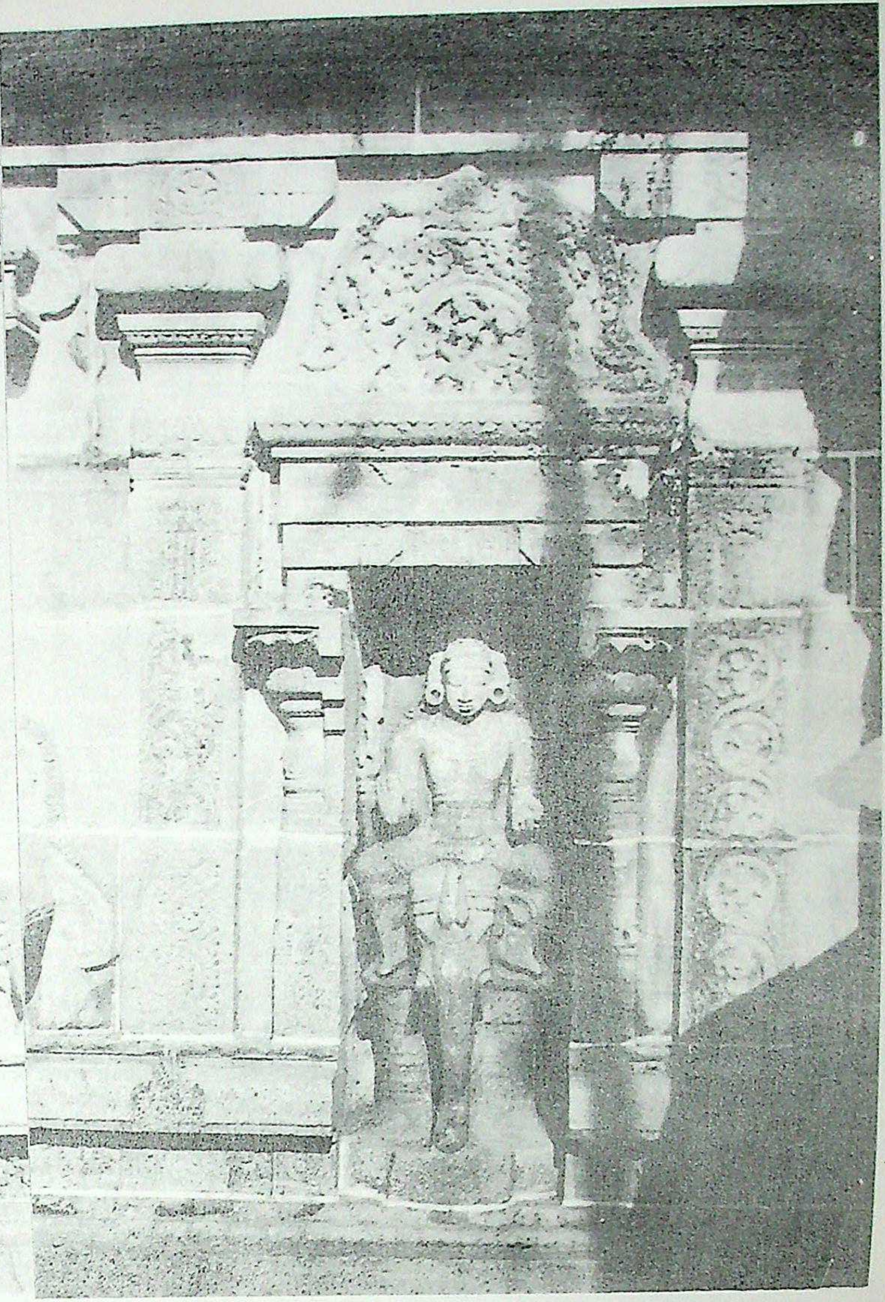


82. Visvakarma (?) East Gopuram, east face, south wing
(Courtesy : 82 & 83 Dr. B. Venkataraman)



83. Loose sculpture (near Tittivasal) (arms br
possibly Agastya, Visvakarma or Dhanvanta





84. Dvarapala : North wing

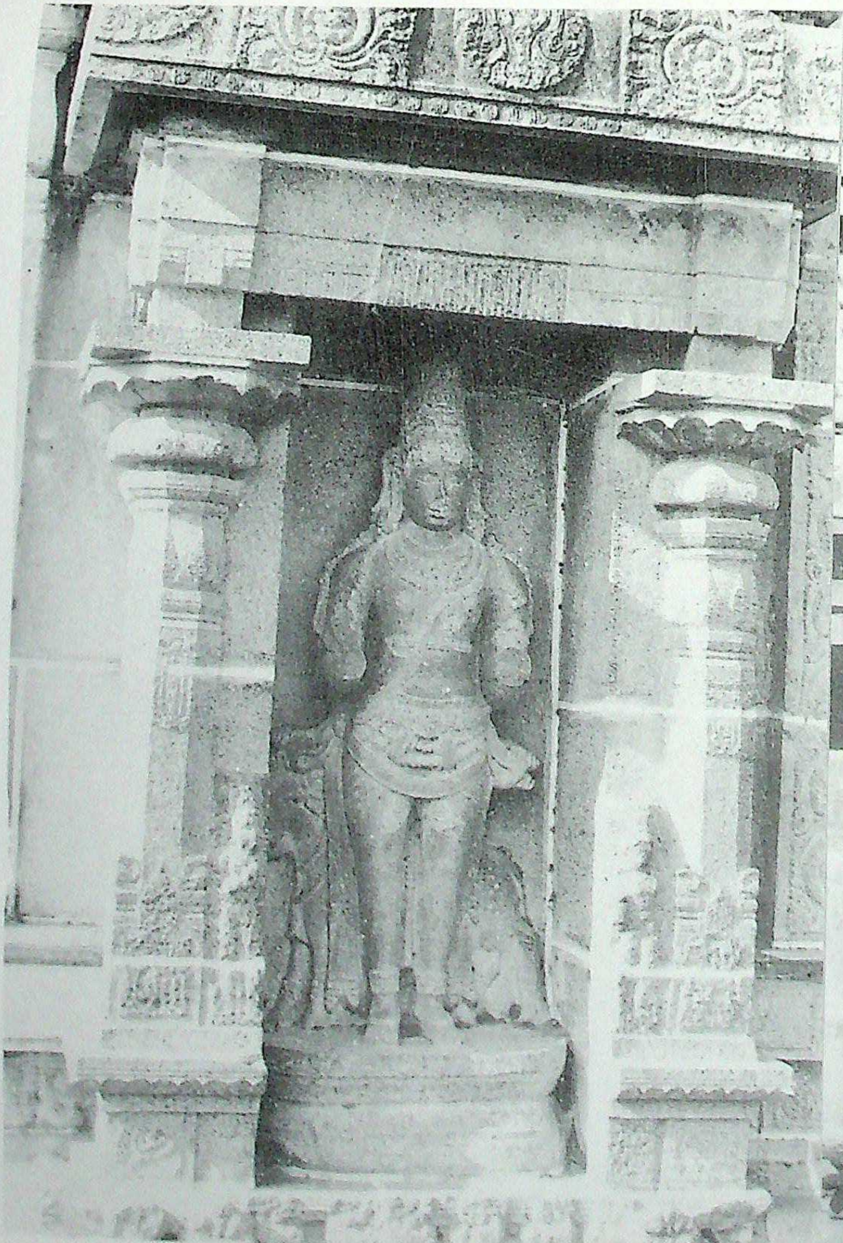
East Gopuram, East face
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

South wing : Devendran 85.

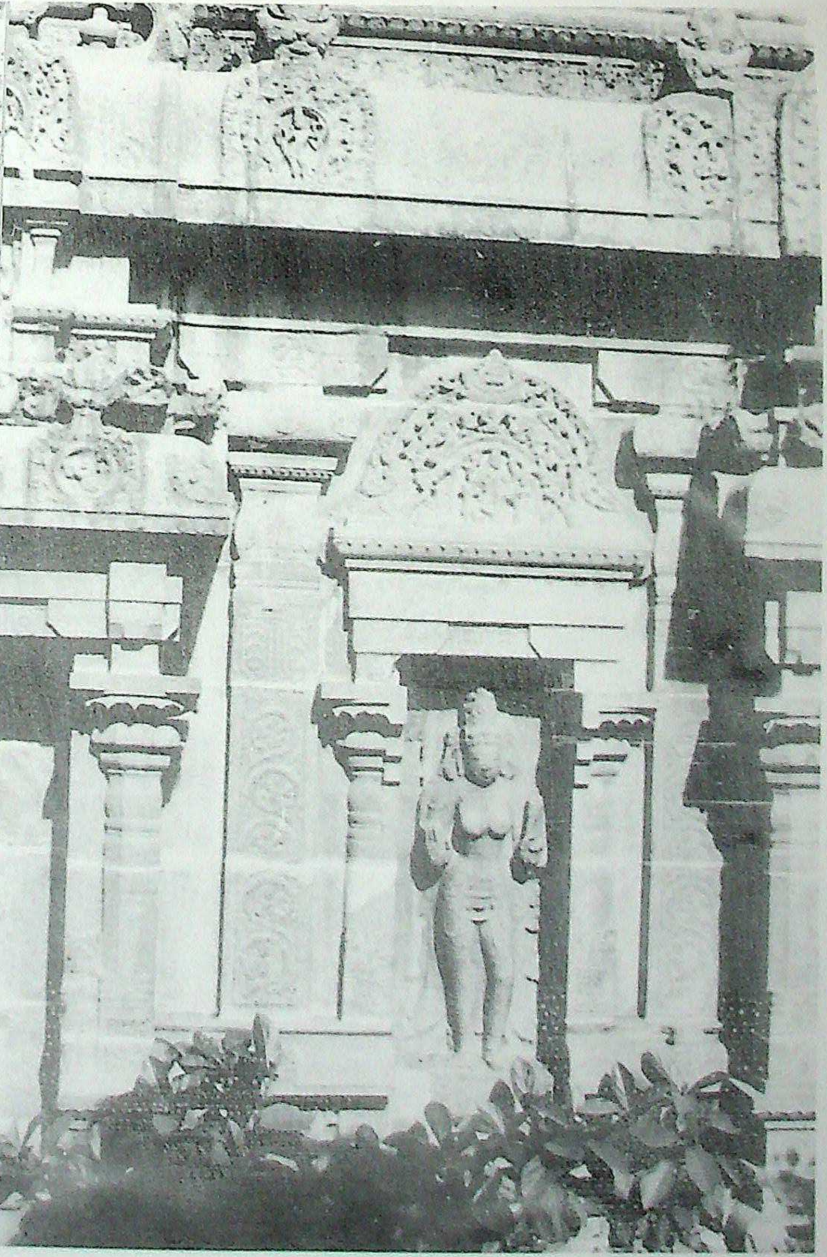
84. Dvarapala : North wing

East Gopuram, East face
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

South wing : Devendran 85.

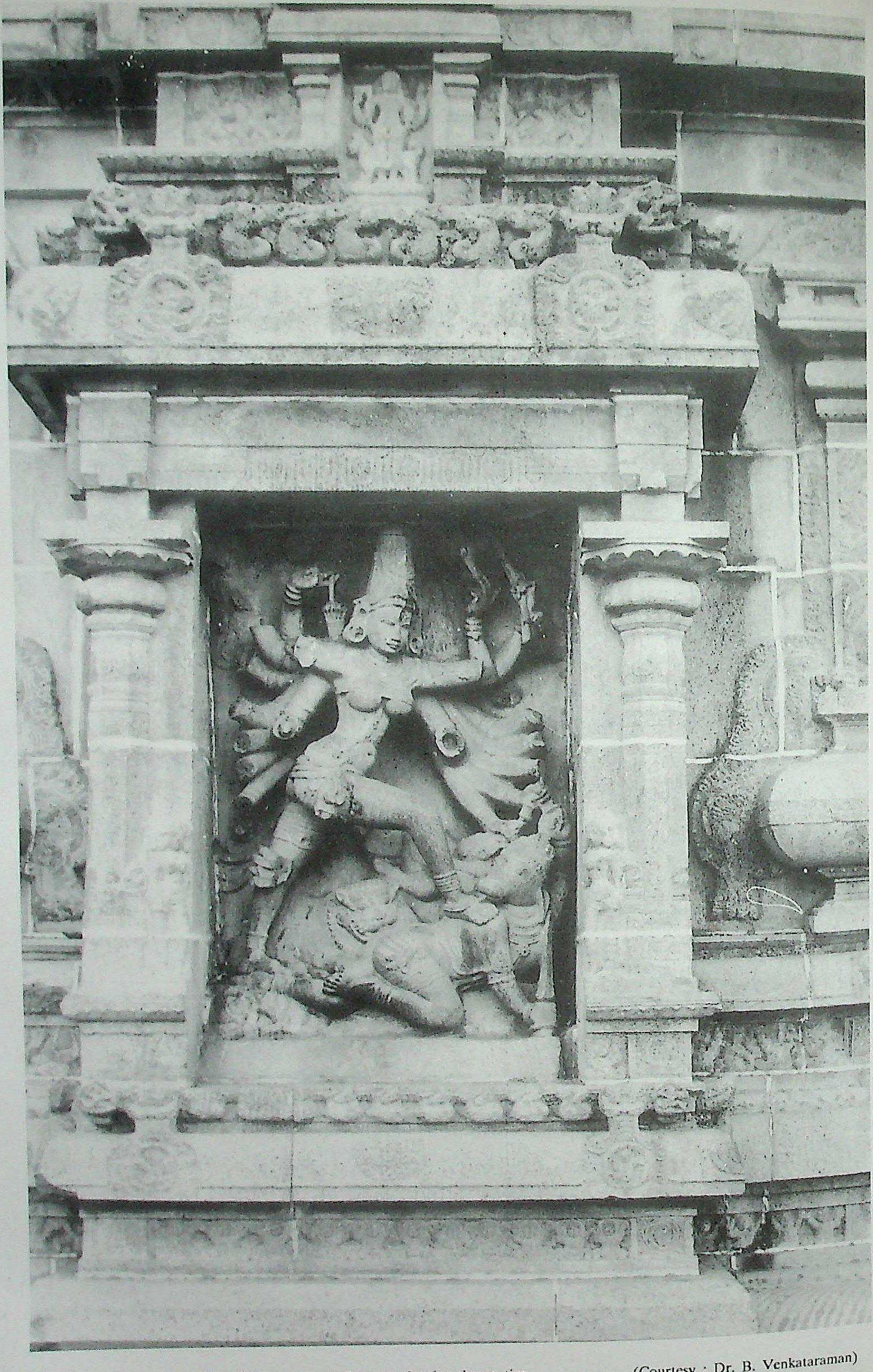


86. One of the Navagrahas (Sukra ?)

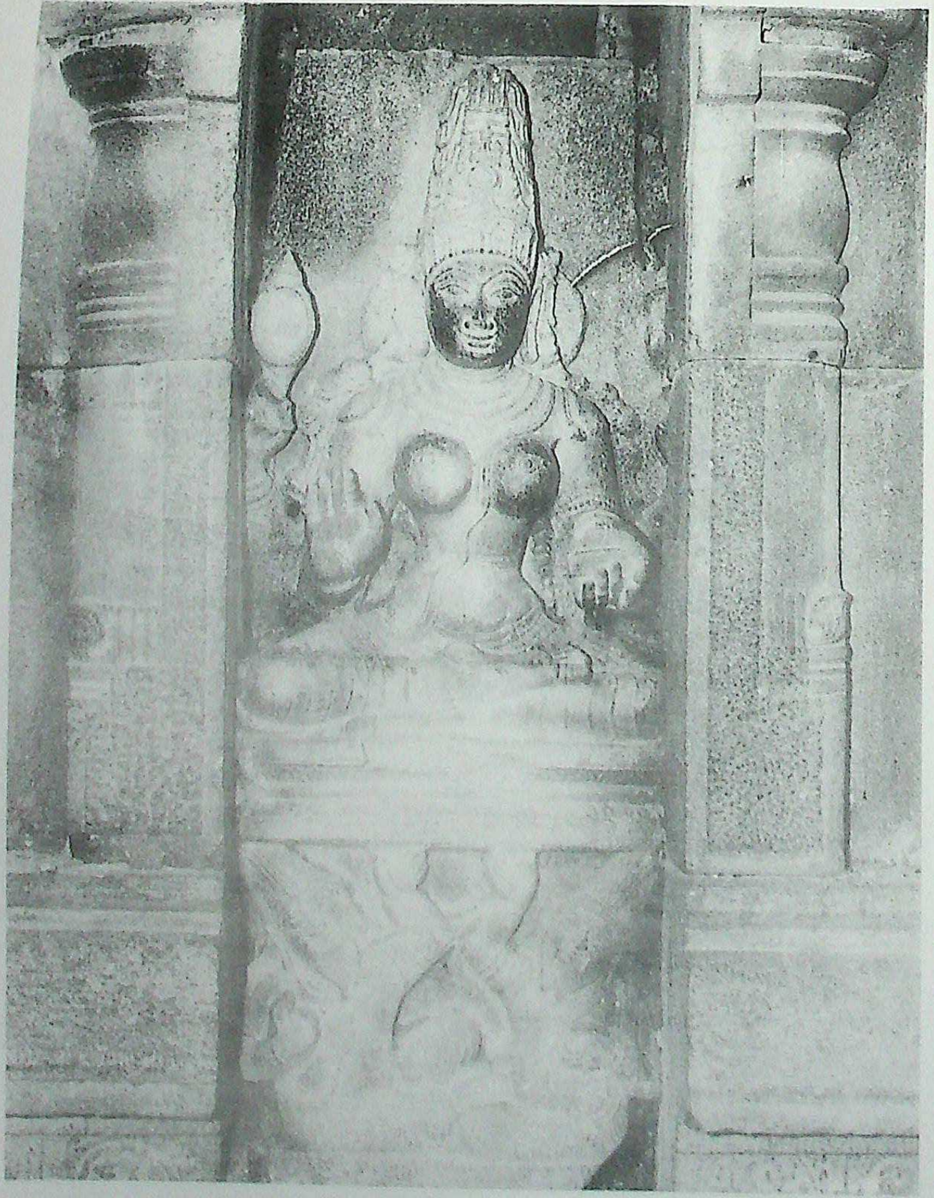


Sridevi 87.

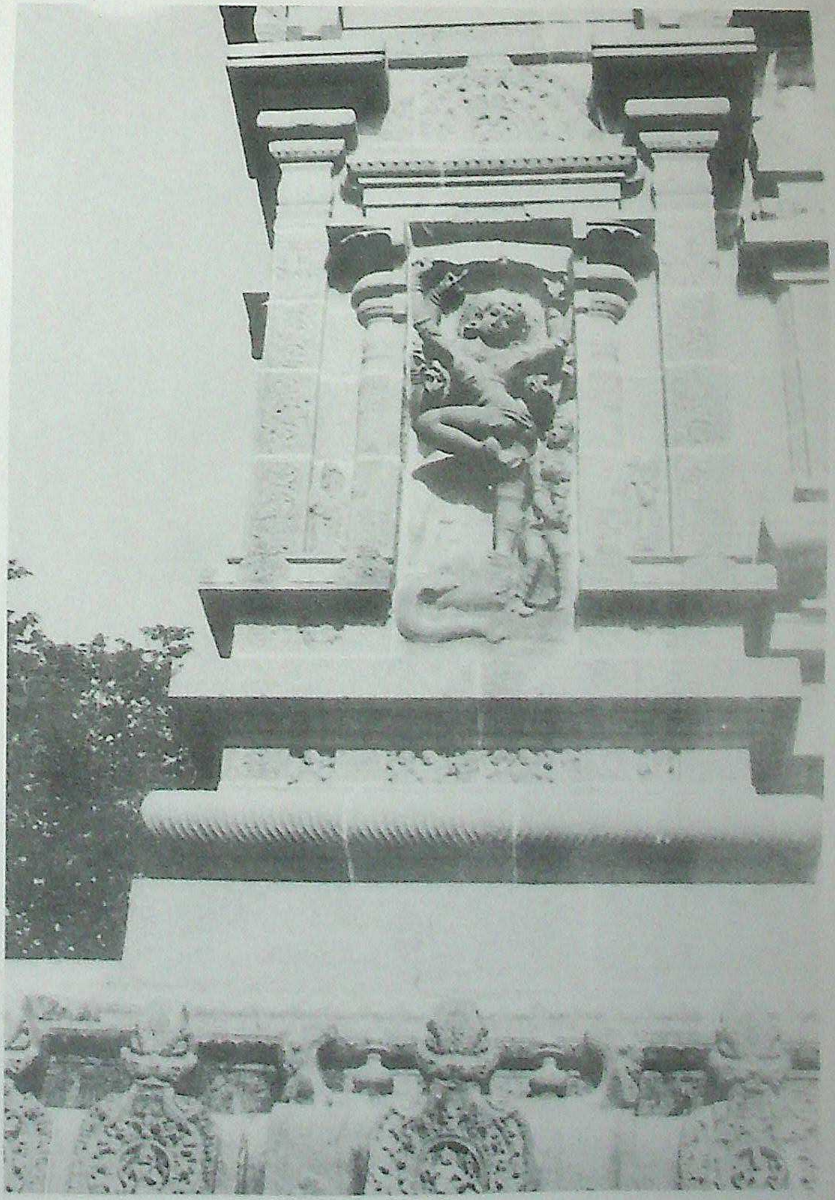
East Gopuram, west face, north wing
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



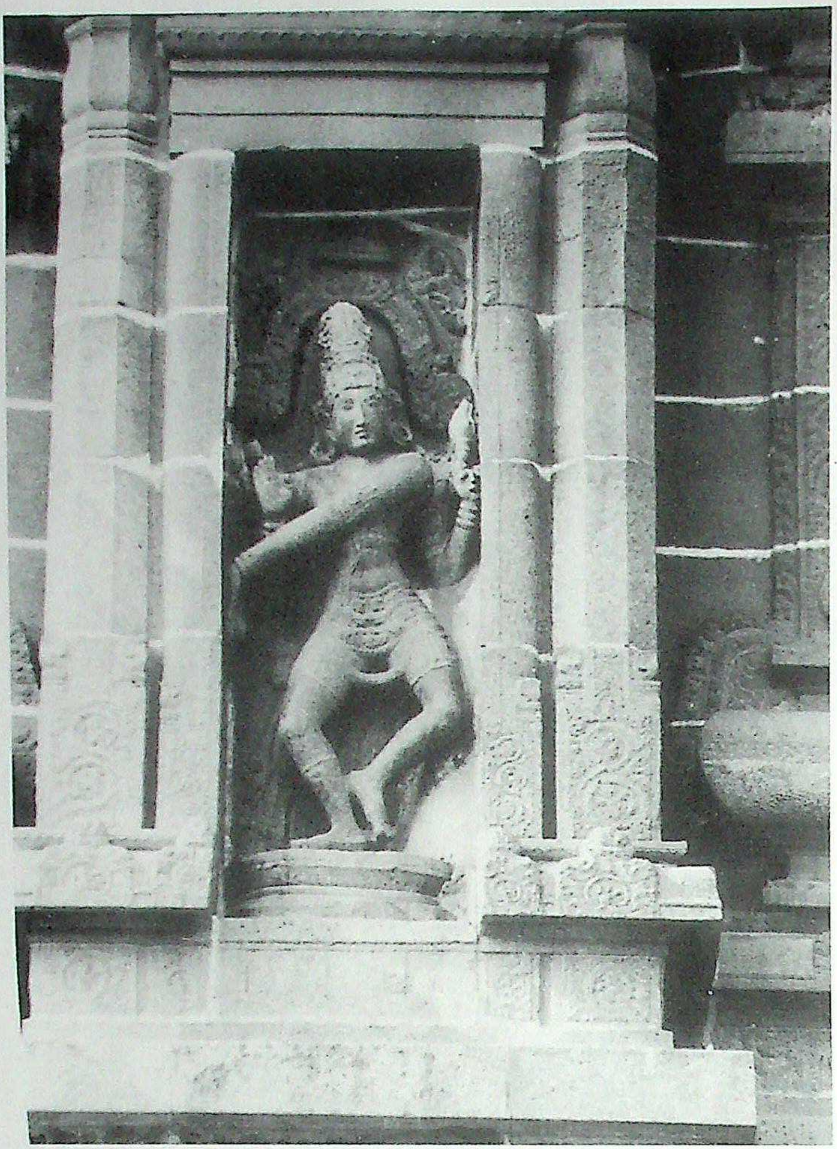
88. Tripurasundari : East Gopura, west face, north wing, lower tier (Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



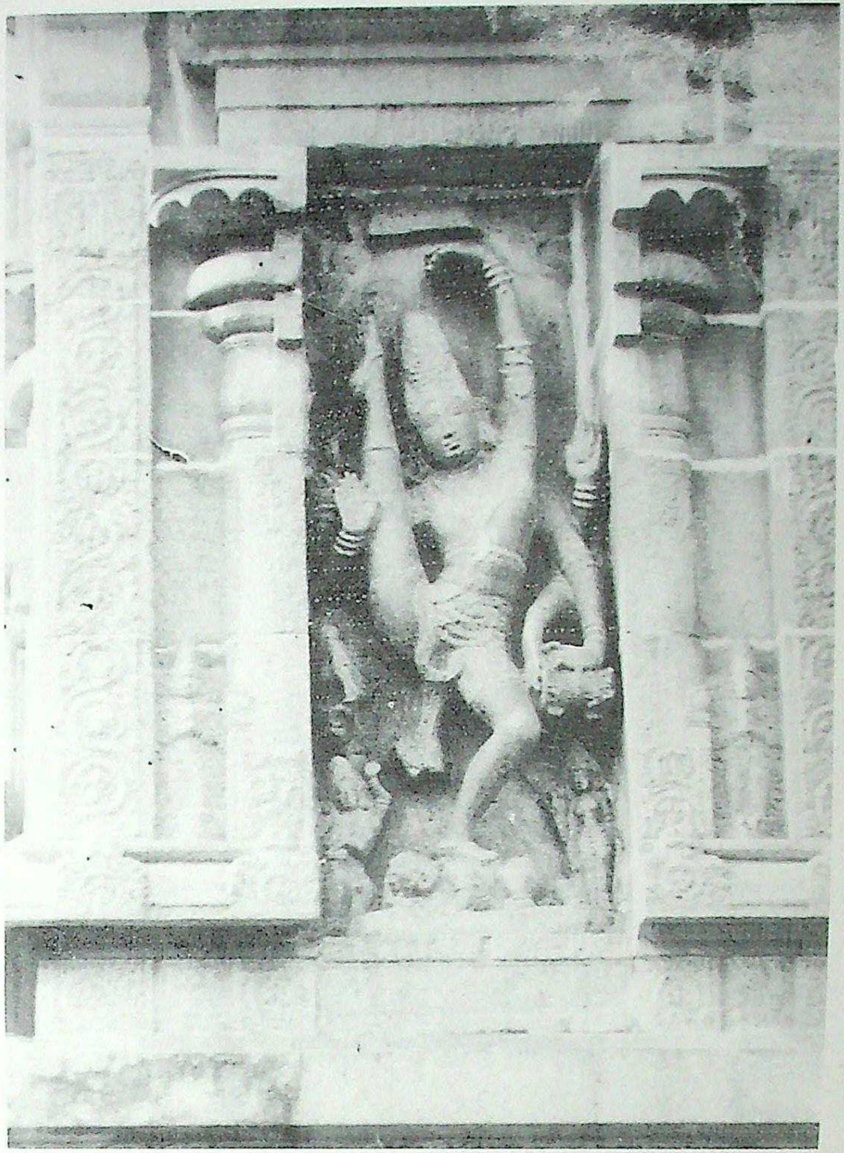
89. Sarasvati : East Gopuram, lower tier
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)



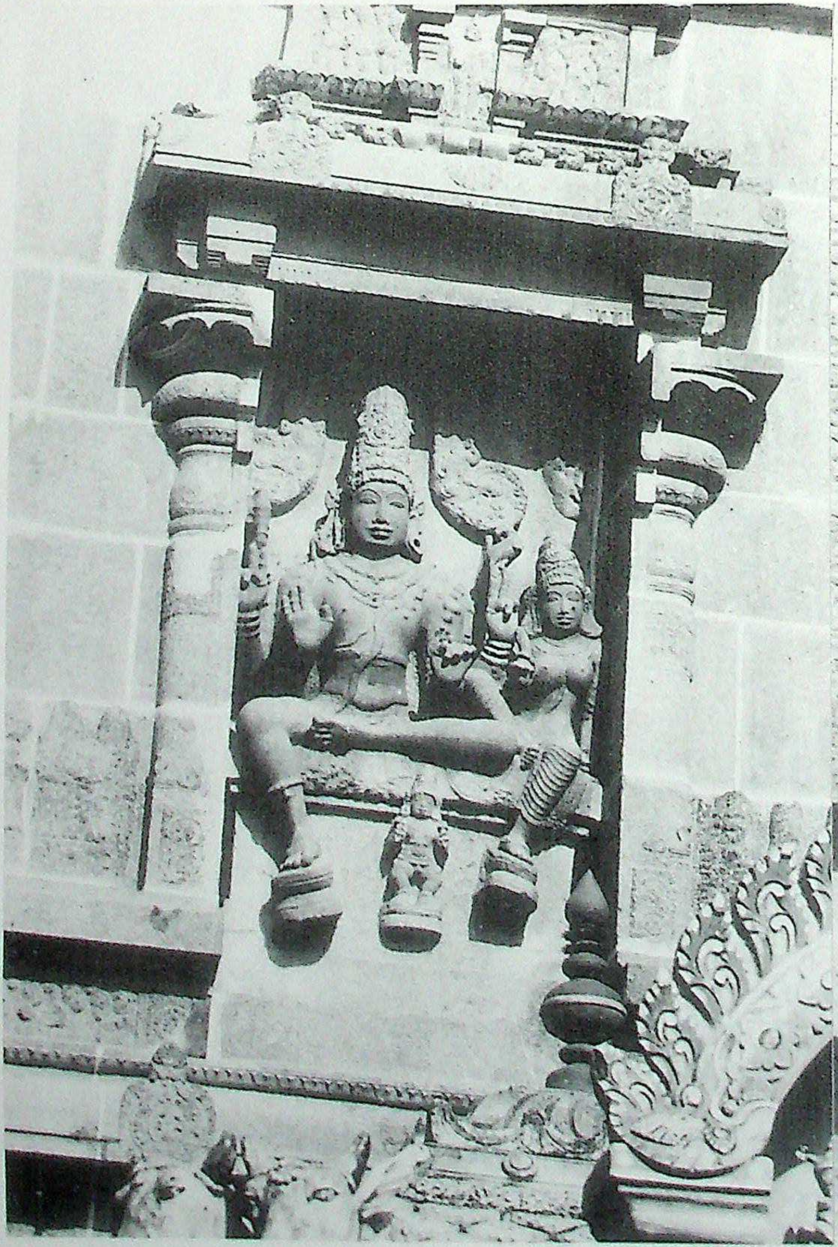
90. East Gopuram, east face, south wing, upper tier, mouldings and entablature
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



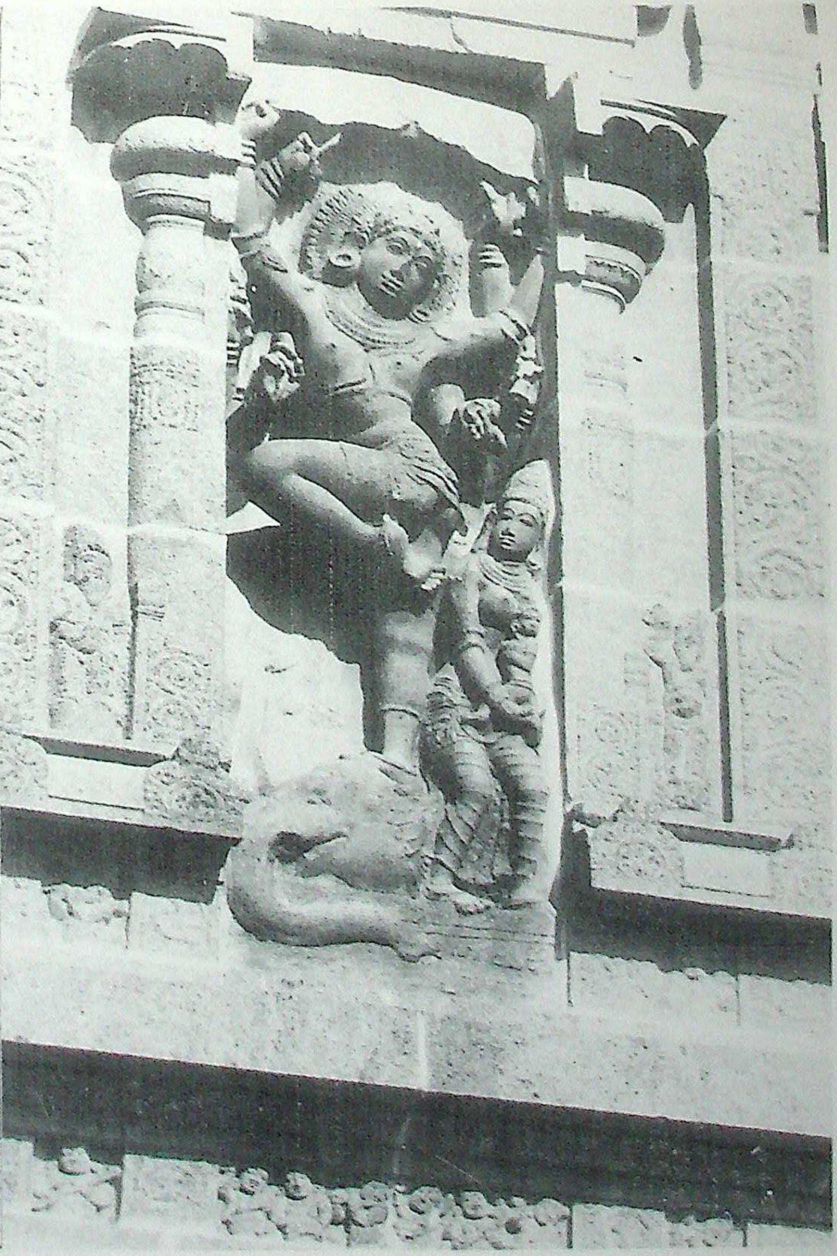
91. Siva (in Catura dancing pose) : East Gopuram, north face, east half, upper tier
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



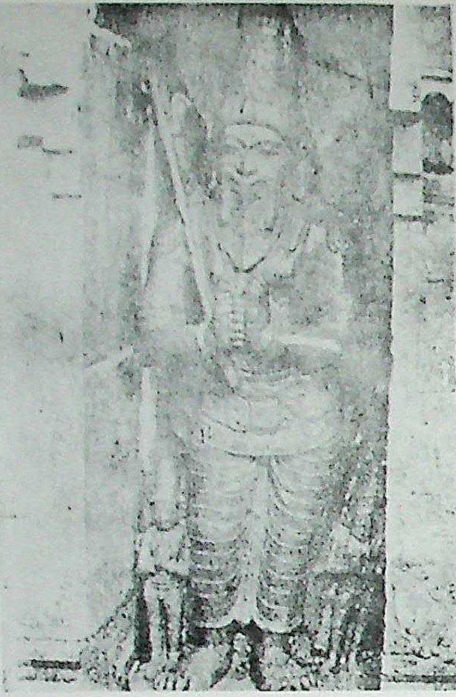
East Gopuram, north face, east half, upper tier : Urdhva Tandavamurti 92.
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



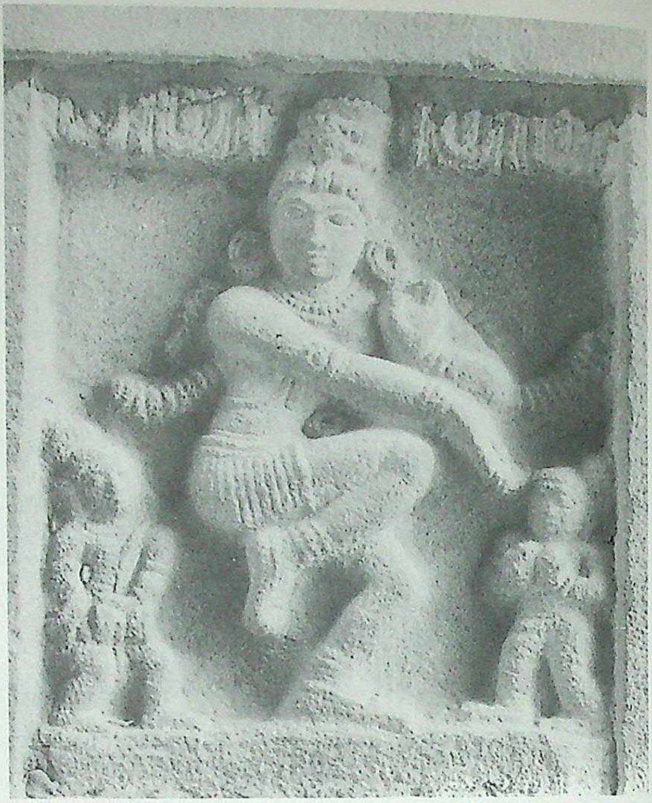
93. Somaskanda : East Gopuram, east face, south wing, upper tier
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



East Gopuram, east face, south wing, upper tier : Gajasamharamurti 94.
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

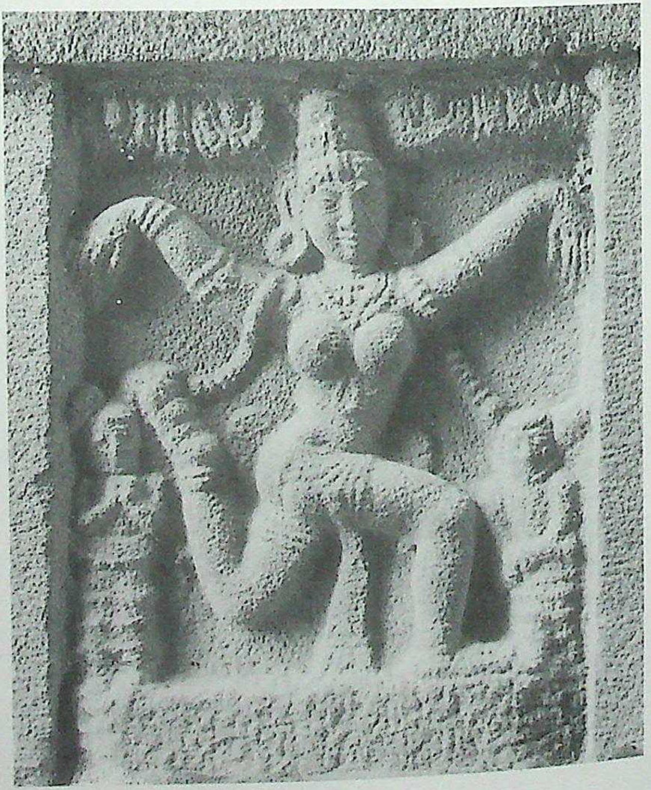


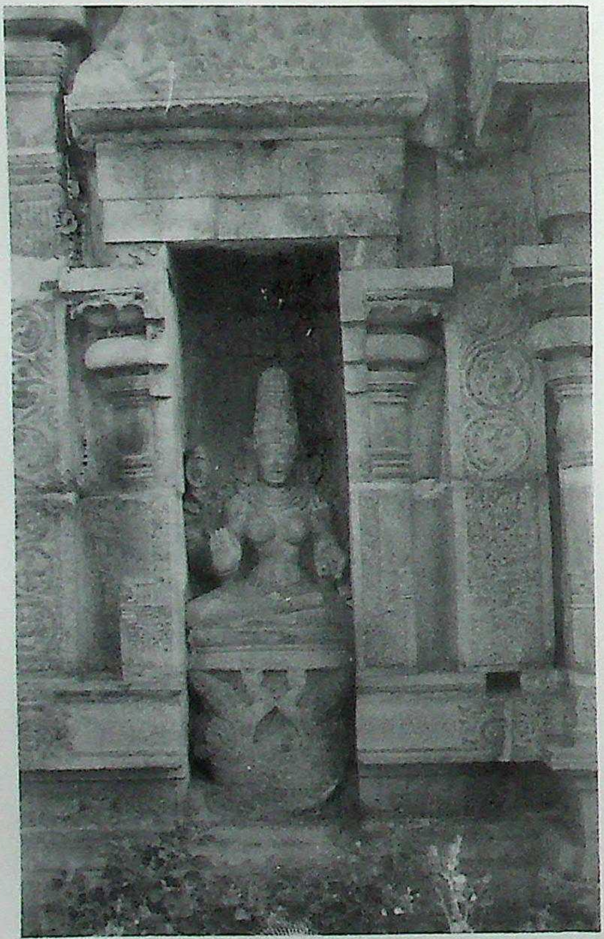
95. East Gopuram, south face, : Vyaghrapada
(Courtesy : V.G. Ramakrishna Aiyar)



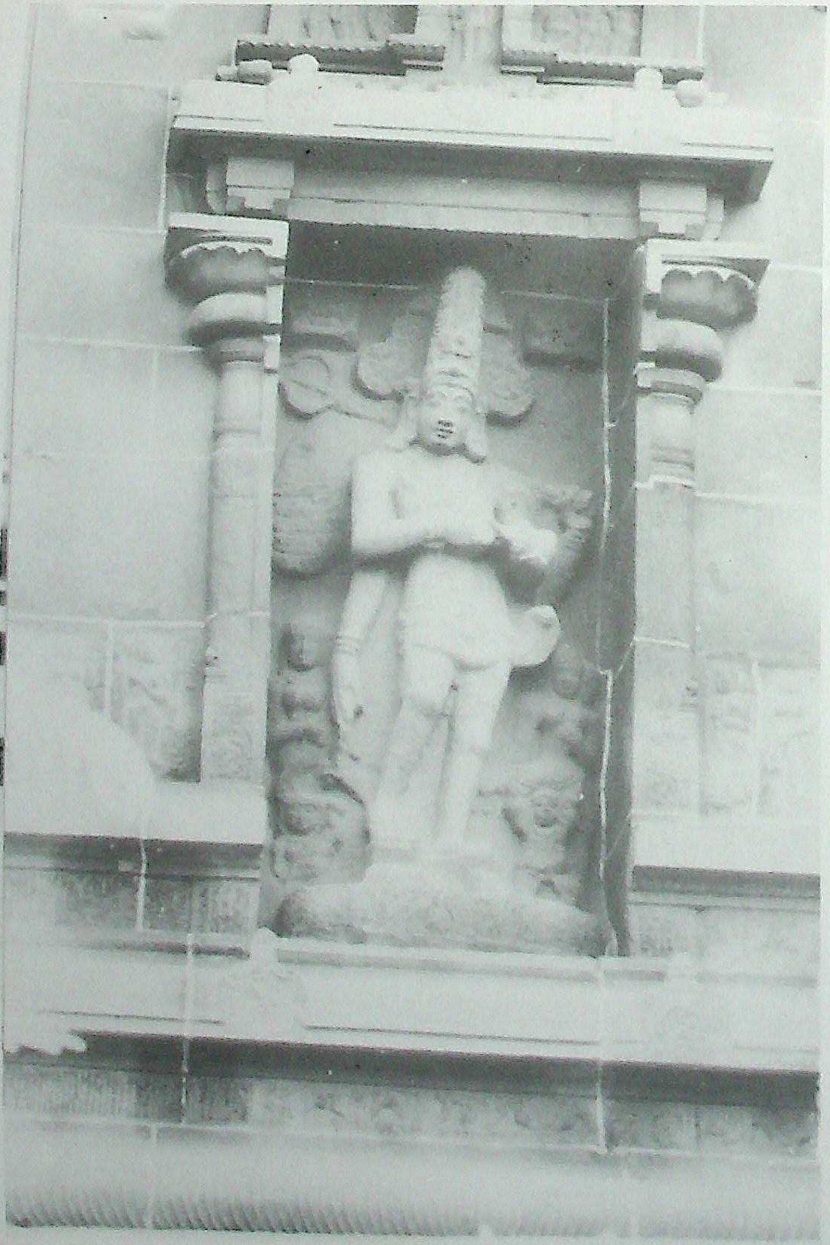
97. A Bharatanatya karana panel in South Gopuram in passageway
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)

98. A Bharatanatya karana panel in South Gopuram in passageway
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)

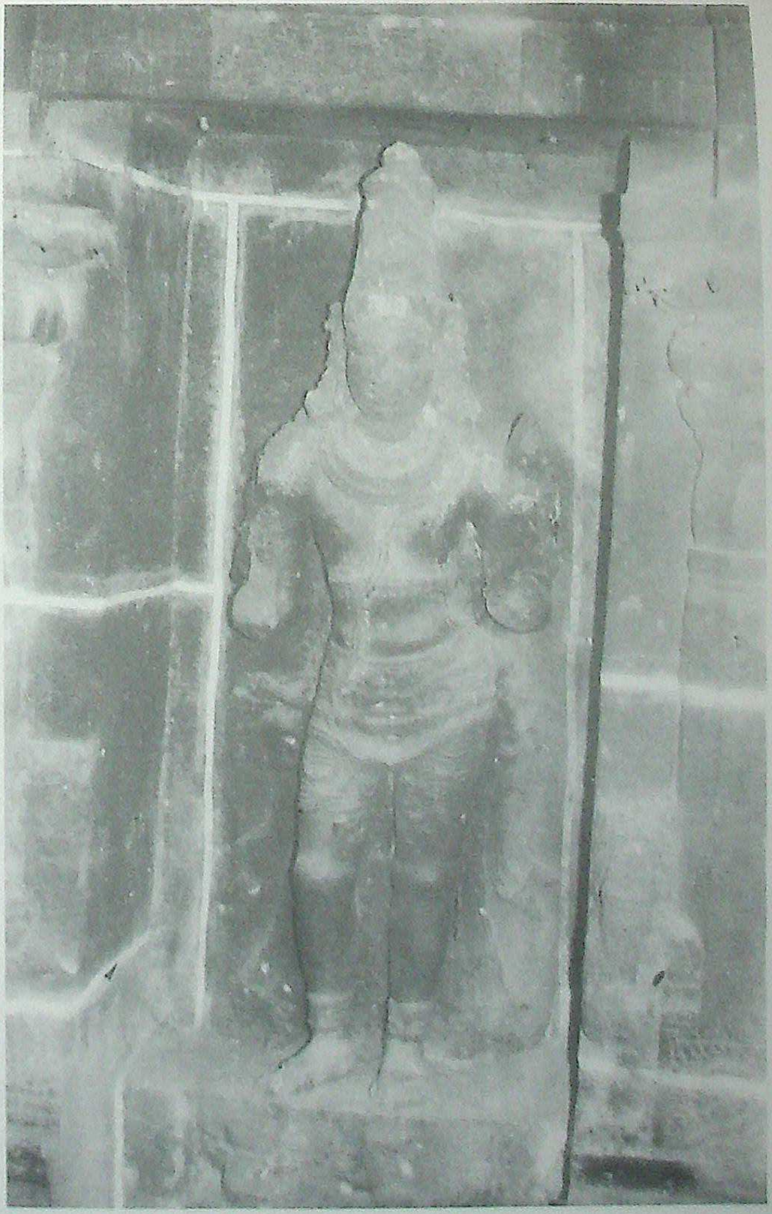




96. South Gopuram : Sarasvati
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

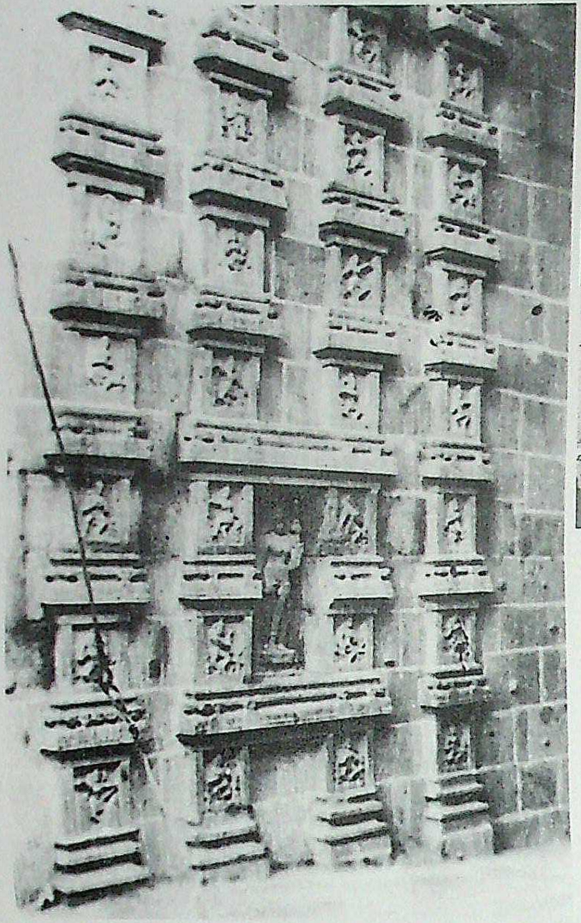


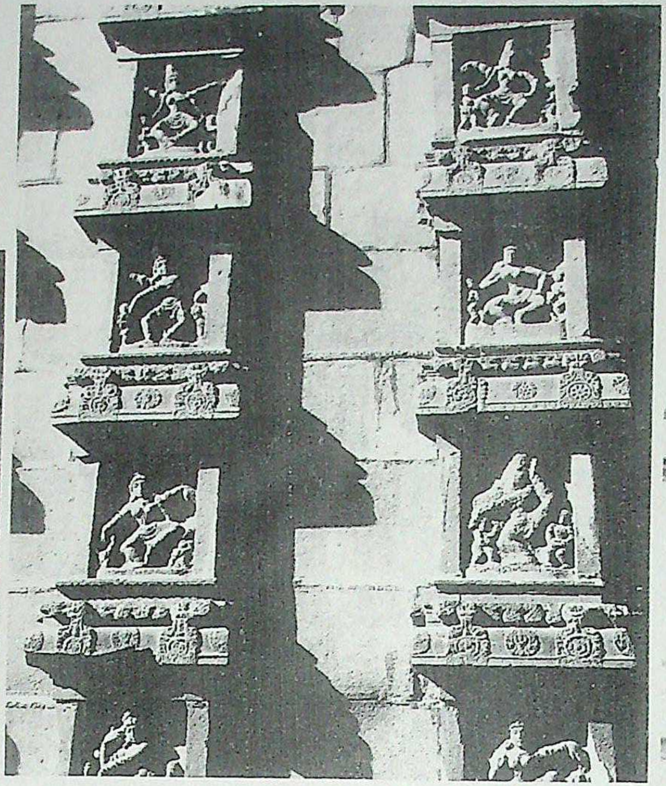
99. Kankalamurti : South Gopuram, north face, east wing, upper tier
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



South Gopuram : (a Graha) 100.
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

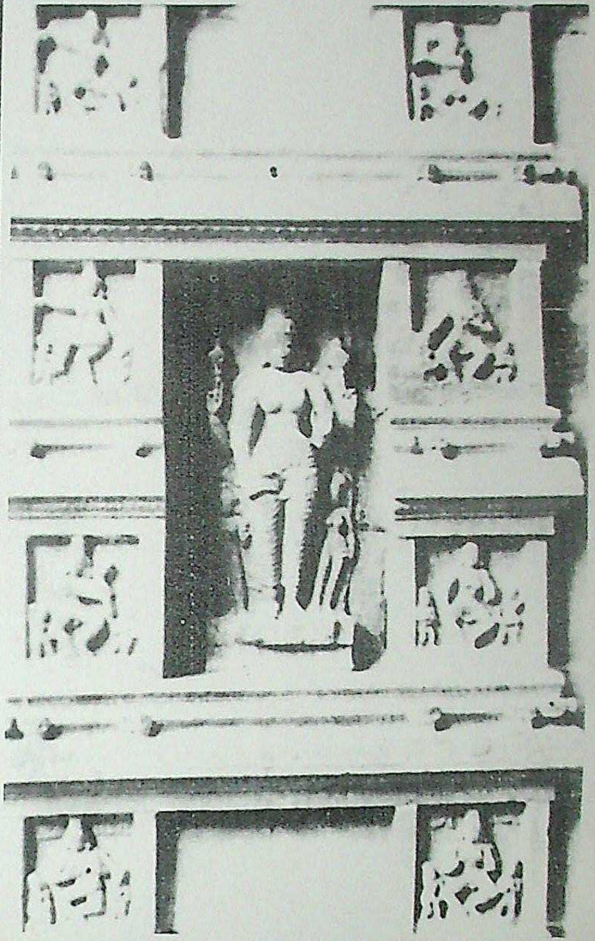
101. North Gopuram, passageway, west face, north wing, Durga in the central niche
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)





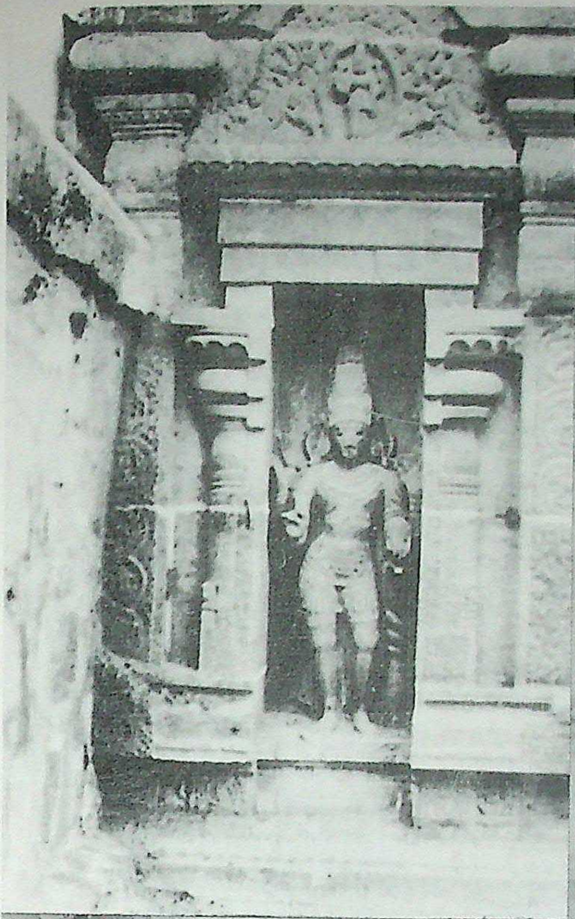
102. Close-up of Bharatanatya karanas
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)

103. North Gopuram, passageway, west face, north wing : Bharatanatya karanas, with Durga in the central niche
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)

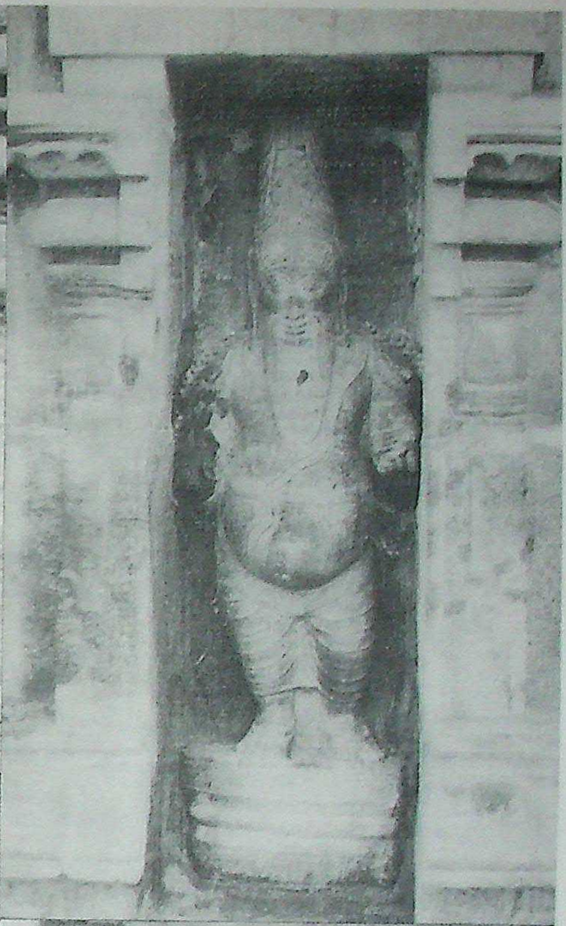


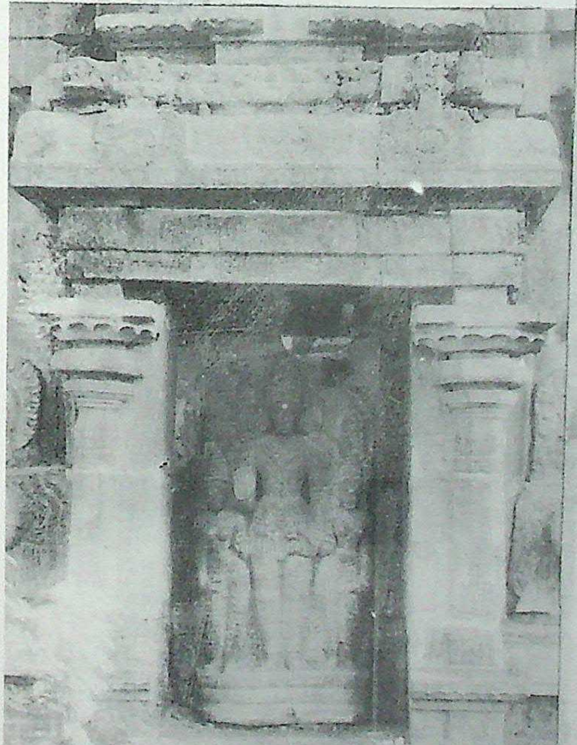
North Gopuram

104. Dvarapala

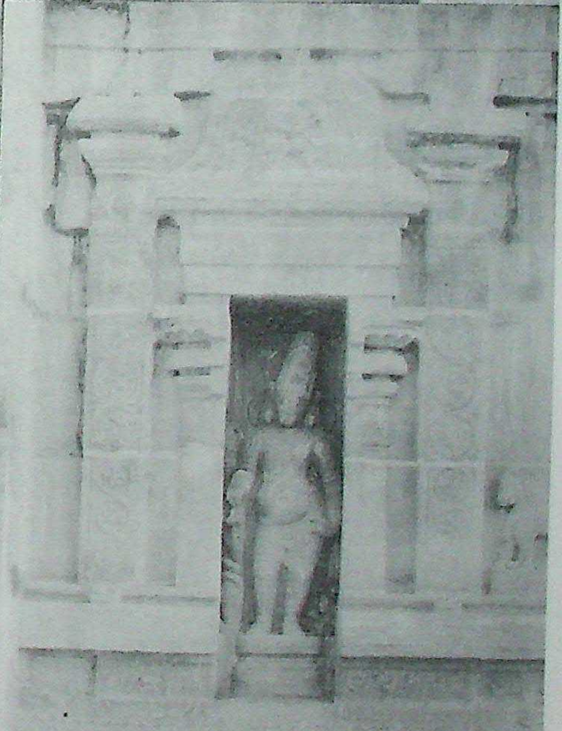


Visvakarma 105.



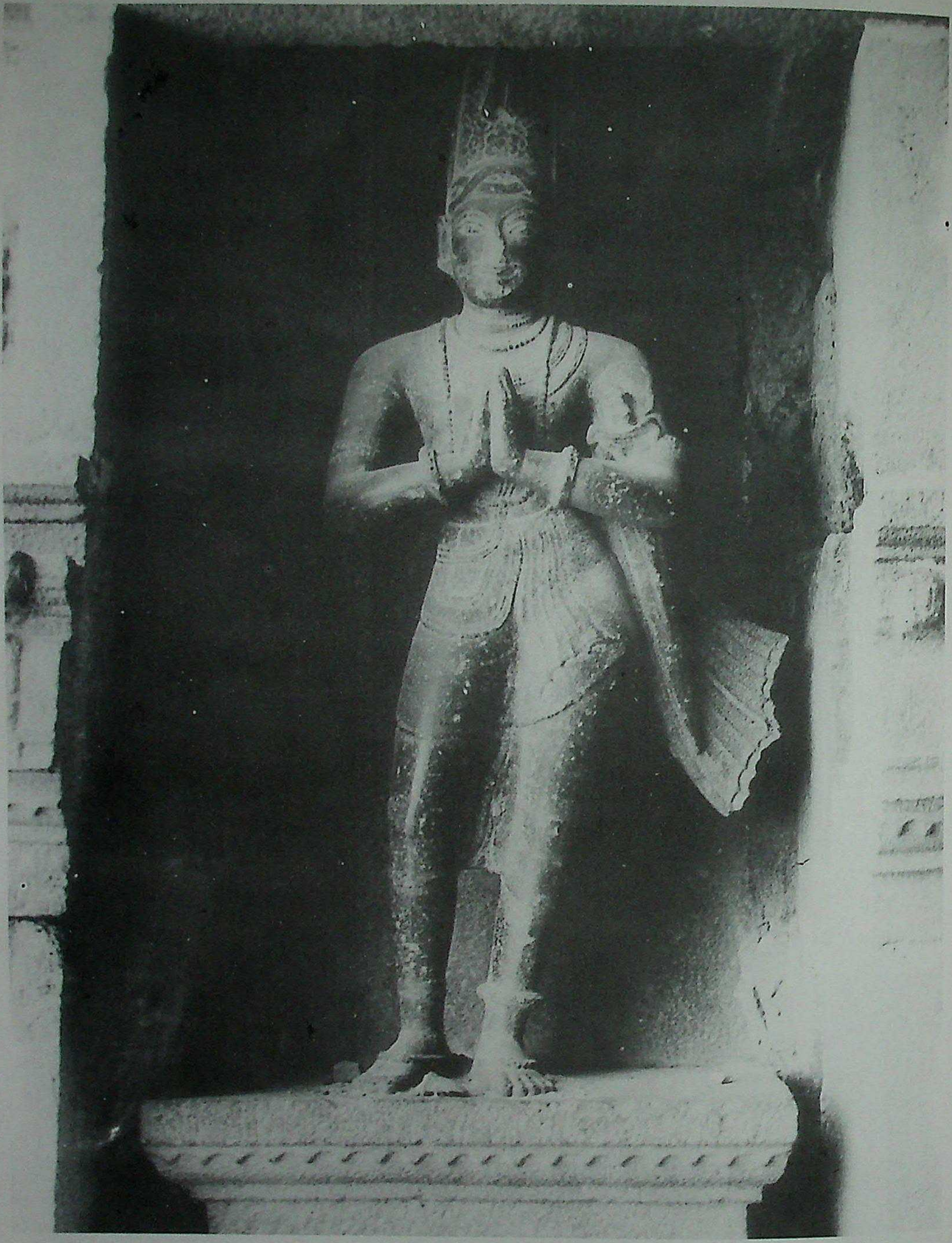


106. Subrahmanya

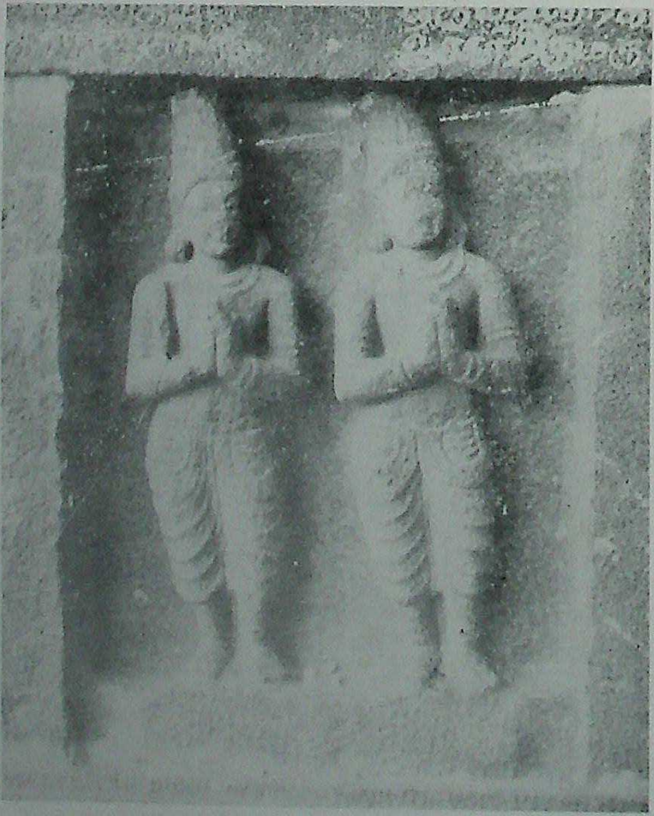


Dvarapala 107.

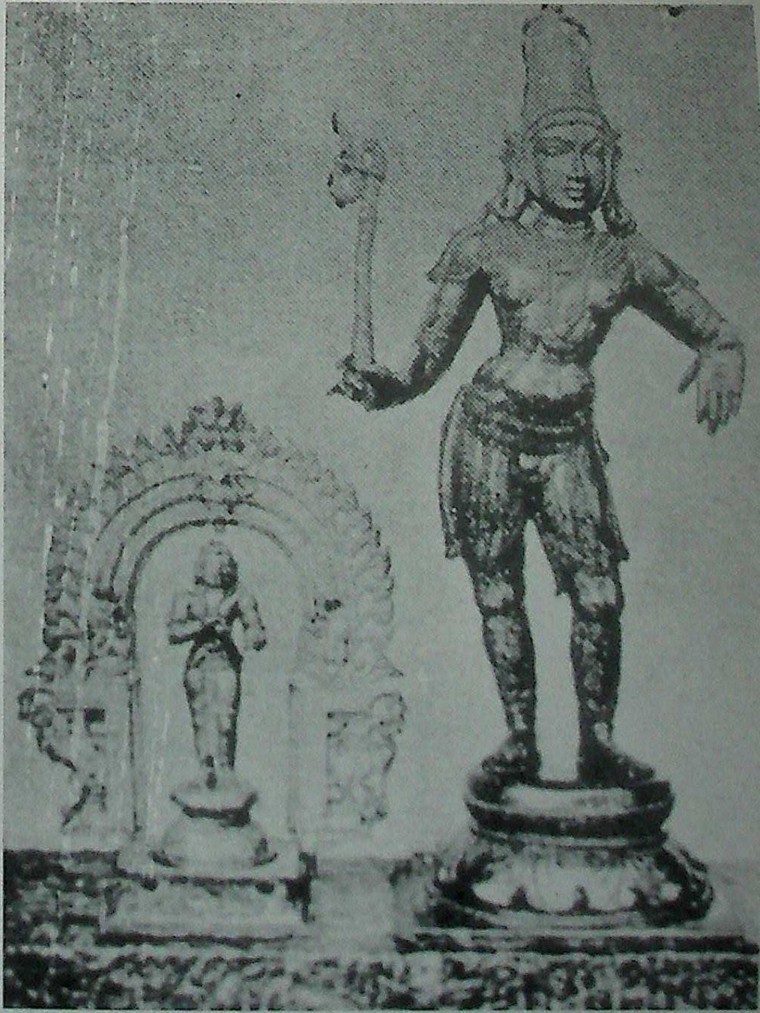
(Courtesy : Dr. B. Venkataraman)



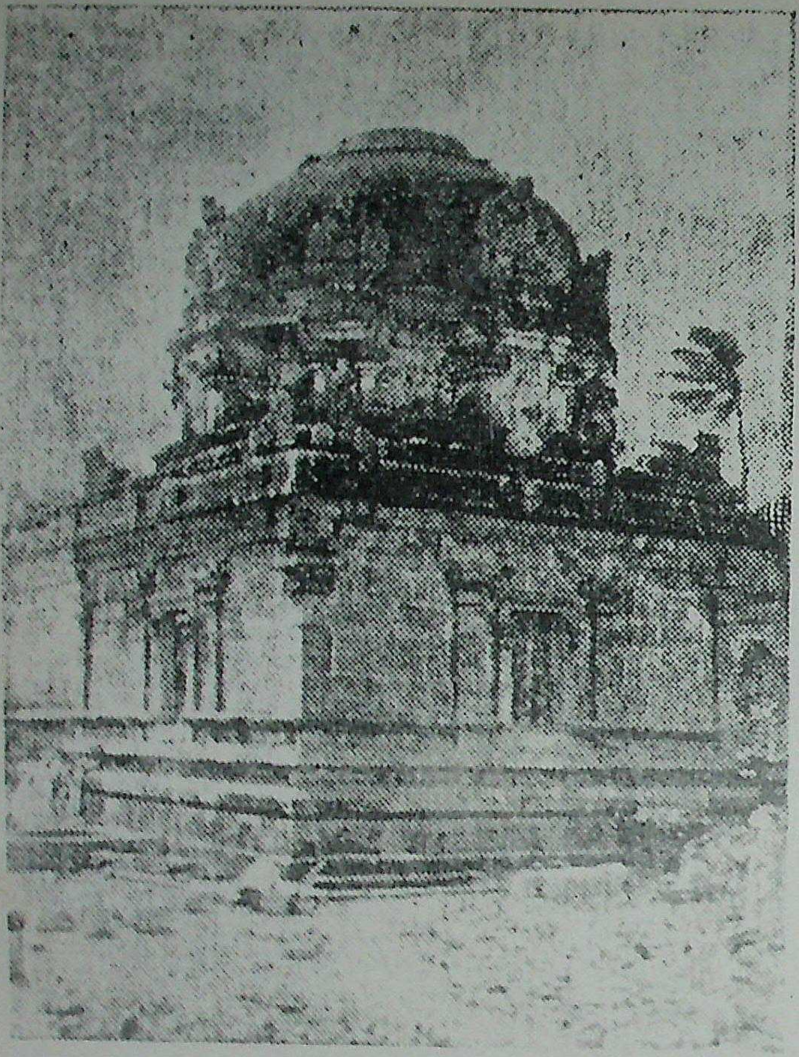
108. Portrait sculpture of Krishna Deva Raya (North Gopuram, west face, south wing of flanking wall of passageway)
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)



109. Sthapatis : North Gopuram
(Courtesy : S.R. Balasubrahmanyam)

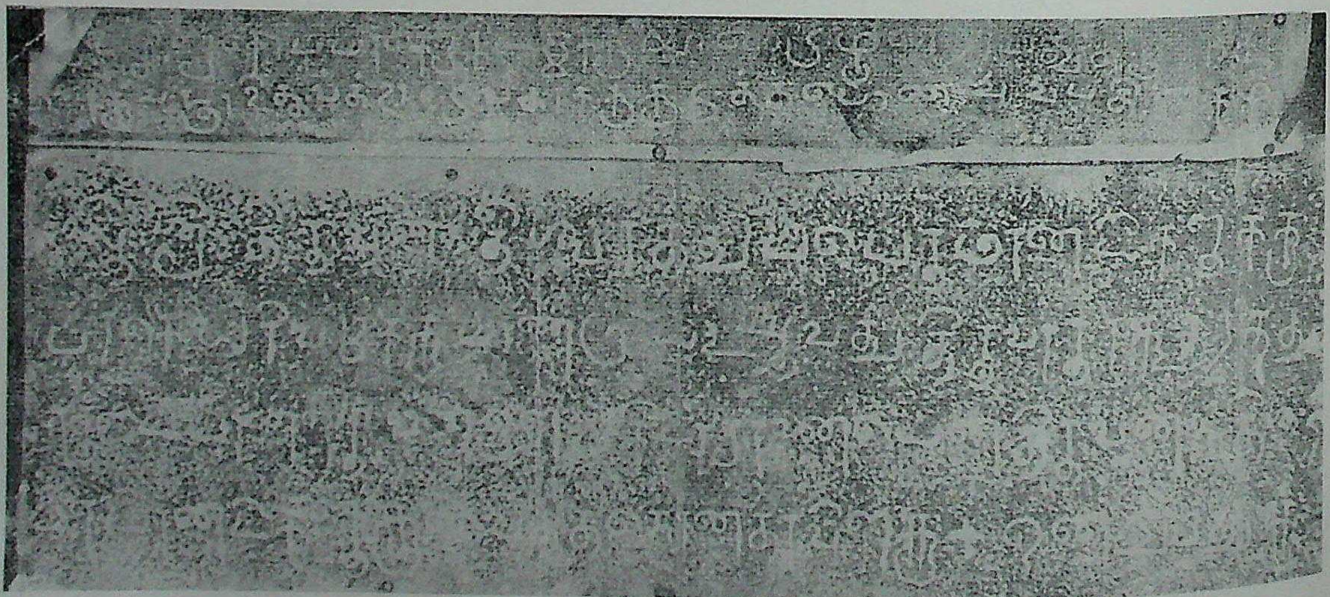


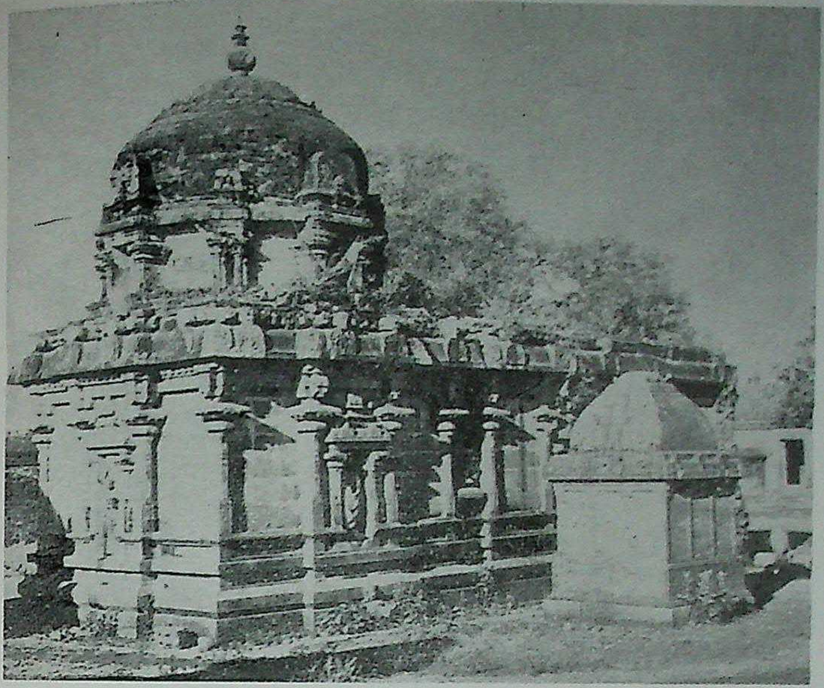
110. Nambi Andar Nambi and Rajaraja I, bronze icons from Tirunaraiyur
(Courtesy : S.R. Balasubrahmanyam)



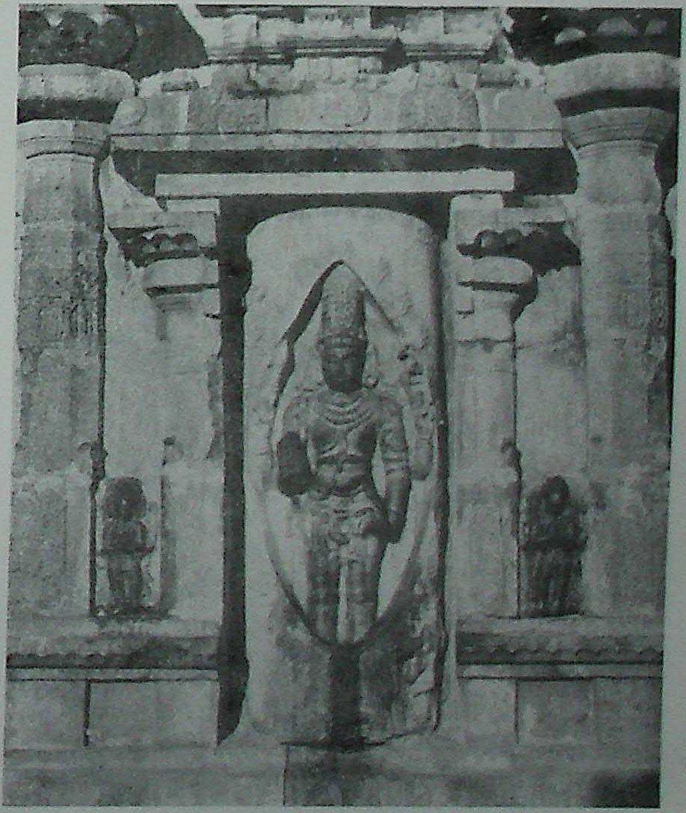
111. Temple of Sri Anantisvarattup-perumanadigal, Cidambaram
(Courtesy : S.R. Balasubrahmanyam)

112. Two (I & IV) of the oldest inscriptions of Cidambaram discovered by S.R. Balasubrahmanyam in the Anantisvaran temple, Cidambaram (A.D. 853 and A.D. 920)
(Courtesy : S.R. Balasubrahmanyam)

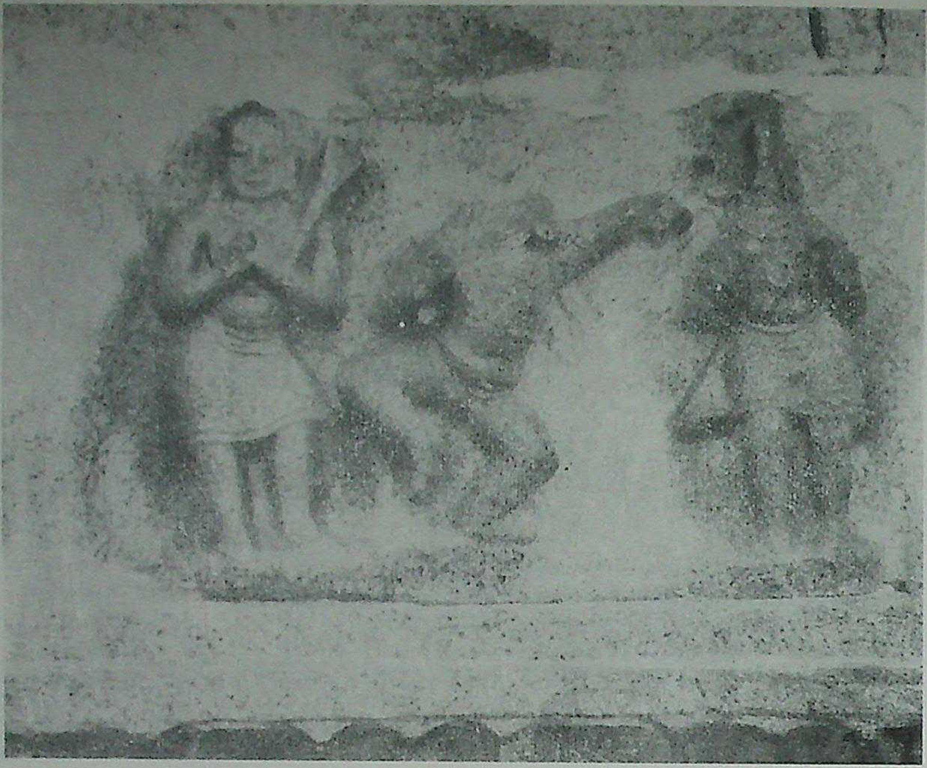




113. Brahmapurisvarar temple,
Singarattoppu
(Courtesy : S.R. Balasubrahmanyam)



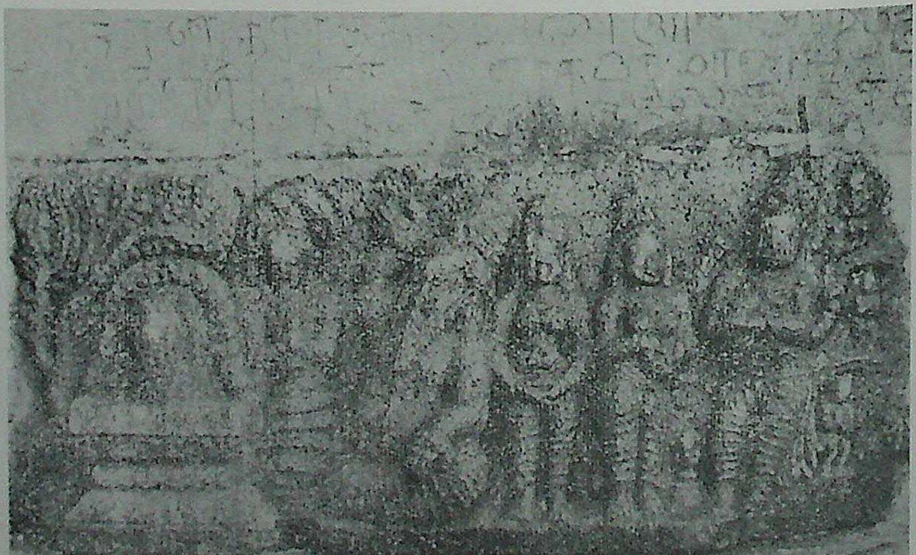
114. Lingodbhavar, Brahmapurisvarar temple,
Singarattoppu
(Courtesy : S.R. Balasubrahmanyam)

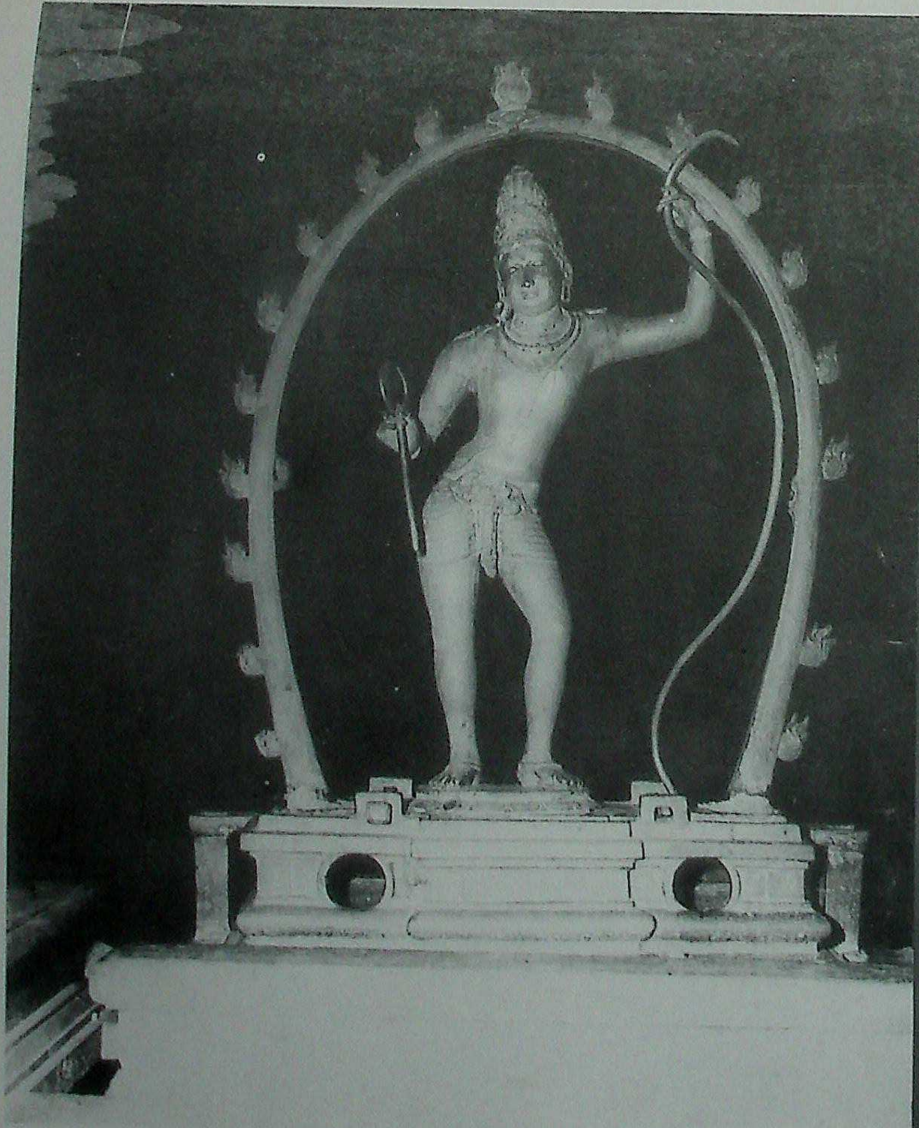


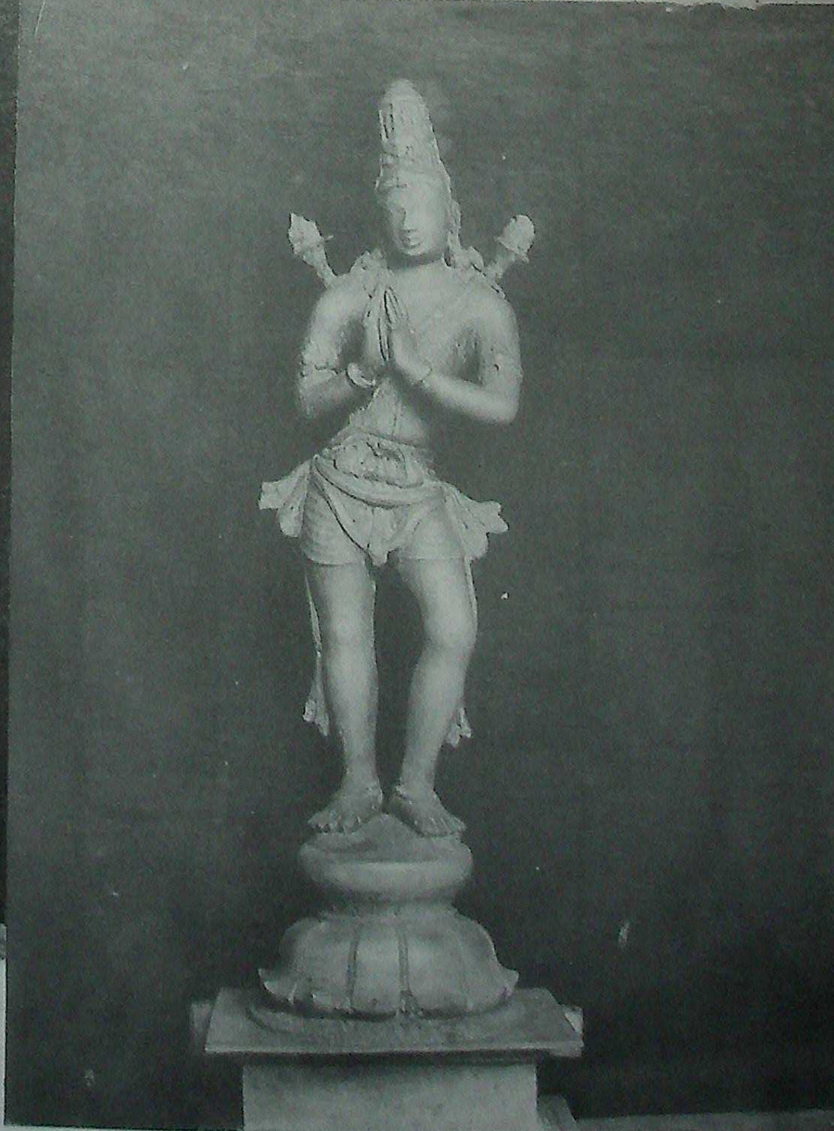
115. Appar, Sambandhar and Sundarar from the Brahmapurisvarar temple, Singarattoppu

(Courtesy : S.R. Balasubrahmanyam)

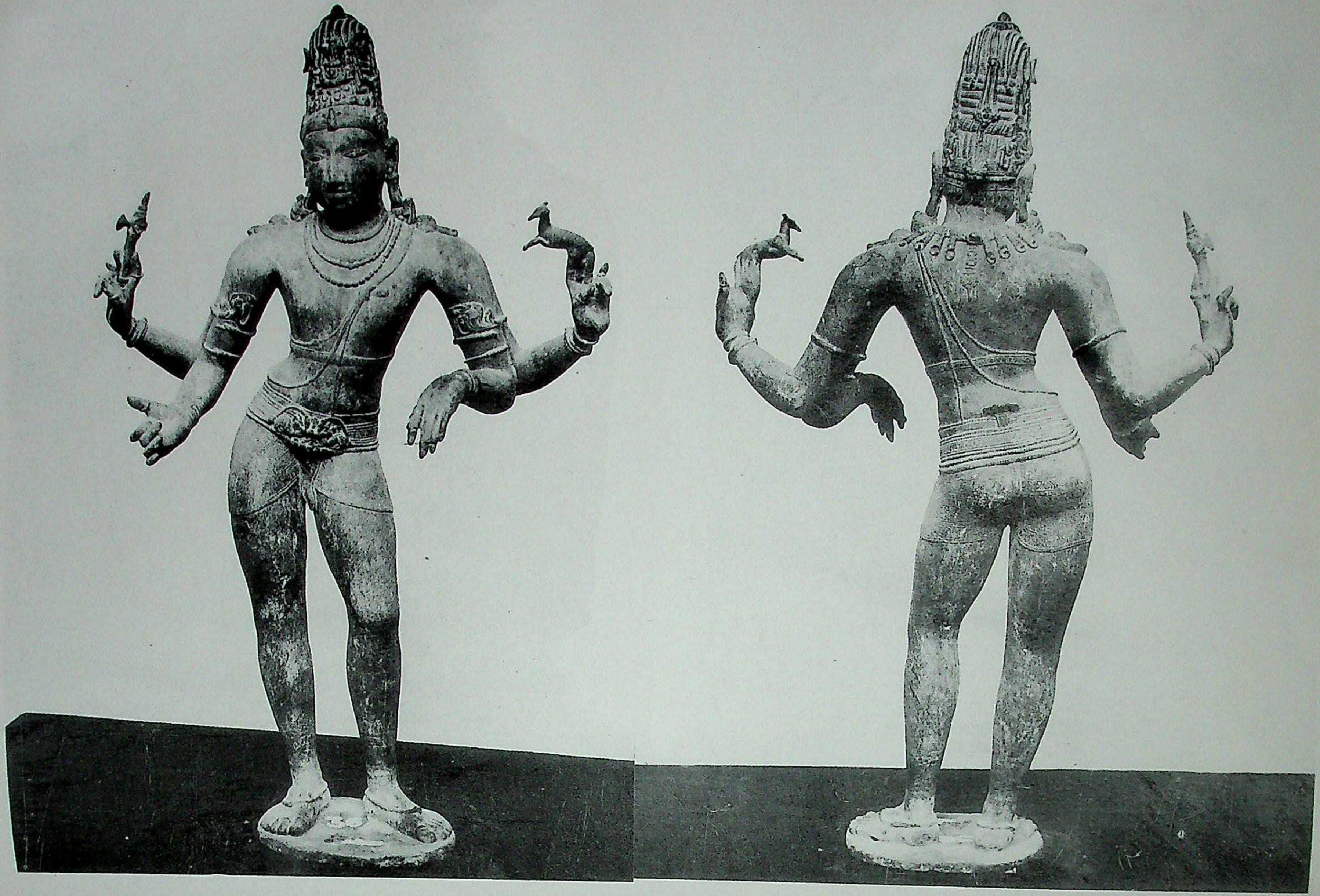
116. Patanjali and other devotees worshipping Siva, Singarattoppu
(Courtesy : S.R. Balasubrahmanyam)





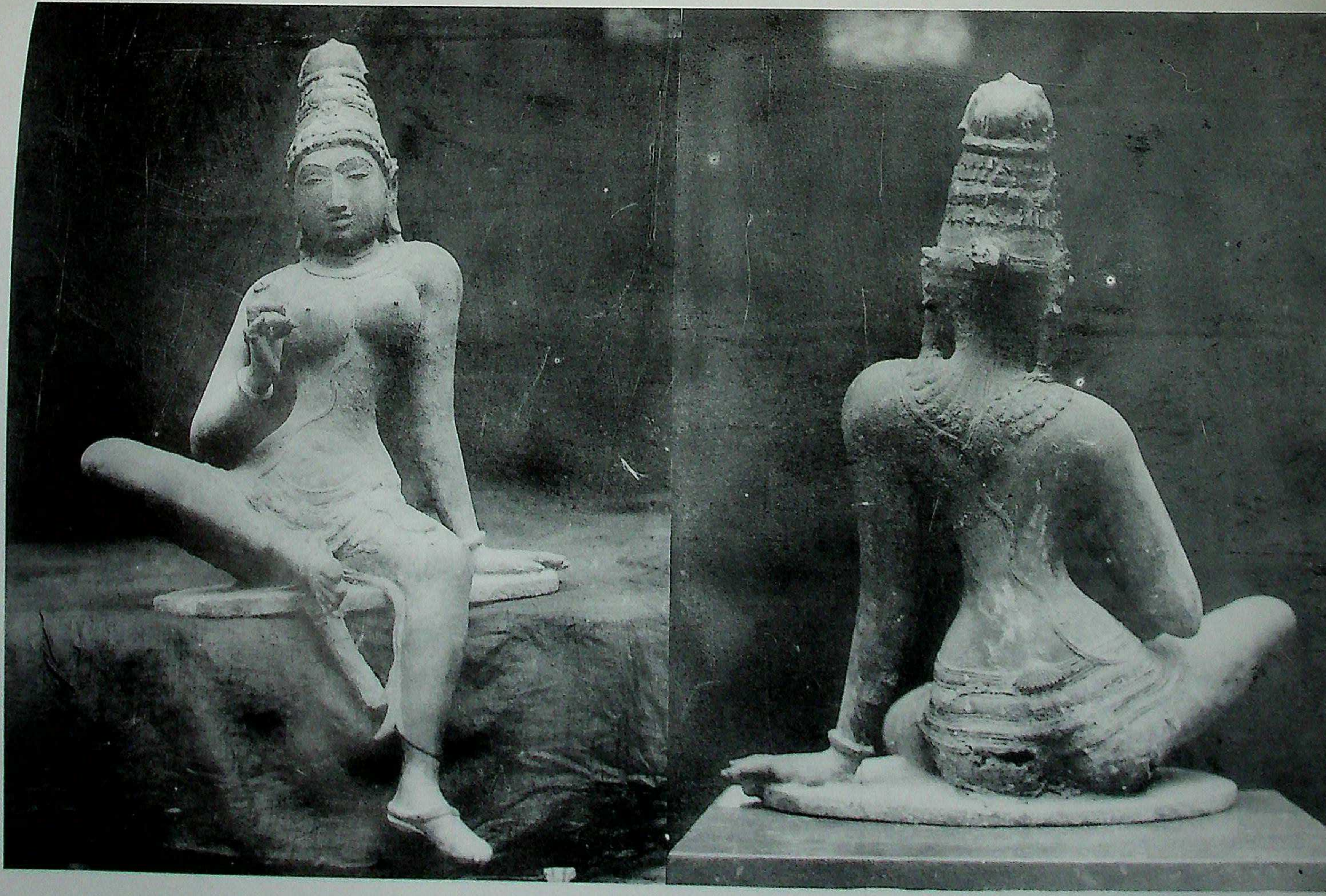


Kirata (bronze) from Tiruvetkalam 117. 118. Arjuna (bronze) from Tiruvetkalam
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)

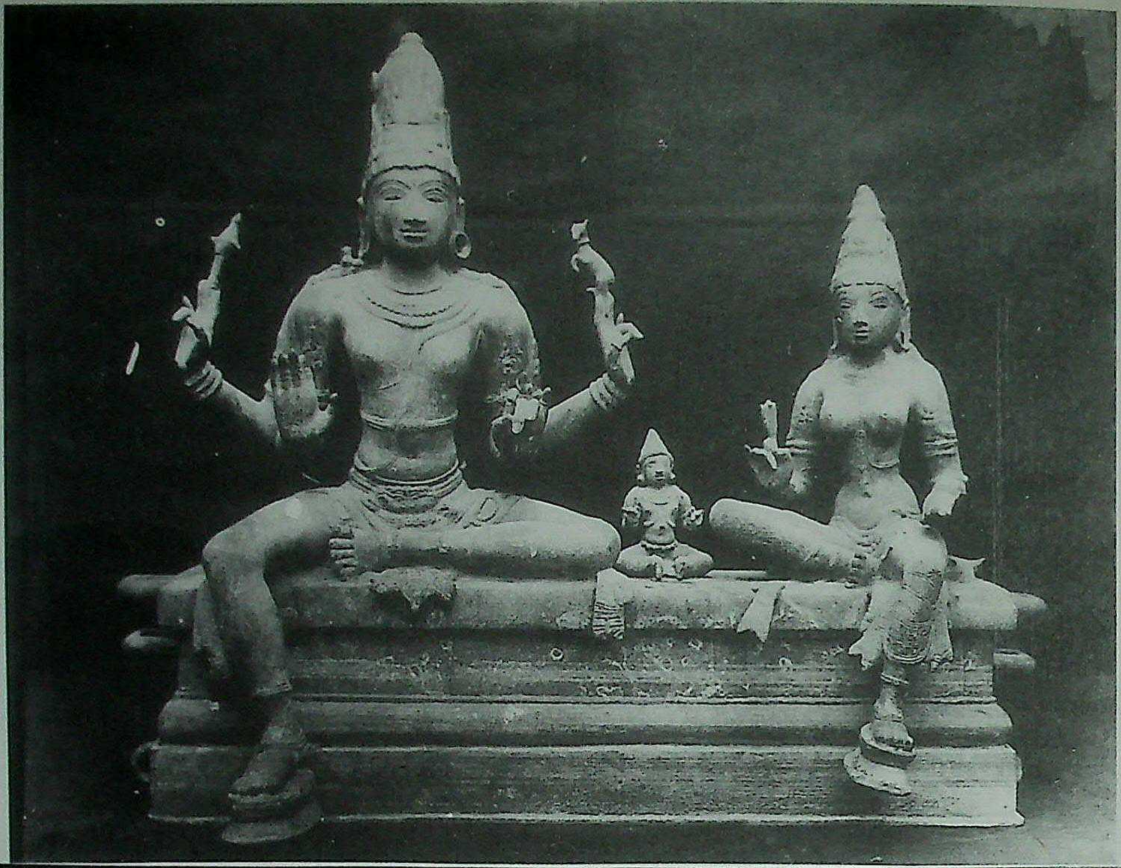


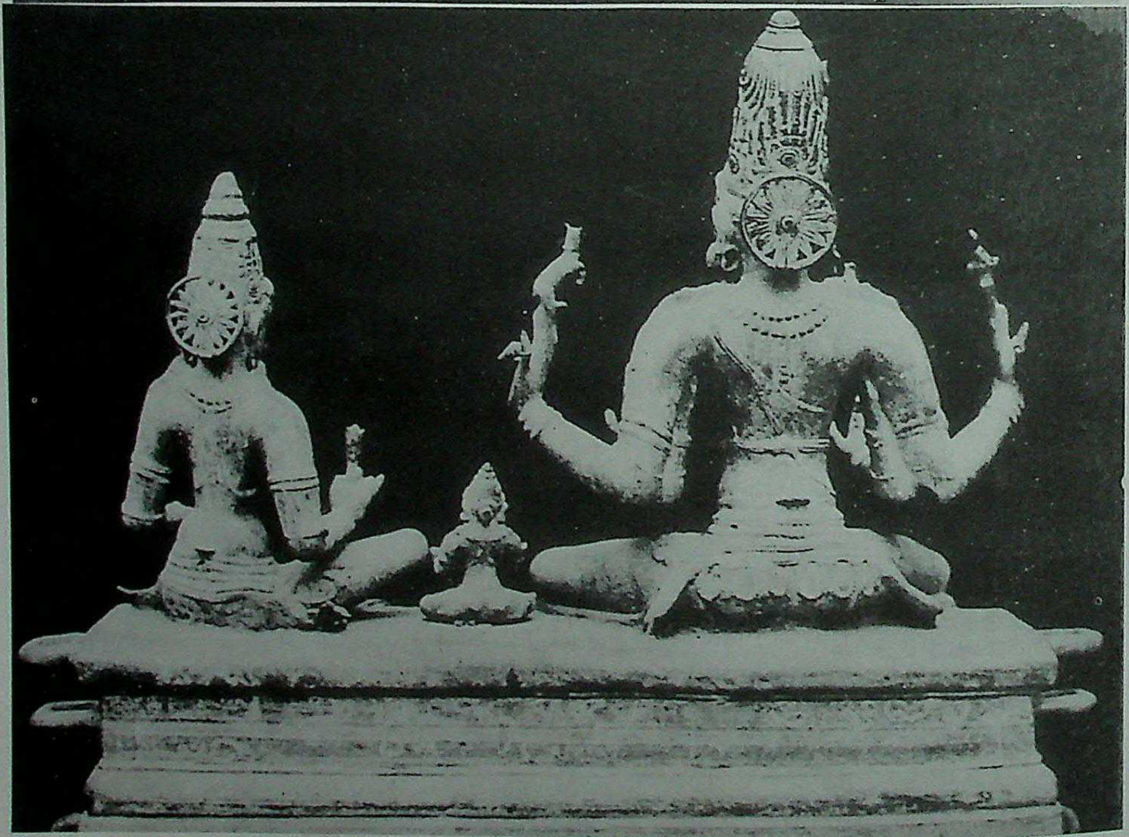
119 & 120 Kalyanasundaramurti (bronze), front and rear view
(Courtesy : Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu)

119 & 120 Kalyanasundaramurti (bronze), front and rear view
(Courtesy : Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu)

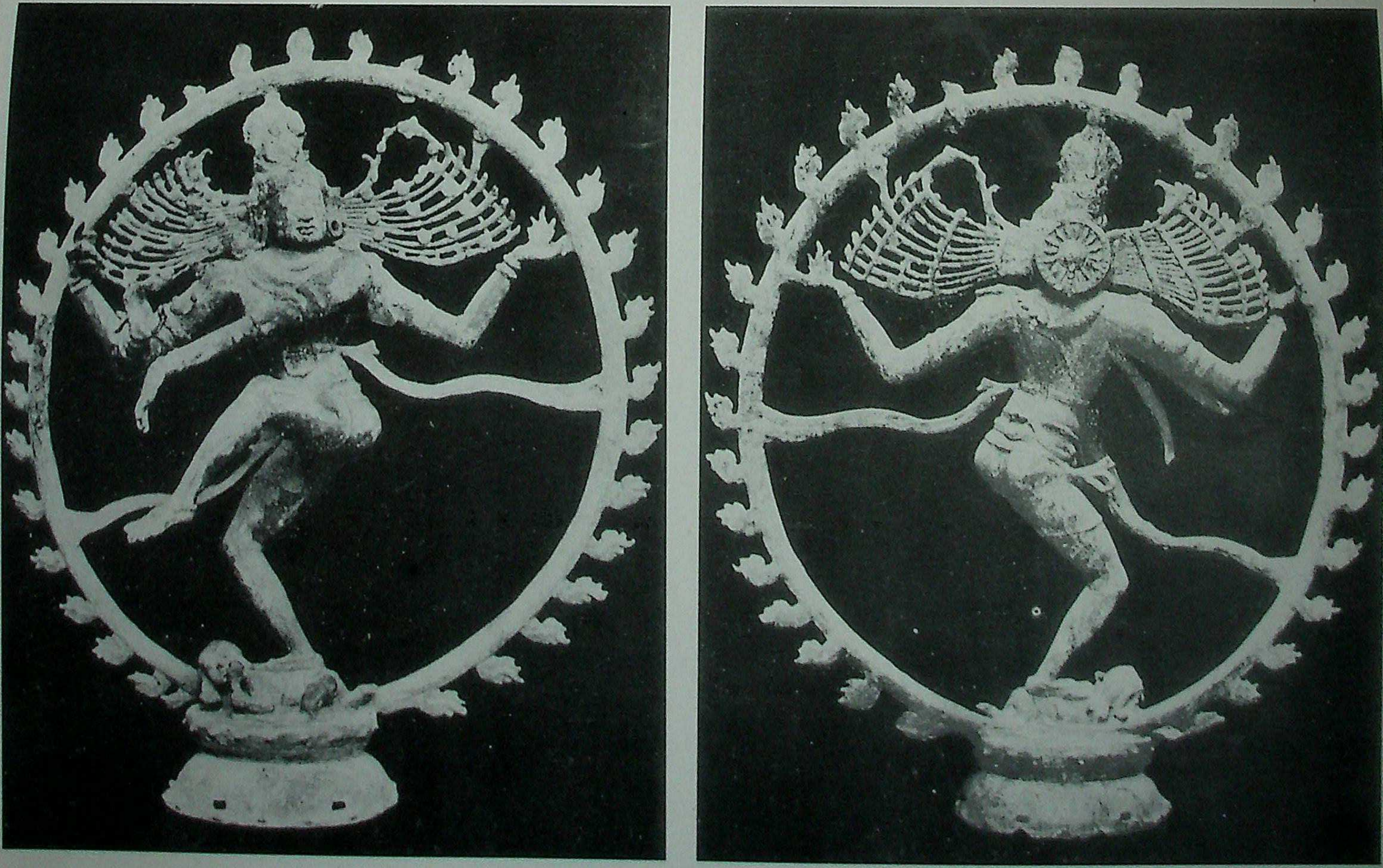


121 & 122 Parvati (bronze), front and rear view
(Courtesy : Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu)

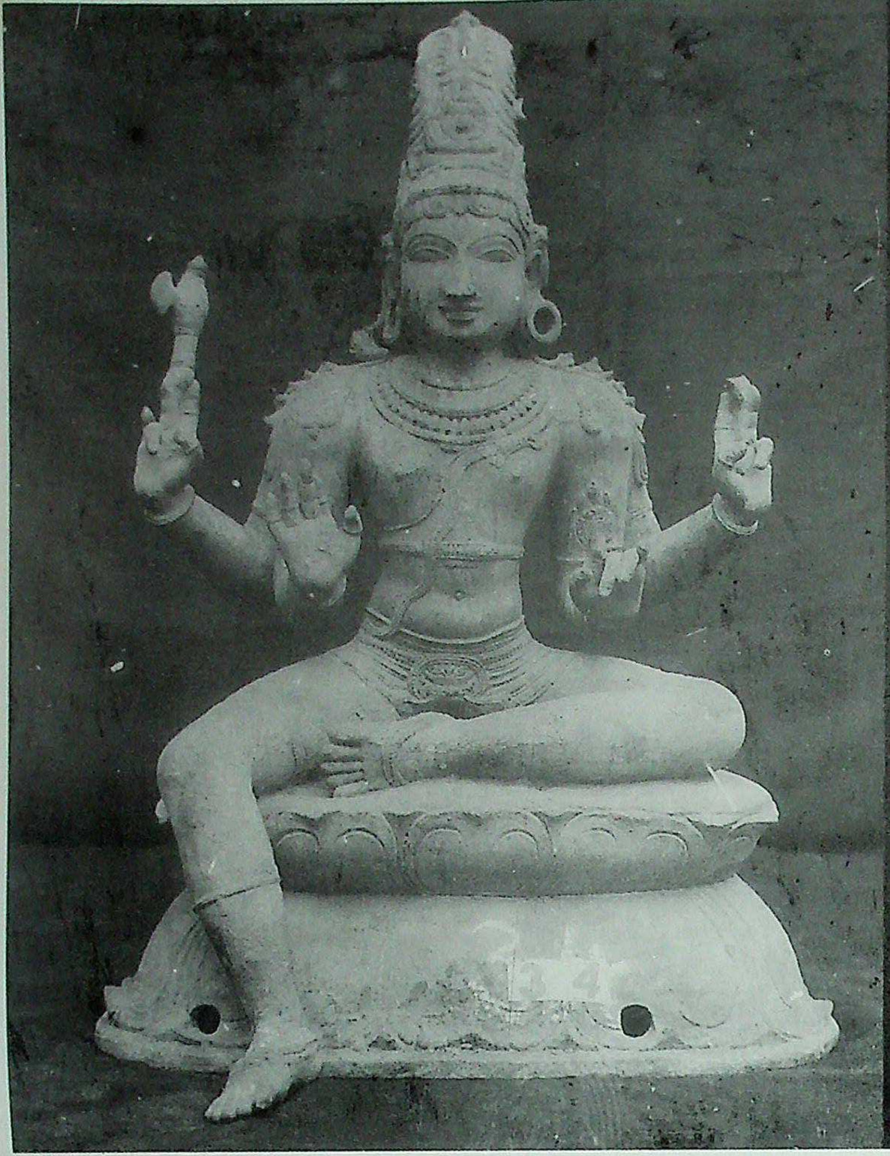


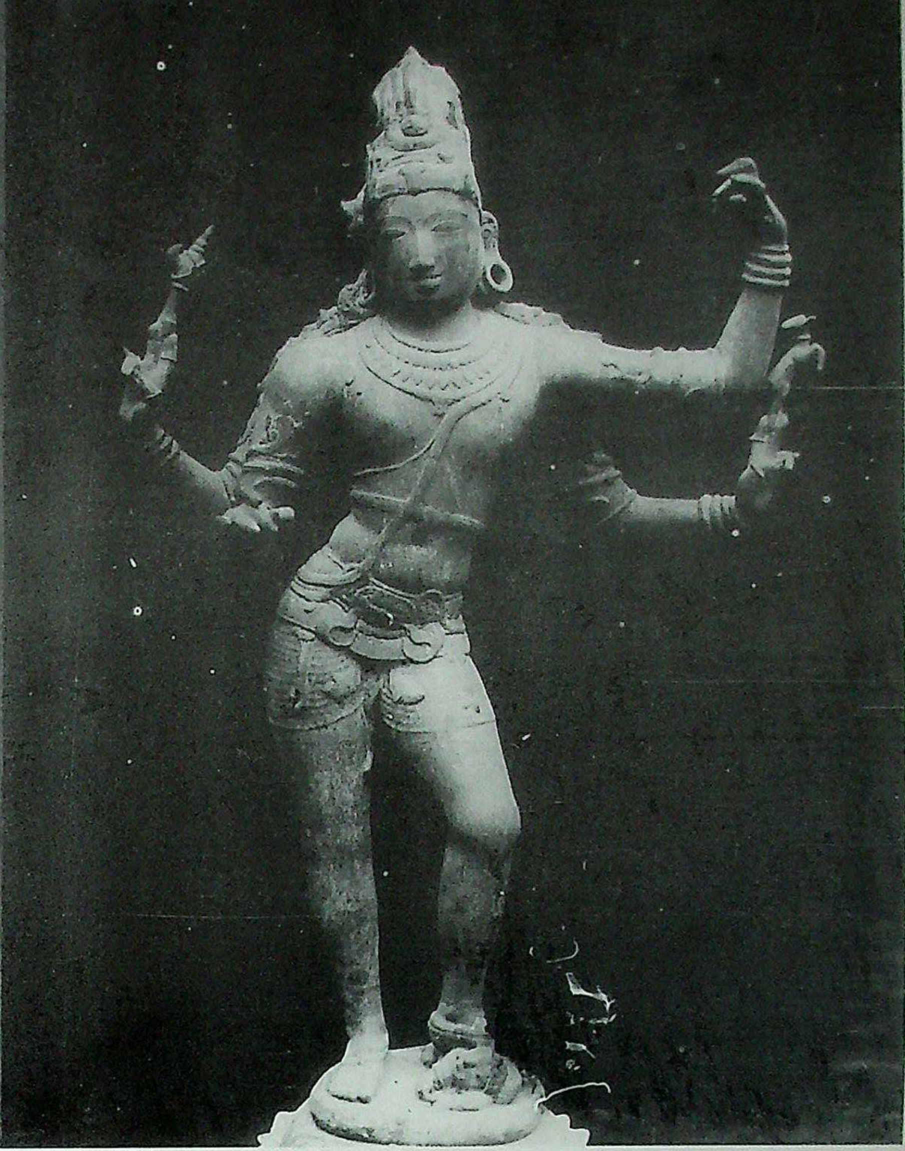


123 & 124 Somaskanda (bronze) (circa A.D. 1100)
(Courtesy : Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu)



125 & 126 Nataraja (bronze) (circa A.D. 1010) : front and rear view
(Courtesy : Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu)



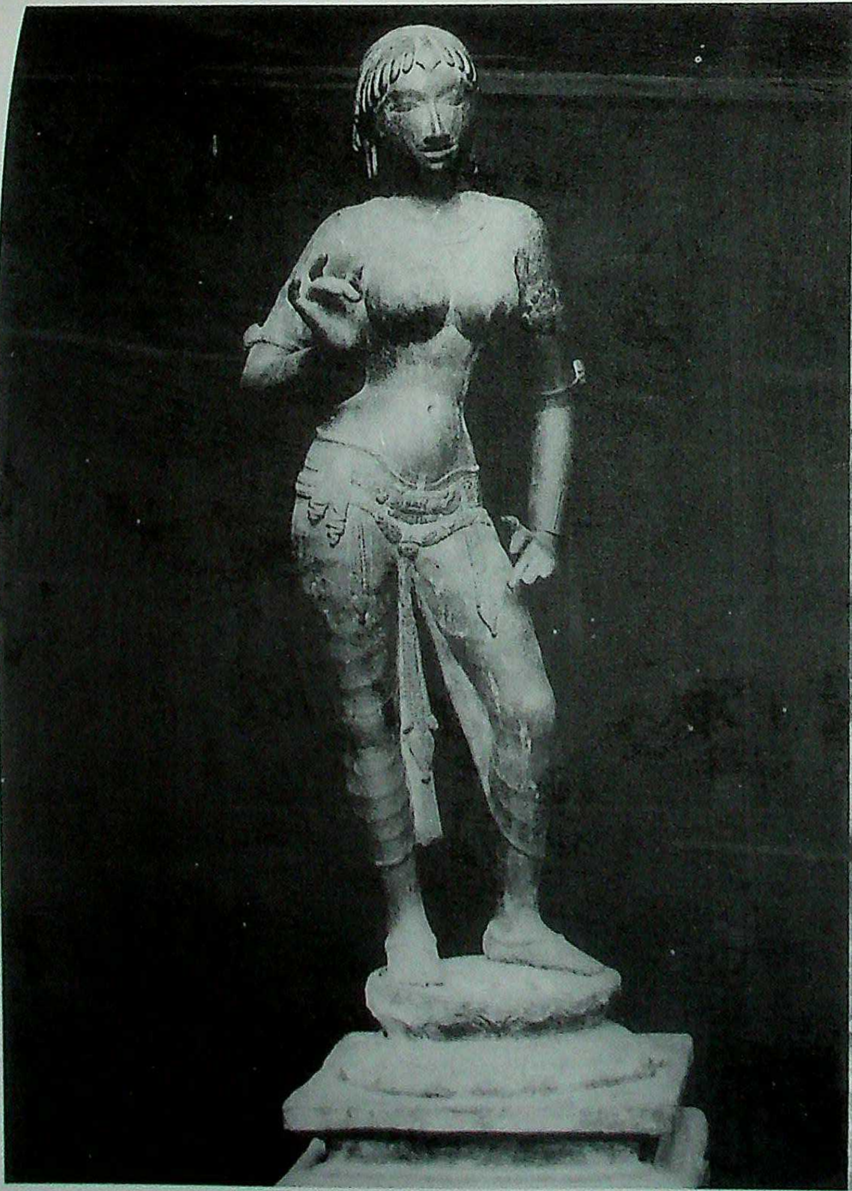


127. Siva (bronze) (circa A.D. 1200)
(Courtesy : Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu)

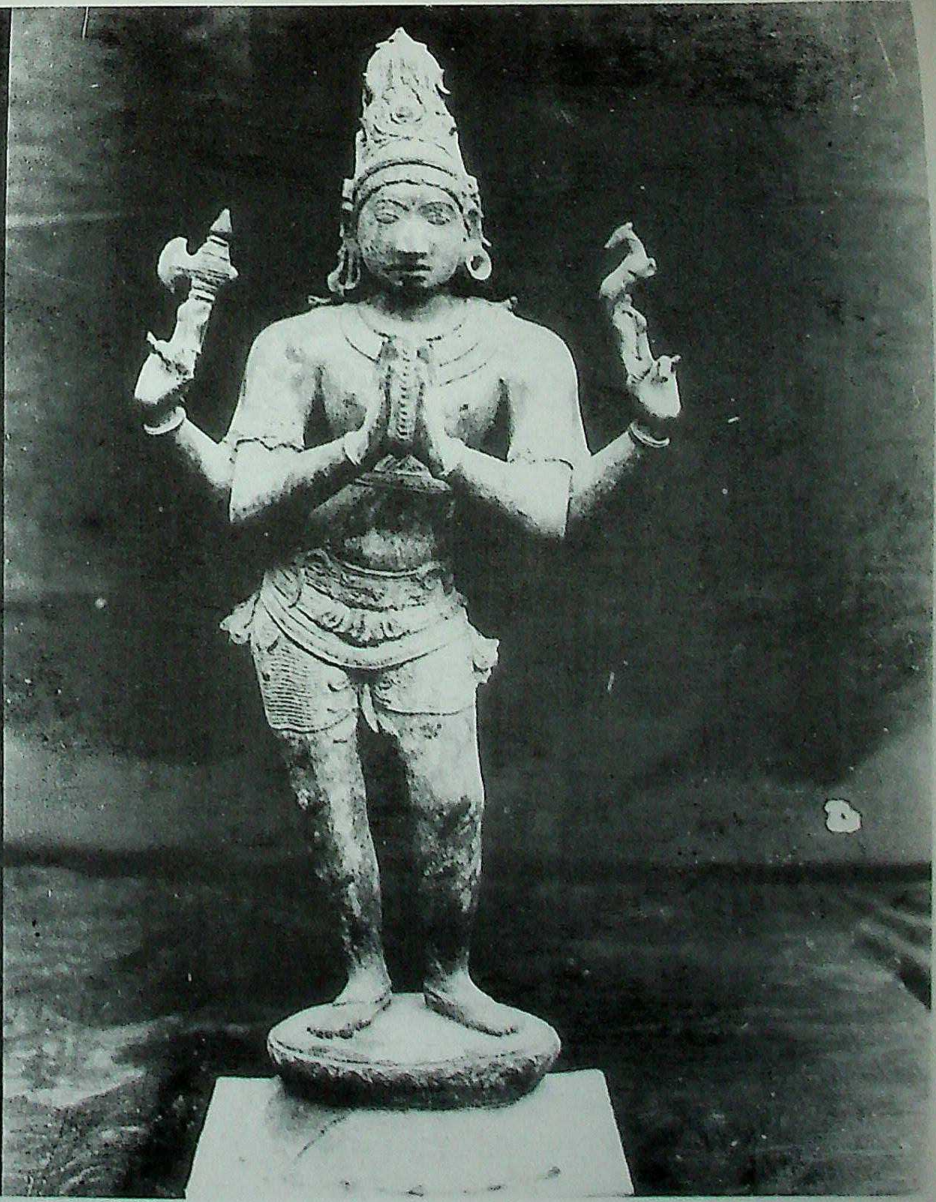
128 Tripurantaka (bronze) (circa A.D. 985)
(Courtesy : Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu)

(Courtesy : Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu)

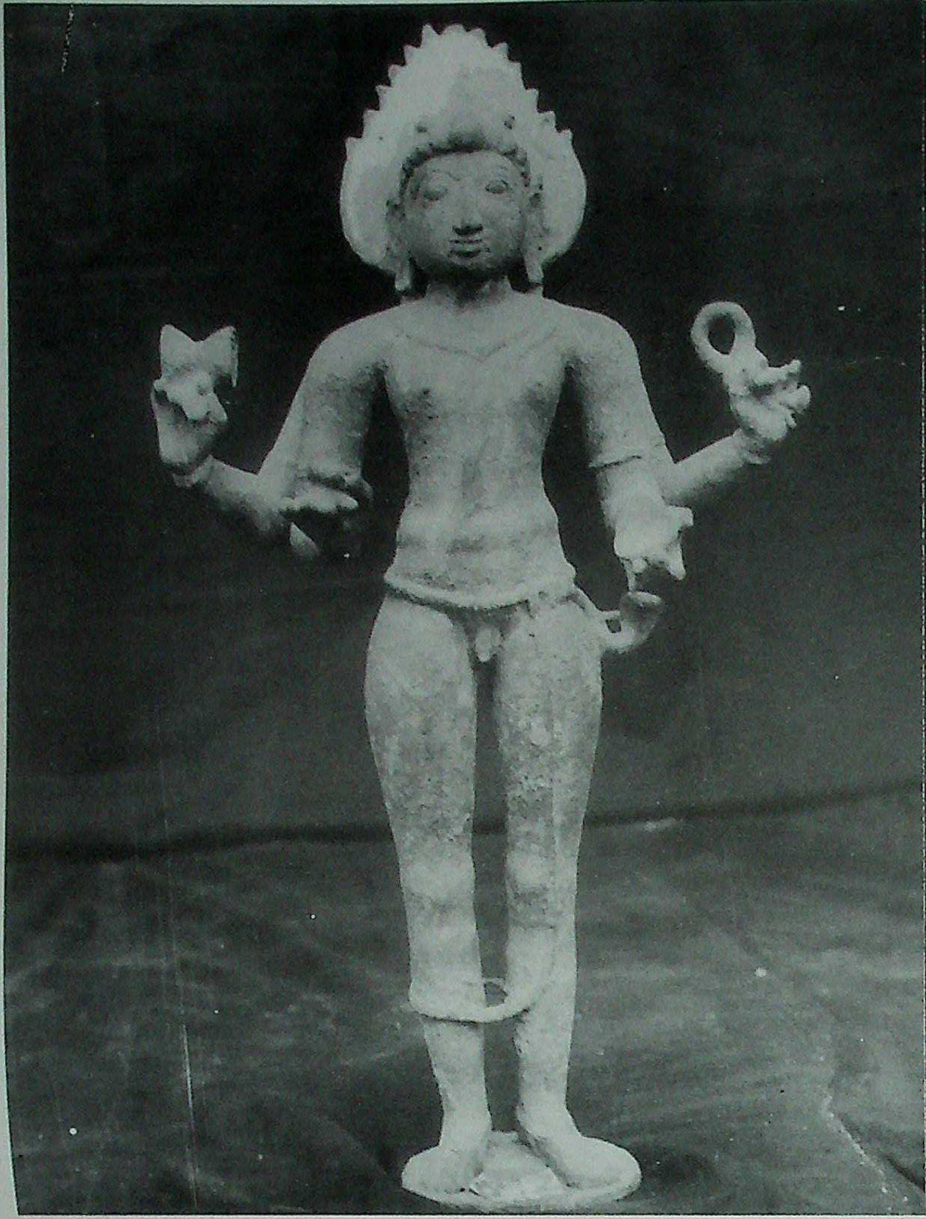
(Courtesy : Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu)



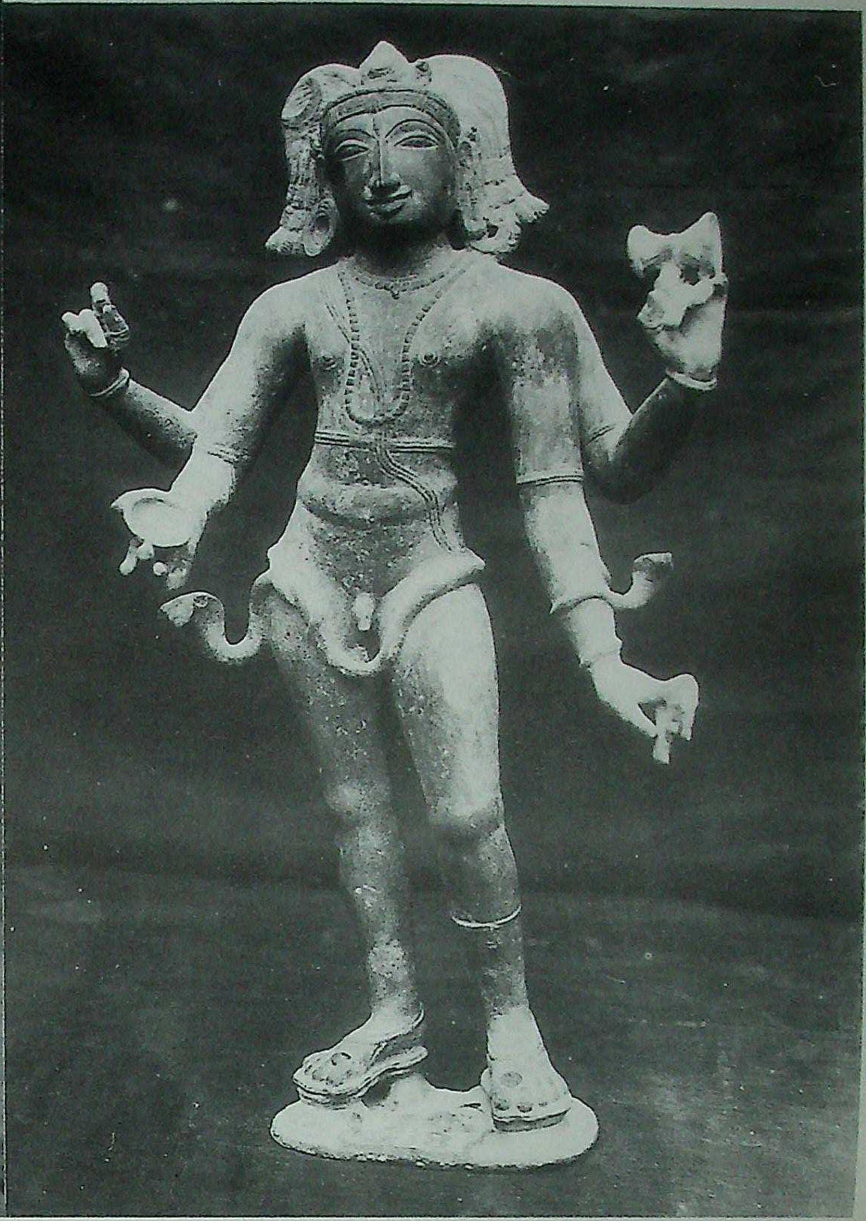
130. Paravai Nacciyar (bronze) (circa A.D. 950)
(Courtesy : Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu)



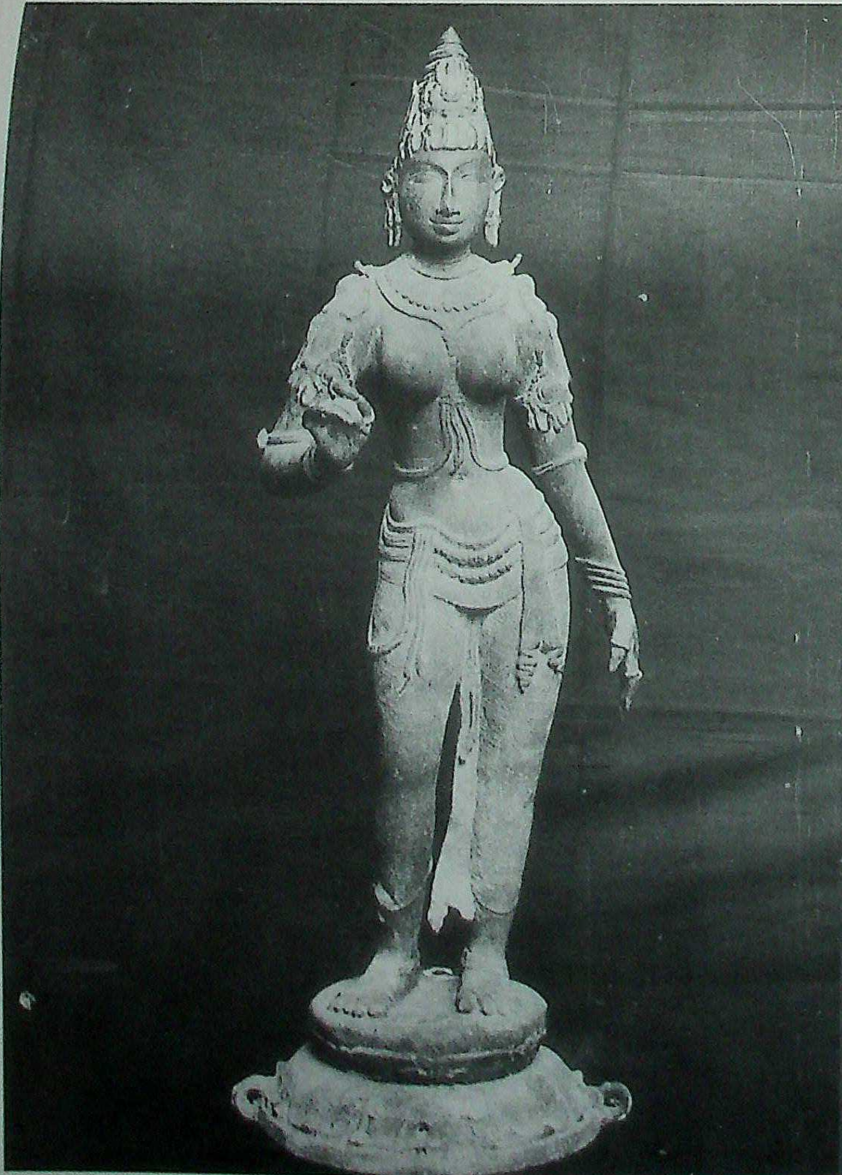
129. Adhikara Nandi (bronze) (circa A.D. 1000)
(Courtesy : Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu)



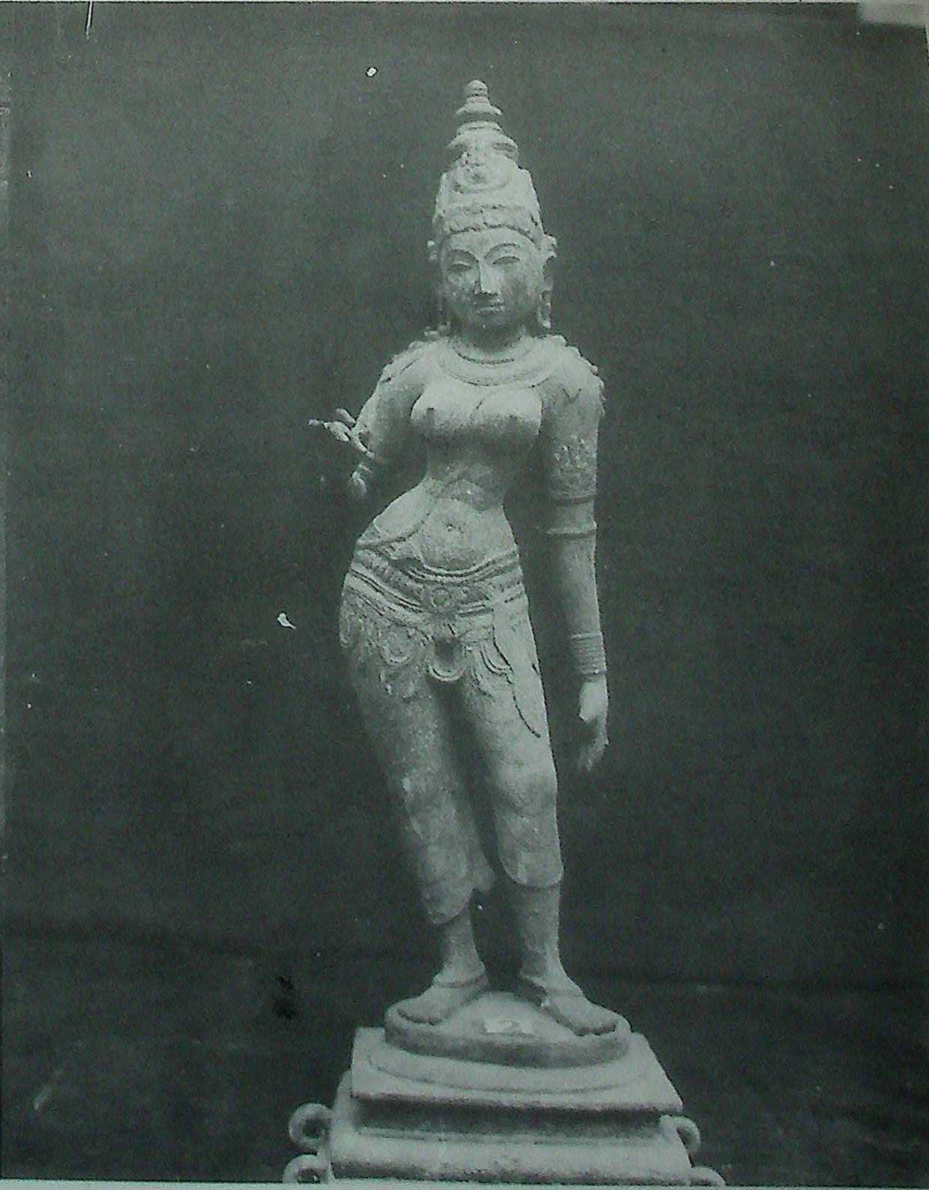
131. Bhairava (bronze) (circa A.D. 1000)
(Courtesy : Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu)



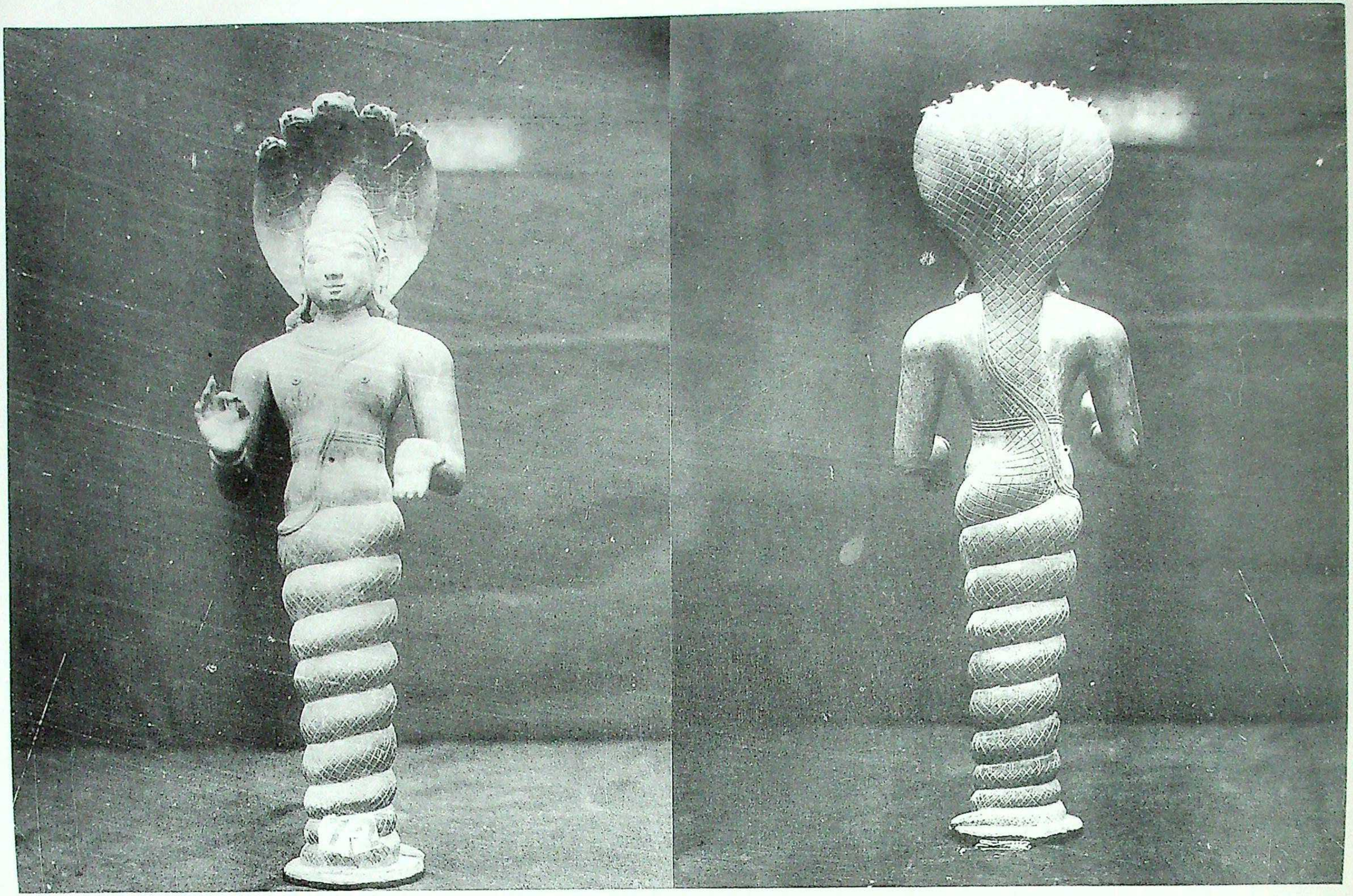
132. Bhikshatana (bronze) (circa A.D. 1150)
(Courtesy : Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu)



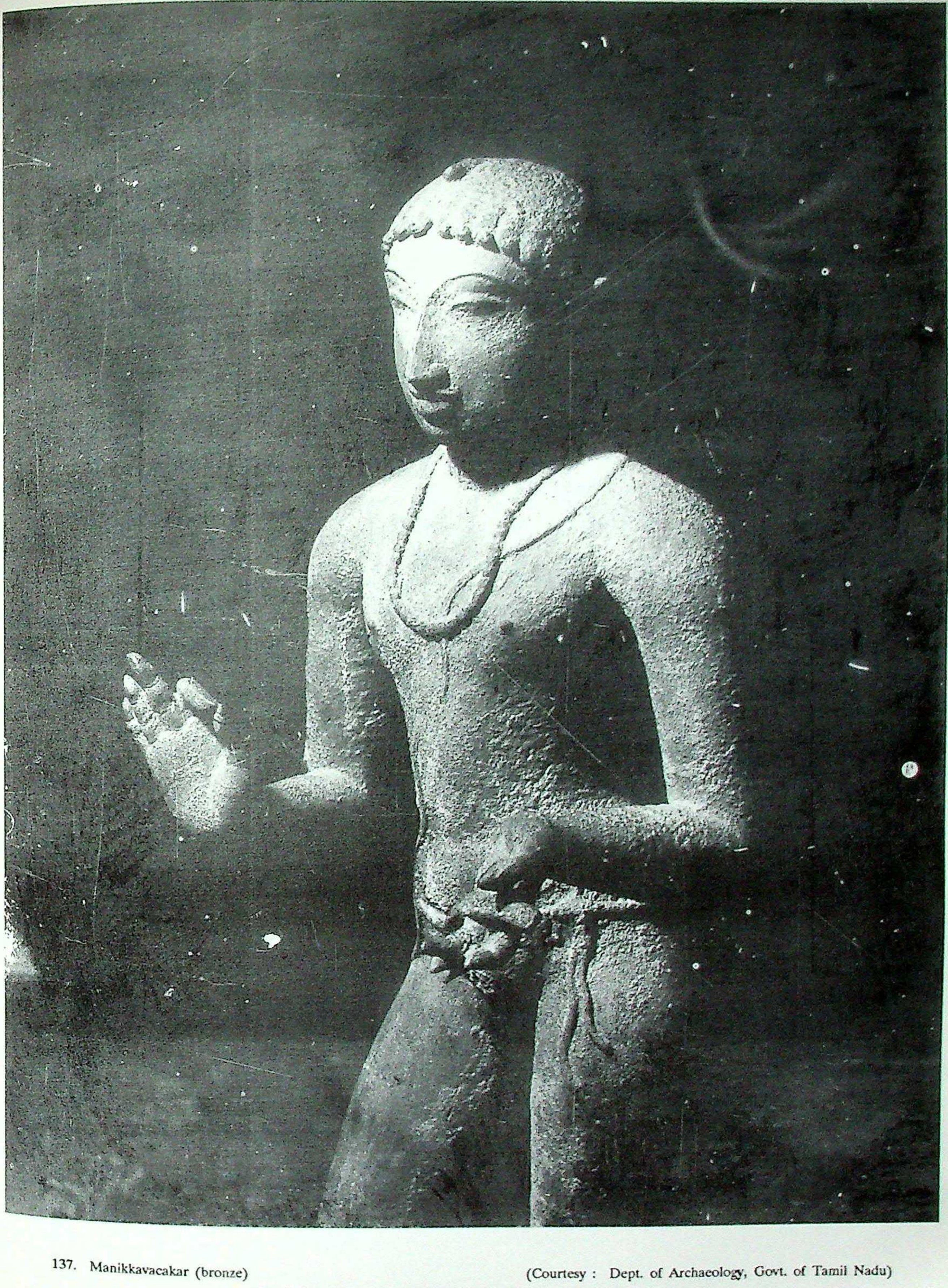
133. Sivakamasundari (bronze) (circa A.D. 925)
(Courtesy : Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu)



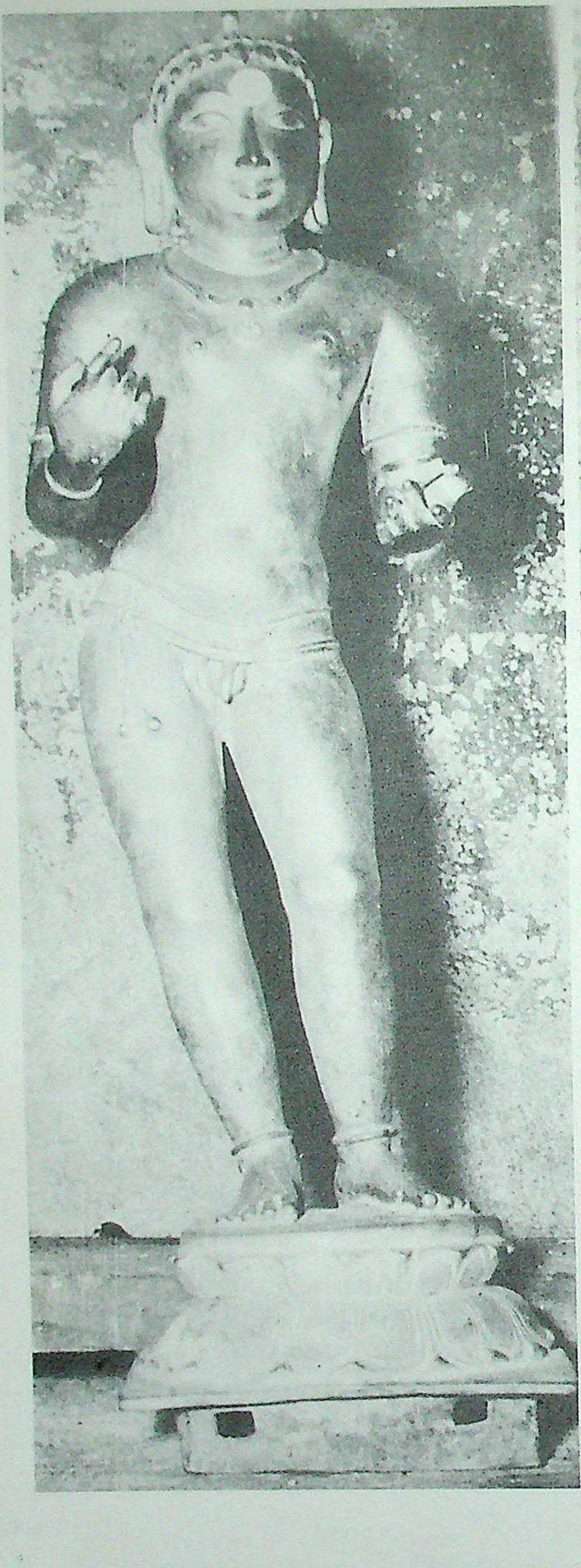
134. Devi (bronze) (circa 12th century A.D.)
(Courtesy : Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu)

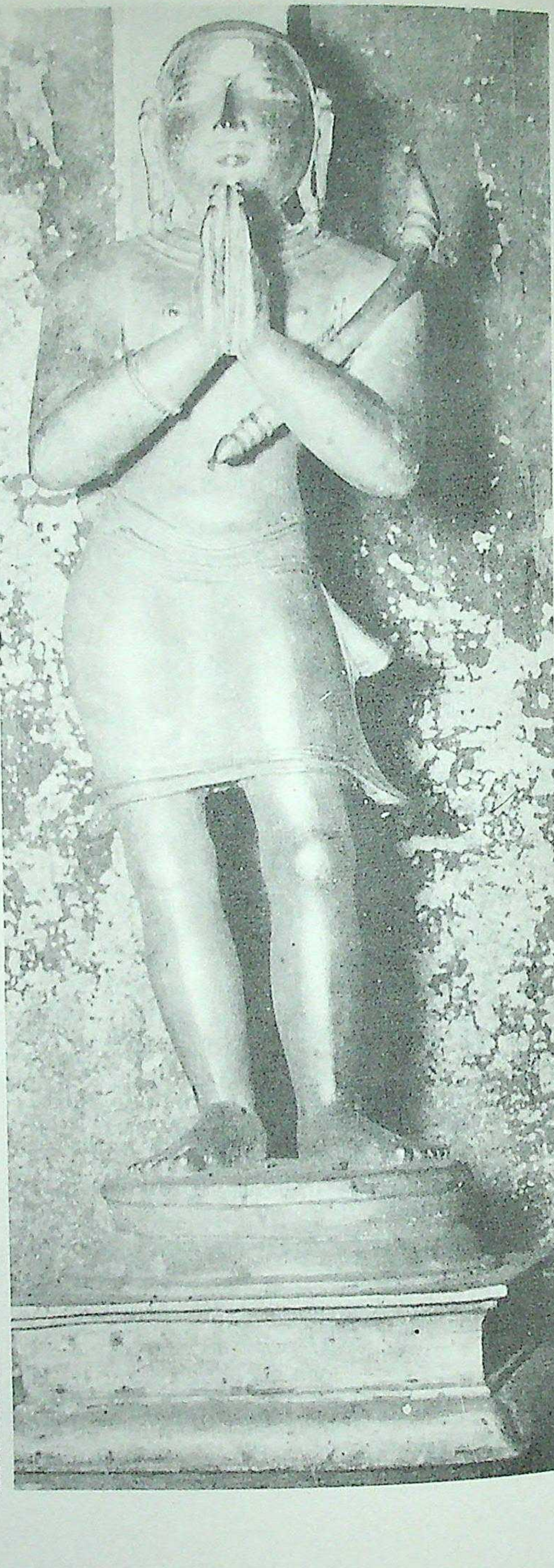


135 & 136 Patanjali (bronze) (circa A.D. 1150), front and rear view
(Courtesy : Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu)

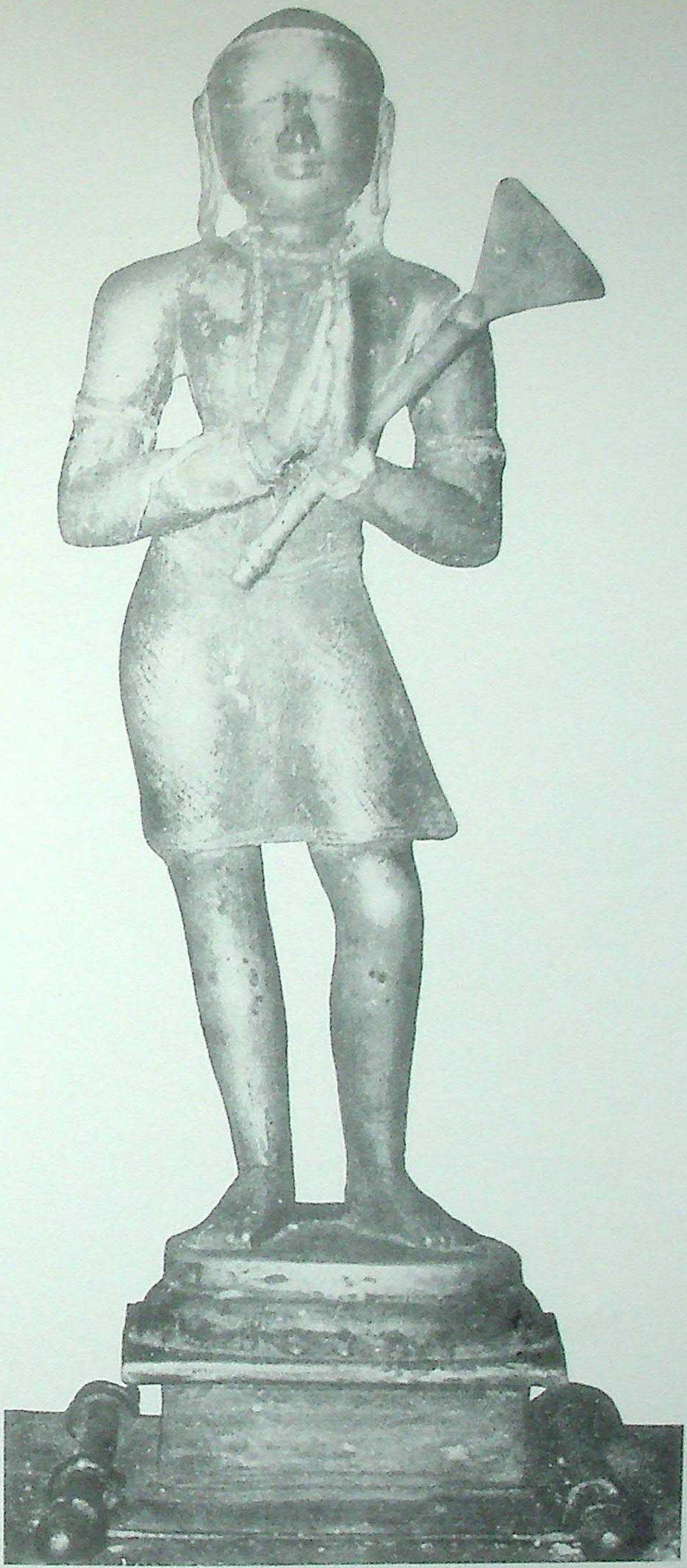


137. Manikkavacakar (bronze) (Courtesy : Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu)

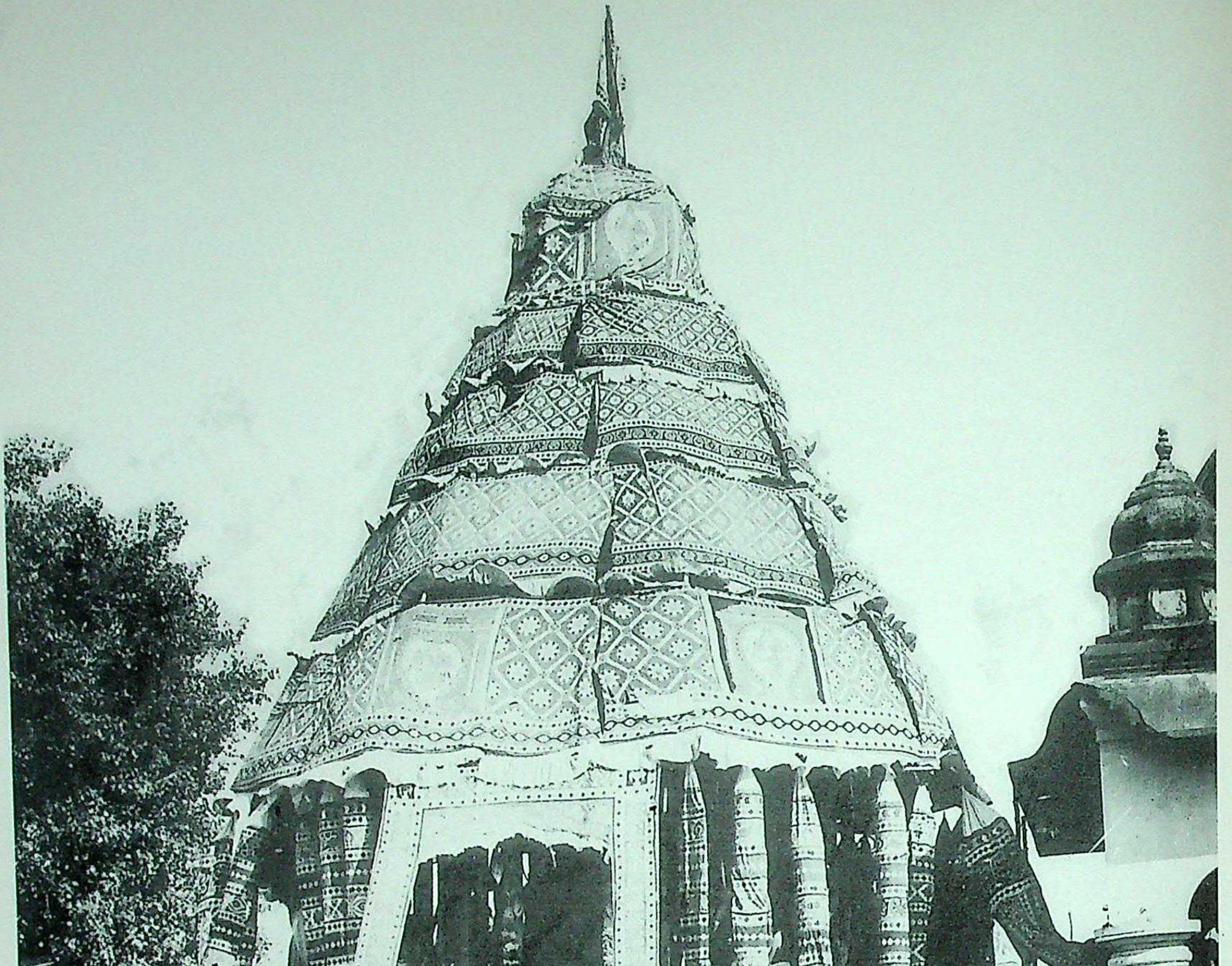




Sambandhar (bronze) 138. 139. Appar (bronze)
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)



140. Appar (dated bronze : A.D. 1006 from Tiruppugalur)
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)



141. The Nataraja festival car about to commence its procession, during Rathotsava, from the 'car-base' (*ter-adi*)
(Courtesy : French Inst. of Indology, Pondicherry)

APPENDIX I

1. S.I.I. Vol I, No.155 : An inscription of Kulottunga I at Cidambaram, pp. 168, 169.

2. Epigraphia Indica, Vol IV,C : Kulottunga Cola I Nos. 6,7,8, pp. 70,71
Nos. 13A at p. 103
13 C at p. 105, 106

No. 155. AN INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUṄGA-CHOḶA AT CHIDAMBARAM.

The subjoined Grantha inscription is engraved on the outside of the east wall of the innermost *prâkâra* of the great temple at Chidambaram in the South Arcot District. It consists of two verses in the *Sragdharâ* metre, each of which eulogises the victories of Kulottuṅga-Choḷa over the five Pâṇḍyas. The first verse further states, that the king burnt the fort of Korgâra (*Korgâra-durga*) and defeated the Keraḷas. Korgâra is probably a Sanskritised form of Koṟkai in the Tinnevelly District, the ancient capital of the Pâṇḍyas.[1] The second verse records, that Kulottuṅga-Choḷa placed a pillar of victory on the Sahyâdri mountain, *i.e.*, the Western Ghâṭs. This he must have done after his conquest of the Keraḷas, which is mentioned in the first verse.

TEXT.

[1.] स्वस्ति श्री ॥ पाण्ड्यान्दण्डेन जित्वा प्रचुरशरमुचा पञ्च पञ्चाननश्रीः दग्ध्वा कोर्ग्गारदुर्ग्गन्तृणमिव स पृथा

[2.] खाण्डवम् पाण्डुसूनुः [।*] पिष्ट्वा तत् केरळानाम् बलमतिबहळम् श्रीकुलोत्तुं[7]गचोळश्चक्रे शक्रप्रतापस्त्रिभु-
वनविजयस्तम्भमम्भोधितीरे [॥ १*]

[3.] पुण्ये संह्याद्रि[8]शृंगे त्रिभुवनविजयस्तम्भमम्भोधिपारे स्वच्छन्दम् पारसीनान्तरुणयुवतिभिर्ग्गीयते यस्य
कीर्त्तिः [।*]

[4.] स श्रीमानस्तशत्रुः[9] प्रबलबलभरैः पञ्च पाण्ड्यान्विजित्य क्षुभ्यत् क्ष्मापालचक्रम् सविधिकमकरोच्छ्रीकुलो-
त्तुंगचोळः ॥ [२*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! (*Verse* 1.) Having defeated the five Pâṇḍyas by an army, which discharged numerous arrows, having burnt, like straw, the fort of Korgâra, just as (*Arjuna*) the son of Pâṇḍu burnt the Khâṇḍava (*forest*),[10] and having crushed the extremely dense army of the Keraḷas,—the illustrious Kulottuṅga-Choḷa, who resembled Siva in splendour and Indra in might, placed a pillar (*commemorative of his*) conquest of the three worlds on the shore of the ocean.

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[1] For references on Koṟkai, see Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 312.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV, p. 55.

[3] See No. 39, verse 10, p. 59, above.

[4] See paragraph 5 of my *Progress Report for February, March and April* 1888, Madras G.O., 27th July 1888, No. 745, Public.

[5] See p. 97, above.

[6] This remark applies also to the various kings of the same name, who are mentioned in other inscriptions of this volume. These are:—Kulottuṅga-Choḷa-deva in No. 86; Ko-Râjakesarivarman, *alias* Kulottuṅga-Choḷa-deva in Nos. 89, 96 and 130; and Koneri Meṉ-koṇḍa Kulottuṅga-Choḷa-deva in No. 132.

[7] The *anusvâra* is obliterated.

[8] Read सह्याद्रि°.

[9] शत्रुः seems to be corrected from शत्रः

[10] Compare No. 39, verse 3, p. 57, above.

(*Verse* 2.) (*Having placed*[1]) a pillar (*commemorative of his*) conquest of the three worlds on the sacred peak of the Sahyâdri (*mountain*), and having defeated the five Pâṇḍyas by masses of powerful armies,—the illustrious Kulottuṅga-Choḷa, whose fame is voluntarily sung by the tender women of the Pârasis,[2] and who has driven away his enemies, made the trembling crowd of kings subject to his orders.[3]

A note by Dr. B. Venkataraman

This undated inscription of Kulottunga I in verse engraved on the outer face of the east wall (northern wing) of the Kulottunga Colan/Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai is to-day partly hidden behind a temporary panelling wall raised to the west of the Navagraha shrine. At the time the estampage of this inscription was taken, way back around 1900 A.D., presumably this panelling wall was non-existent and obviously the entire inscription would have been seen and read in its entirety. Now structural additions have been made hiding the left half of the verses from view. In fact, even the right half can been seen only when the metal sheet door is brought away from the wall. The script is Grantha and the language, Sanskrit. It is a pity that we have lost the bulk of the inscription in the recent avoidable embellishment to the Navagraha shrine.

C.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I.

6.—Inscription on a stone standing close to the north wall of the Śaṁkarêśvara temple at Sindhuvaḷḷi in the Kaḷale hôbaḷi of the Nañjanaguḍi tâlukâ.[1]

1 Sva[sti] śrî [||*] Śakarai yâ[ṇ]ḍu [âyira]-
2 [t]tu-muppadu peṟṟa [2]Dvaya-sam[va*]-
3 tsarattu śrî-Kolôttuṁka-Śô-
4 ḷadêvar pṛidhi[vi*]-râjyattu yâṇ-
5 [ḍu] muppatt-êḻâvadu . . . . .

"In the **Vyaya** year which corresponded to the Śaka year one thousand and thirty, (*and*) in the **thirty-seventh year of the reign of the glorious Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva** . . . . ."

This date contains no details for exact verification. Moreover, the Jovian year **Vyaya** put down in it does not correspond to the given Śaka year 1030; for, according to the southern luni-solar system,[3] Vyaya was Śaka-Saṁvat 1028 expired, while Śaka-Saṁvat 1030 current was Sarvajit and 1030 expired Sarvadhârin. Where there is a similar discrepancy between the Śaka year and the Jovian year of a date, it is generally the Jovian year that is quoted correctly,[4] and *a priori* it appears reasonable to assume that the same is the case here and that, accordingly, the year intended is really Śaka-Saṁvat 1028 expired. This year, combined with the 37th year of the reign of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I., would give us for the first year of his reign Śaka-Saṁvat **992 expired = A.D. 1070-71.** It remains to be seen how far this result would agree with the following dates, Nos. 7 and 8.[5]

7.—Inscription in the Naṭarâja temple at Chidambaram in the South Arcot district.

1 || Svasti śrî || Tiribuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ śrî-Kulôttuṅga-
2 Śôḷadêvar tiru-ttaṅgaiyâr Râjarâjan Kundavaiy=Âḻvâr
5 . . . . nâ-ṉilattai muḻud=âṇḍa Jaya-
6 daraṟku nâṟpattu-nâl=âṇḍil [6]Miṉa=nigaḻ nâyaṟṟu Veḷḷi pe-
7 ṟṟa Urôśaṇi-nâḷ=Iḍabam pôdâl.

"In the **forty-fourth year** (*of the reign*) of **Jayadhara,**[7] who ruled all the four quarters,—at the time (*of the rising of the sign*) **Ṛishabha** on the day of (*the nakshatra*) **Rôhiṇî**, which corresponded to a **Friday** in the month during which (*the sign*) **Mîna** was shining,—Kundavai Âḻvâr, (*the daughter of*) Râjarâja (*and*) the royal younger sister of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva, [gave, *etc.*]"

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[1] No. 3 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1895; *Ep. Carn.* Part I. p. 191, No. 51.—From Mr. Venkayya's transcript.

[2] Read *Vyaya-saṁva-*.

[3] By the mean-sign system (which is out of the question here) Vyaya would have commenced on the 15th December A.D. 1102, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1024 expired.

[4] Compare the dates given in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 4, No. 139 ff.

[5] These dates have been already published by Dr. Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. pp. 297 and 298

[6] Read *Mîṉam.*

[7] This, according to Dr. Hultzsch, was a *biruda* of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I.

[8] Read *Irâja°.*

No. 13.—FOUR INSCRIPTIONS OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

A.—Undated inscription at Chidambaram.[7]

This **Grantha** inscription has been already published in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 168 f.. As stated on a subsequent occasion,[8] the conquests recorded in it prove that it was incised in the time of **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḻa I.**, who ascended the throne in **A.D. 1070.**[9] I now subjoin an improved reading and translation of it.

TEXT.[10]

1 Svasti śrî[ḥ] |— **Pâṇḍyân=daṇḍê[na]** jitvâ prachura-śara-muchâ **pañcha** pañchânana-śrîḥ(śrîr=) dagdhvâ **Kôṭṭâra-durggan=**tṛiṇam=iva sa yathâ

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[1] From inked estampages, prepared by myself.

[2] Read बाई. [3] Read दैवी. [4] Read उत्तरे°.

[5] This syllable is engraved at some interval below line 9.

[6] [This is perhaps a mistake for *mahâsâhaṇi.* According to Kittel's *Kannaḍa Dictionary*, *sâhaṇi* means 'a groom.'— E. H.]

[7] No. 115 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1887-88.

[8] *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 231. [9] See above, Vol. IV. p. 263.

[10] From fresh inked estampages, prepared by Mr. T. P. Krishnasvami Sastri, M.A.

2 Khâṇḍavam Pâṇḍu-sûnuḥ [|*] pishṭvâ tat Kéraḷânâm balam=atibahaḷam(laṁ) śrî-Kulôttu[ṁ]ga-Chôḷaś=chakrê Śakra-pratâpas=tribhuvana-vijaya-stambham=ambhôdhi-tîrê [|| 1*]

3 Puṇyê [1]Saṁhyâdri-śṛiṁgê tribhuvana-vijaya-stambham=ambhôdhi-pârê svachchhandam Pârasînân=taruṇa-yuvatibhir=gîyatê yasya kîrttiḥ [|*]

4 sa śrîmân=asta-śatruḥ[2] prabala-bala-bharaiḥ pañcha Pâṇḍyân=vijitya kshubhyat(t-)kshmâpâla-chakram(kraṁ) savidhikam=akarôch=chhrî-Kulôttuṁga-Chôḷaḥ [|| 2*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! (Verse 1.) Having subdued **the five Pâṇḍyas** by an army which discharged numerous arrows, having burnt like straw the fort of **Kôṭṭâra**,[3] just as (Arjuna) the son of Pâṇḍu (*had burnt*) the Khâṇḍava (*forest*), (*and*) having crushed that extremely dense army of the **Kêraḷas**,— that glorious **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa**, who resembles a lion in majesty (*and*) Śakra (Indra) in valour, placed on the shore of the ocean a pillar (*commemorative of his*) conquest of the three worlds.

(V. 2.) Having subdued **the five Pâṇḍyas** by masses of powerful armies, that glorious[4] **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa**, who has scattered (*his*) enemies (*and*) whose fame is spontaneously sung on the further shore of the ocean by the young women of the Persians (**Pârasî**), duly placed on the holy peak of the **Sahyâdri** (*mountain*) a pillar (*which commemorates his*) conquest of the three worlds (*and*) before which the crowd of kings is trembling.

C.—Inscription of the 44th year at Chidambaram.[1]

This inscription is engraved on the outside of the north wall of the innermost *prâkâra* of the **Naṭarâja** temple at Chidambaram. That portion of it which contains the date has been published before in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXIII. p. 297 f. and above, Vol. IV. p. 70. The alphabet and language are **Tamiḻ**. Lines 1-5 and 9-14 are in prose, and lines 5-9 contain one verse.

The inscription is dated in the 44th year of Jayadhara (l. 5 f.). From the *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi* we know that this was a surname of **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I.**,[2] to whose reign the present record must be assigned accordingly. Professor Kielhorn has calculated the details of the date (l. 6 f.) and has found that it corresponds to Friday, the 13th March A.D. 1114.[3]

The first portion of the inscription records donations made to the temple at Chidambaram (**Tillai**, ll. 7 and 9, or **Tiruchchiṟṟambalam**, l. 12) by **Kuṉdavai Âḻvâr**, (the daughter of) **Râjarâja** and younger sister of **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa**. She presented the god with a golden vessel (l. 3) and a mirror (l. 10) and covered (the roof of) the shrine with gold (l. 8). The second portion (ll. 10-14) states that a stone which the king of Kambôja had given to **Râjêndra-Chôḷa** was, by order of the latter, inserted into the wall of a hall in front of the shrine.

Of the names mentioned in the preceding paragraph, Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa (l. 1 f.) and Râjêndra-Chôḷa (ll. 10 and 11) refer to the reigning king Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I., who is known to have originally borne the name Râjêndra-Chôḷa (II.) and to have subsequently assumed the name Kulôttuṅga.[4] Râjarâja, the father of Kulôttuṅga's younger sister Kundavai (ll. 2 and 9), is identical with the Eastern Châlukya king Râjarâja I. (A.D. 1022-1063).[5]

TEXT.[6]

1 ௳ Svasti śri(śrî) ௳ Tiribuvaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ śri(śrî)-Kulôttuṅga-
2 Śôḻadêvar tiru-ttaṅgaiyâr Râjarâjaṉ Kundavaiy=Âḻvâr
3 âḷ-uḍaiyârkku taṇṇi(ṇî)r amudu śeyd=aruḷa iṭṭa [m]iṇḍam o-
4 ṉṟiṉâl kuḍi-naṟ-kal niṟai Madurândagaṉ-mâḍaiyôḍu okkum
5 poṉ 50 pa aip(m)bad[i]ṉ kaḻa[ñ]ju ௳ Nâṉilattai[7] muḻud=âṇḍa Jaya-
6 daraṟku nâṟpattu-nâl=âṇḍil Mi(mî)ṉa=nigaḻ nâyaṟṟu Veḷḷi pe-
7 ṟṟa Urôśaṇi-nâḷ=Iḍabam pôdâl têṉilavu-poḻiṟ=Ṟillai-nâ-
8 [ya]gar-daṅ=gôyil=elâm śem-boṉ mêyndâḷ=êṉavarun=doḻud=ê-
9 ttum Râjarâjaṉ Kundavai pû-vindaiyâḷê ௳ Tillai-nâyaga-dêvaṟku=
10 ttiru-kkaṇṇâḍiyum iṭṭâr ௳ [Śri](śrî)-Râjêndra-Śôḻadêvaṟku Kâmbôśa-
11 râjaṉ kâṭchiy-âga=kkâṭṭiṉa kallu [—] idu uḍaiyâr Râjêndra-Śôḻa-
12 dêvar tiru-vây moḻind=aruḷi uḍaiyâr Tiruchchiṟṟambalam-uḍaiyâr kô-
13 yilil muṉ vaittadu ௳ inda=kkallu tiruv-edir-ambalattu tiru-kka-
14 l-śarattil tiru-muṉ-pattikku mêlai-ppattiyilê vaittadu ௳

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! Kundavai Âḻvâr, (*the daughter of*) **Râjarâja** (*and*) **the royal younger sister of the emperor of the three worlds, *śrî*-Kulôttuṅga-Chôḻadêva, gave to the god,**

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[1] No. 119 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1887-88.

[2] See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 230, note 11.

[3] Above, Vol. IV. p. 71.

[4] See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 230 f.

[5] As I have stated in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 298, note 13, Kundavai, the elder sister of the Chôḷa king Râjarâja I., and his daughter Kûndavâ must be distinguished from the present Kundavai. Râjarâja, Râjêndra and Kundavai evidently were favourite names with the Chôḷa dynasty.

[6] From an inked estampage, prepared in 1888.

[7] In this verse, *nâṉilattai* rhymes with *Mîṉa*, *têṉilavu* and *ḷ=êṉavarun*.

for offerings of water, one vessel (*miṇḍam*), weighing, (*by*) the true standard of the city,[1] 50 *pa*[2]— fifty *kaḷañju*,— of gold which was equal (*in fineness*) to the *Madurândagaṉ-mâḍai*.[3]

(L. 5.) In the year forty-four (*of the reign*) of Jayadhara who ruled all the four quarters,— at the time (*of the rising of the sign*) Ṛishabha on the day of (*the nakshatra*) **Rôhiṇî**, which corresponded to a Friday in the month during which (*the sign*) Mîna was shining,— **Kundavai**, (*the daughter of*) **Râjarâja**, (*who resembles*) a flower in beauty (*and*) who is worshipped and praised by (*all*) others, covered with pure gold the whole shrine of the lord of **Tillai**, the gardens of which are full of honey.

(L. 9.) She also gave a sacred mirror to the god who is the lord of **Tillai**.

(L. 10.) A stone was exhibited by the **Kâmbôja** king before the glorious **Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva**. This (*stone*) was, by order of the lord **Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva**, placed in front of the shrine of the god who is the lord of **Tiruchchiṟṟambalam**. This stone was placed in the upper front row of stones of the hall opposite the shrine.

APPENDIX II

South Indian Inscriptions, Volume IV
Reproduction of Inscriptions listed below:

No.220	(A.R.E. 115 of 1888) p.27	No.225	(A.R.E. 120 of 1888) p.31, 32, 33, 34
No.221	(A.R.E. 116 of 1988) p.27	No.226	(A.R.E. 121 of 1888) p.35, 36
No.222	(A.R.E. 117 of 1888) p.28	No.227	(A.R.E. 122 of 1888) p.36, 37
No.223	(A.R.E. 118 of 1888) p.29, 30, 31	No.228	(A.R.E. 123 of 1888) p.37
No.224*	(A.R.E. 119 of 1888) p.31	No.229	(A.R.E. 124 of 1888) p.38

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* Also see Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, p. 105

No. 220.

(*A.R. No.* 115 *of* 1888).

IN THE NATARAJA TEMPLE AT CHIDAMBARAM.

Published in *South-Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. I, No. 155, and *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. V., p. 103 f.

No. 221.

(*A.R. No.* 116 *of* 1888).

ON THE MANDAPA AT THE EAST ENTRANCE INTO THE FIRST PRAKARA OF THE SAME TEMPLE.

1 . . [illegible] . . . . [illegible] . . . [illegible] . . . .
2 [illegible] . . [illegible] . . [illegible] . . . .
3 . [illegible] . . . . . .
4 . [illegible] ||— [illegible] [illegible] [[illegible]][illegible]. . . .
5 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ||— [illegible] . . .
6 . . [illegible] . . [illegible] [illegible] . . .
7 . . . . . . [illegible] . . [illegible] . . .
8 [illegible] . . . .
9 [illegible] · · [illegible] . [illegible] . . .
10 [illegible] . [illegible] . [illegible] . .
11 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
12 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] . . . . .
13 . . [illegible] . . .
14 [illegible] ||— . [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] . . .
15 [illegible] [illegible] . .[1]

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[1] The inscription is much damaged.

4A

No. 222.

(*A.R. No.* 117 *of* 1888).

OUTSIDE THE FIRST PRAKARA OF THE SAME TEMPLE, NORTH SIDE.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ உ யாண்டு முப்பத்தாறாவது நாள் நூற்றறுபது உ தொண்டைமானும் திருவையாறுடையானும் மதுராந்தகப்பிரமாராயனும் ஆளுடையார் கொயிலுக்குச் சமுதாய-

2 த் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு தில்லையம்பலப்பல்லவர[ா]யனும் சிகாரியஞ்செய்வார்களும சாமுதாயஞ்செய்வார்களும் கொயில்காயகஞ்செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறுசெய்வார்களும் செய்-

3 ய்த்திருவாய் மொழிந்தருளினபடி உ ஆளுடையார் கொயிலெ திருவெதிரம்பலத்துக் குறடு பொங்செ[ய்]யுமிடத்து இவ்விடத்துக்கல்வெட்டு(க்கு)படி எடுத்துத் தொண்டைமான் தான்

4 நிச்சயித்த இடத்திலெ கல்வெட்டக் கடவதாகச் சொல்லி முன்பு நாம் செய்யும்படி வந்தபடிதவிரக் குலொத்துங்கசொழன் திருமாளிகைப் புறவாயில் வடபக்கத்திலெ கல் வெட்டக்க-

5 டவதாகப் பெறவெணுமென்று தான் நமக்குச் சொன்னமையில் இப்படி செய்யக்கடவதாகச் சொன்னொம் இப்படி செய்யப்பண்ணுவது [|*] எழுதினேன் திருமந்திரஓலை இ-

6 [ர]ாஜெந்திரசிங்கமூவெந்தவெளான் இப்படி திருவாய்மொழிந்தருளினார் இவை வில்லவராயன் எழுத்து இவை காடவராயன் எழுத்து இவை விழிஞத்தரயன் எழுத்து இவை சித்திராஜன் எழுத்து இவை தொ-

7 ண்டைமான் எழுத்து உ திருமகள் செயமகள் திருப்புயத்து இருப்ப இருநிலத்தொருகுடை நிழற்ற பெருவலிப்பாண்டியன் சுரமது விறங்க வம்புயர் மெருவில் புலி விளையாட மாற்றரசென்னும் பி[ய]ர்

8 மாற்றி நாற்றிசைமன்னரும திறைநிறை வளர்ப்ப செங்கொல் திசைதொறுஞ் செல்ல விக்கிரமத்தாற் சக்கரநடாத்தி வீரஸிம்ஹாஸநத்து வீற்றிருந்தருளிய த்ரிபுவநசக்ரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீகுலொத்துங்கசொழதெ-

9 வற்கு யாண்டு நாற்பத்தாறாவது ராஜாதிராஜவளநாட்டுத் தனியூர் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையாற்குத் திருநந்தவன[ப்]புறமாகவும் ஸ்ரீ[மாஹெஸ்வரர்]க்கு திருவமுது செய்ய மட-

10 ப்புறம் நம்பெருமாள் திருத்தங்கையார் மதுராந்தகியாழ்வார் வாச்சி[ய]ன் இரவி திருச்சிற்றம்பல[மு]டையான்பெரால் விலைகொண்ட நிலம் கிடாரங்கொண்டசொழப்பெரிளமைநாட்டு எருக்காட்டஞ்செ-

11 ரியான ஜயங்கொண்டசொழநல்லூர்ப்பால் ஸ்ரீ திருச்சிற்றம்பலவதிக்குக் கிழக்கு ராஜராஜன்வா[ய்]க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு இரண்டாங்கண்ணாற்று முதற்சதிரத்து நிலம் மூன்றெ இரண்டுமாவின் கீழ்எழுமா முந்திரிகை-

12 க்கிழ்முக்காலும் இங்கெ இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்து நிலம் [illegible]ம் இங்கெ ஒடை நிலமு[ம்*] [illegible]ம் இங்கெ மூன்றாங்கண்ணாற்று முதற்சதிரம் [illegible]—இங்-

13 கெ மூன்றாங் கண்ணாற்று இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்து [illegible]ம் இங்கெ [illegible]-சங்கண்ணாற்று உ-ம் சதிரத்து [illegible] இங்கெ [illegible]இங்கெ இக்கண்ணாற -

14 ஆ இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்து நிலம் [illegible] இங்கெ மூன்றாஞ்சதிரத்து [illegible] இதில் தாமிலி கொல்லை [illegible] ஆக நிலம் [illegible] நீக்கி தரம்-

15 பெறும [illegible] ல் பலதரமடக்கு [illegible] [illegible]ல் எட்டாந்தரமாக்கிக்கொள்கவென்று பிரஸாதஞ்செய்தருளிவந்த திருமுகப்படியும் மூல[ப]ருடையர் சபாநியொகப்-

16 படியும் எட்டாந்தரமாக்கி குறைந்தமடக்கு ௫ சழஞ்சு வராகு நீக்கி இறுக்க நிலைநின்ற மடக்கு ௫ [illegible]ஞ்சும் யாண்டு நாற்பத்தாறுவது நாள் நாற்பத்தாறினால் தெவதானத்தொடெ கல்வெட்டிக்கொள்கவென்று பிரஸாதஞ்-

17 செய்தருளி வந்த திருமுகப்படியும் செதராயர் கடையிட்டுப்படியும் கல்வெட்டித்து உ

No. 223.

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IN THE SAME PLACE.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] திரு[ம]ன்னி வளர இருநிலமடந்தையும் பொற்சயப்பாவையும் சிர்த்தனில் செல்வியும் தன் பெருந்தெவியராகி இன்புற நெடுதியலூழியுள் ளிடை(த்)துறைநாடுந் துடர்வனவெலி-

2 ப் படாவனவாசியும் சுள்ளிச்சூழ்மதிள் கொள்ளிப்பாக்கமும் நண்ணற்கருமுரண் மண்ணைக்கடக்கமும் பொருகட லீழத்தரசர் தம் முடியு மாங்கவன் றெவிய ரொங்கெழில் முடியும் முன்னவ-

3 ன் பக்கல் தென்னவன் வைத்த சுந்தரமுடியும் இந்திரன் ஆரமும் தெண்டிரை ஈழமண்டலமுழுவது மெறிபடைக் கெரள[ன்] முறைமையிற் சூடுங் குலதனமாகிய பலர் புகழ் முடியும் செங்-

4 கதிர் மாலையுஞ் சங்கதிர்வெலை தொல் பெருங்காவற் பல் பழந்திவும் செருவிற் சினவி யிருபத்தொருகா லரசுகளை கட்ட பரசுராமன் மெல்வருஞ் சாத்தாகிமற்றிவனெ[1] கருதியிருத்திய செம்பொற்றிருத்த-

5 கு முடியும் பயங்கொடு பழிமிக முயங்கி முதுகிட்டொளித்த செயசிங்க(ள)ன(ரு)ளப் பெரும்புகழொடு பிடியி லிரட்டைபாடி எழரைஇலக்கமும் நவநெதிக் குலப்பெருமலைகளும் விக்கிரமவிர சக்கர-

6 கொட்டமும் முதிர்படவல்லை மதுரமண்டலமுந் தாமடைவளையமும் நாமணக்கொணமும்[2] வெஞ்சினவிரப் பஞ்சப்பள்ளியும் பாசடைப்பழன மாசுணிதெசமும் அயர்வில் வண்கிர்-

7 த்தி ஆதினகரவையில் சந்திரன் தொல்கலத்திரு[3] விளை அமர்க்களத்துக் கிளை ஒடும் பிடித்துப் பலதனத்தொடு நிறைகல[4]க்குவையுஞ் சிட்டருஞ் செறிபுன லொட்டவிஷயமும் பூசுரர் செரு நற்கொ-

8 சலநாடுந் தன்மபாலனை வெம்முனை அழித்து வண்டமர்சொலைத் தண்டபுத்தியு மிரணசூரனை முரணற தாக்கித் திக்கெண்கிர்த்தித் தக்கணலாடமும்[5] வராகவெல்கொடி இராசபரிச்சின்னமும் இனையன-

9 பலவு முனைவை[யி]ற் கவந்து பொற்களவனத்துப் பார்த்திவ(ர்)ராணர் முன்னருஞ் செய்தறியாது பின்னருஞ்செய்து மென்றெண்ணித் தரியாது கைகலந்தன்னெர் படையார்த்தன திருமெனியில் செம்புனல் பொழிய

10 விரமற்களத்து விசையபிஷெகஞ்செய்து விரஸிம்ஹாஸனந் திரியவிட்டருளிக் கங்காபுரி புகுந்தருளித் தன்றிருக்குலத்தியாவருஞ் செய்தறியாதது வாழிய ஒழுக்கந் தொன்றித் தன்றிருக்காதலனாகிய வென்றிற்றெரியற் கங்-

11 கைகொண்டசொழனையு மாங்கவன் திருமகனாகிய விருநிலங் காவலாளவந்த பெருமாளையும் ஒங்கெழில்வளவன் மும்முடிசொழனையும் ஈங்கவன்றம்பி வென்றிறல் மிகுபடைவிரசொழனையும் வென் ம[து]ராந்தகனை-

12 யுந் தராபதி திருமக வீராஜெந்திரசொழனையும் இருமுடிசொழன ராஜராஜன் சுருதி நன்குணருஞ் சொழபாண்டியனையும் வரிசிலைத்தானைக் கரிகாலசொழனையும் சொழகங்கனெனு கழலுத்தமசொழனென்றிவர் தமக்கு வென்ற

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[1] Read சாந்திமத்திவரண் in other inscriptions (see S.I.I, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 106).

[2] Read காமிடைவளை நாமணைக்கொணையும்.

[3] Read தொல்குலத்திந்திரரதனை.

[4] Read நிறைகுலதன°.

[5] From here the wording is quite different from that of the other published inscriptions.

13 நாமங் குடுத்துத் திருமுடி சூட்டித் தென்னவரிருவா முதலினர்க்குத் தன்குலமளித்துத் தார்க்கடலிலங்கையில் பொற்புரவி நடாத்தி [வி]றற்படைக்கலிகாமன் விரசலாமெகனைக் கடர்க்களிற்றொடும் அகப்படப் பிடித்துக் கதிர்முடித்-

14 தலை தடிந்து முனைவயிற்பகைத்து வந்திழி சளுக்கியஞ்செய்தின பரிபல பின்னநாளி விகலமர்செய்து நிங்குவதென்று சடல் கிளர்ந்தன [கி]ளர்படை பரப்பி ஆர்கலி முடக்காற்றில் சளுக்கி கெட்டுடைதர ஆங்கவனை இருமடிமெ-

15 ன்கொண்ட கொவிரா[ச*]கெசரிவந்மரான உடையார் ஸ்ரீராஜெந்[தி]ரசொழதெவற்கு யாண்டு உ௰௪ வது உடையார் ராஜெந்திரசொழதெவர் அணுக்கி நக்கன்பாவை உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் திருவானித்திருநாளில் உடையா ரெ-

16 ழுந்தருளும் அற்றைக்கு வெண்டும் அழிவுக்கும் உடையார்க்கு அமுதுபடிக்கும் அமுது செய்தருளும்பொழுது ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வரற்குச் சட்டிச்சொறு ஆயிரங் குடுக்கவும் திருவிழாவுக்கு வெண்டும் எண்ணைக்கும் உடையார் வழங்கிஅ-

17 ருளும் பொன்னுக்கும் பரிசட்டம் உள்ளிட்ட அழிவுகளுக்கும் காசு இரண்டுக்கும் இப்பரிச இக்குறித்த நிவந்தஞ் சந்திராதித்தவற் செல்ல ராஜெந்திரசிங்கவளநாட்டுத் தனியூர் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர்க் கிழ்பிடாகைக் கிடாரங்கொண்டசொ-

18 ழப்பெரிளமைநாட்டுப் பராக்ரமசொழநல்லூற்பாற் குணமெநகைபுரமென்றெறின நகரத்துக்குப் பிரமாணப்படி கொண்ட நிலன் நாற்பத்தெழரையும் தில்லைஅழகநெல்லூர் நிலத்தில் விலைகொண்டுடைய தொக்கபாடி

19 நிலன் ஆறரையும் மதுராந்தகப்பெரிளமைநாட்டு ராஜராஜநல்லூர்ப் பெரியபுலன் நிலன் ஒன்றெமுக்காலெ முன்றுமா முக்காணியும் குந்தவைநல்லூர் மாளிகைவாழ்க்கைப்புலன் இரண்டினால் நிலன் ஒன்பதெ மாகாணியும் அருமொ-

20 ழிதெவநல்லூர் செண்பகக்காவுஞ் செந்தபட்டனும் நிலன் ஒன்பதரையெ முன்றுமாவும் இடைப்பள்ளம் நிலன் எழெ இரண்டுமா அரைக்காணி இதில் பிராமணன் உழைச்சாணன் வாதுதெவன் மாதெவனுக்கு விலை வடக்கடையப் புலன் இரண்டினால் நில-

21 ன் முன்றரை நீக்கி நிலனும் ஆகக் குணமெநகைபுரத்தொடும் எறின விரிவுநிலன் எழுவத்தெட்டெகாலெ அரைக்காணி இதில் ஒடைகளாலும் நாரைகாவாற்றாலும் கொல்லைகளாலும் நத்தங்களாலும்

22 நிங்கு நிலன் முப்பத்துநாலெகாலெ அரைக்காணி நீக்கி விளைநிலன் நாற்பத்துநால்வெலி இது பல கிடப்பினாலும் ராஜெந்த்ரசிங்கன் மரக்காலுக்குக் கலத்துவாய்த் தூணி இளையமற(க்)க்காலால் வரிசை இட்டபடி நெல்லு நாலாயிரத்து ஐஞ்ஞூற்றுக்கலம் இதில் மெல்வாரத்தாலுடைய

23 நெல்லு இரண்டாயிரத் திருநூற்றைம்பதின்கலம் இவை காசு ஒன்றுக்கு நெல்லு எண்கலநெ தூணிப்பதக்காக வந்த காசு இருநூற்றறுபத்துநாலெ முக்காலும் குணமெநகைபுரத்துக் காலளவு கொல்கூலி உள்ளிட்ட அங்காடிப்பா[ட்*]டத்துக்கு வைக்கக்கடவ காசு நாற்பதினாலும் ஆகக் காசு முன்னூற்-

24 (ற்)று நாலெமுக்காலும் இவையிற்றுக்குச் செலவாக மார்கழித்திருவாதிரைத்திருநாளைக்கு வெண்டும் வழக்கத்துக்கு பரிசட்டம் உள்ளிட்ட அழிவுகளுக்கு வெண்டும் காசு நூற்றிருபதும் திருவானித்திருநாளில் அமுதுபடிக்கும் [வ]ழக்[க]ப்பரிசட்டத்துக்கும் திருவிளக்கு எண்ணை நாநூற் -

25 றுநாழி உள்ளிட்ட அழிவுக்குக் காசு நூற்றெண்பதும் திருமாசித்திருநாளில் திருத்தொண்டத்தொகை விண்ணப்பச்செய்வாற்க்கு காசு ஐஞ்சும் ஆக காசு முந்நூற்றஞ்சும் கொண்டு இக்குறித்த நிமந்தம் இந்தக் குண[மெ*]நகைபுரத்து எறின வியாபாரிகளும் வெள்ளாளரும் சங்க -

26 (க)ரப்பாடியாரும் சாலியரும் பட்டினவரும் உள்ளிட்ட குடிகளும் தச்சர் கொல்லர் தட்டார் கொலியர் உள்ளிட்ட கிழ்கலனைகளுங் கொண்டு இந்நிவந்தம் சந்திராதித்தவற் செலுத்தக்கடவதாகவும் இவரெ இவ்வூர் வைத்த சாலை சிங்களாந்தகனில் உ -

27 ண்ணும் பிராமணர் இருபத்தைவர்க்கு நிவந்தமாக இவ்வூர்ப்பால் கொண்ட நிலன் ப[ர]ழாய் சங்கொடியான பரவைநங்கைநல்லூர்ப் பிர(ா)ம[ா*]ணப்படி விலைகொண்டுடைய நிலன்பதினைஞ்சரை இதில் பயிர்(ச்)செய்ய ஒண்ணாது நிங்கும் நிலம் ஐஞ் -

28 சரை நீக்கி நிலன் பதிற்றுவெலி இது மரக்கால் மெற்படிகாலால் நெல்லுப் பன்னிருகலனெ முக்குறுணியாக வரிசைஇட்ட நெல்லு இரண்டாயிரத்து நானூற்றைம்பதின் கலம் இதில் மெல்வாரத்தால் நெல்லு ஆயிரத்திருநூற்றிருபத்தைங்கலம் இவையிற்று -

29 க்குச் செலவாக சாலையில் உண்ணும் பிராமணர் இருபத்தைவற்கு நாள் ஒன்றுக்கு அரிசி
தூணிப்பதக் கிருநாழியாக ஐஞ்சுஇரண்டு வண்ணத்தால் நெல்லுக் கலனே முக்குறுணி
ஐஞ்ஞாழியும் கறி . . . . நெல்லுத் தூணியும் மிளகு
ஆழாக்குக்கு நெல்லு ஐஞ்ஞாழி உரியு-

30 ம் புளி ஐம்பலத்துக்கு நெல்லு நானாழியும் உப்பு இருநாழிக்கு நெல்லு ஐஞ்ஞாழியும் மஞ்-
சள் கைய்சுக்கு நெல்லு உரியும் நெய் உரிஆழாக்குக்கு நெல்லு ஐங்குறுணியும் தயிர்
குறுணிநானாழிஉரிக்கு நெல்லு முக்குறுணி ஒருநாழி . . . . . வெற்றிலைப்-
பற்று இரண்டரைக்கும் பாக்கு நூற்றுக்கு நெ-

31 ல்லுக் குறுணிஐஞ்ஞாழியும் விறகு கட்டு ஒன்றுக்கு நெல்லு முக்குறுணிநானாழியும் சனி
ஒன்றுக்கு எண்ணை உரிஆழாக்குக்கு நெல்லு ஐங்குறுணியும் சாலைமடையன் ஒருவ-
னுக்கு நெல்லு அறுநாழியும் மெற்படியானுக்குப் புடவை . . . நெல்லு என்-
கலமும் குசவன் ஒருவனுக்கு நெல்லு நானாழியும் வாழ்வா-

32 ச்சி தண்ணீர்கலம் கொ[ண்*]டுவருவானுக்கு நெல்லு நானாழியும் பணிசெய்ய பெண்டுகள்
ஐப்வற்கு நெல்லு குறுணியும் மெற்படியாருக்கு புடவைக்கு நெல்லு பதின்கலமும்
அறதெயன் ஒருவனுக்கு புடவை முதலுக்கு நெல்லுப் பதின்கலமும் . . . . .
வான் ஒருவனுக்கு நெல்லு குறுணிநானாழியும் ஆக நாள் [ஒன்றுக்கு நெ]-

33 ல்லு முக்கலநெ முக்குறுணியாக ஓராட்டைக்கு நெல்லு ஆயிரத்திருநூற்றிருபத்தை-
தங்கலநெ எழுகுறுணி நானாழி உள்பட குமித்த நிவந்தங்கள் யாண்டு இருபத்துநாலா-
வது முதல் சங்கிராதித்தவற் நிவந்தம் செல்லக் கல்வெட்டியது உ

No. 224.

(*A.R. No.* 119 *of* 1888).

IN THE SAME PLACE.

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No. 225.

(*A. R. No.* 120 *of* 1888).

IN THE SAME PLACE.

1 𑌸𑍍𑌵𑌸𑍍𑌤𑌿 𑌶𑍍𑌰𑍀𑌃 ||— [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

2 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

3 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

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[1] The numbering of the verses in the original is not clear. While the first six are marked 11, 60, 68 and 60 (thrice) respectively, the succeeding 25 verses are marked with double figures. The first of these is the serial number of the verses (7 to 31) and the second is irregularly 56, 76, 44, 60, 64, 77 or 22. Could the verses be quotations from a recognized work?

[illegible] [|*] [illegible]

4 [illegible] [|*] [illegible] [|*] [illegible] [|*] [|*] [illegible]

5 [illegible] [|*] [illegible] [|*] [illegible]

[illegible] [|*] [illegible]

6 [illegible] [|*] [illegible] [|*] [illegible] [|*] [illegible]

7 [illegible] [|*] [illegible] [|*] [illegible] [|*] . . . . [illegible]

8 [illegible] [|*] [illegible] [|*] [illegible] [|*] [illegible] [|*] [illegible]

9 [illegible] [|*] [illegible]

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[1] Perhaps we have to read [illegible].

[2] The metre is faulty.

[3] Five syllables (— — ⏑ — ⏑) have been omitted by mistake before the letter [illegible].

33

வ்யாதாத்வாநாம் ஶ்ரியஃ-௨௰௫-௨௰௨-யஶாணீ ஶிவிஜாகாலவத்ரமதீநஃ வீஜ்ஞாவ்ரஜ்ந-த்த(ா)[ஂ*]வயோ ஶோயலாஜ்யாதயிகாஙகெ[ா*] விகவிகஶ்ரீகண்டகீர்த்திக்ருதோ [|*]ரீ-ஞக்தில-[ஂ*]கஸ்யூஜ்ஜ்ஶாஜ்ஜெஹாக்ஸவகஸீம் காஙக்யா காரோஸஸ்ய காம் க்ஷ்ஜ்ஞா யாஃ வ ஶ[ா*]க-காஂஹவபீகஙஸ்யாஜீஸக் வாயஸஃ-௨௰௯-௭௰௯-ஸூாவாஸ்ய ஜதி ஶ்யாகாஃ ஸாவி ஶிவாஜ்ஜி-ஞக்திலஂமாமொஹாயா[ஂ*]வஹாஞ¹ ஸஂவாதஂ கிஞ வெதபாஹ்யஸரீயஜ்ஞா[க]ஸ்ய-வகெத்ய வாநா [|*] காஜ்ஜி-ஞக்திலஂ விதிவெதலொகவா[ரீ*]நத-

10 வ்யதாஃ வாவத்[ஃ*]ஸொயஃ ப்ரஹ்மகாலொசமொமா விஷி[க*]வா [த]ஸிஷ் ஸகாரீஜ்ய-ணீ[ஃ*] ௨௰௭-௭௰௭- தஸ்[ஷ*]தெவ்யாஶ்ஷிவஸிதாஷிகாஃ காரீகொஷ்ஷ்டிகாயாஃ வ்யா-கா[ஜ்ய]ரீ[வி]தயிகரீஸொள சணஷ்வாதணவஙு [|*]கிமெஙகஸ்ய[ஃ*]ஷ்வதிநட-நாஷ்ஷாநயொமத்யவ்யகாஸஂ ஸக்யஃ ஹக்த்யா ஸாகாஸரீகொாக் ஸ-ஞஷ்ணஃ ரீனவிவ-ஞ-ஷ்லிஃ-௨௰௮-௯௰௮-வீகாஂப[ா*]ஃ காஙநரீஷெதெவ்யாஷ்க்காரீமொஷெ ஷ்டிகிரீஷ்ஷி-காயாஃ [|*]வகாஸ யமெசஸிவிஞாஸிக்நாம் வநாஷ்டிய-ஞரீஂபாகாம் கமொகி -௨௰௯-சௌ௰ச -கிஙாய ரீமெத்ரவ வகாஸ ஸாஸஃ பாஹ்யஃ ஶிஞாஸிநாஸரொகவீஸஃ[|*]யஷ்டம் மதீரீஷ்ஷ கிமெகஶ்ஷிவாயாஃ கீஃயாரீய-ஞா ஸவயக்ஷி ஷ்ணாஸ்யஃ² -௩௰-௪௰௪-

11 -கமெத்யவொவீஸயாஸவதிஸாகாயா த்[யா]காஂ ஶிஶ-ஞநாமெஙகூதிமொஷ்டதரீகமொ-தெஷ கித்ரூாஂ விஸ-ஞதிஃ[|*]ஶ்ாவ்யா ஸா ஷி வ்யயரீவதவீ ஸாநாகூஂவாஶயாநாஃ வாஂஸாஂ மொகத்ரகயஜநந் தாஸ்யவி[ஹ்]ஙதெவ -௩௰௧-௯௰அ எல்லை கடலால் இகல்[வெந் த]ணக்க வந்த செல்வமெலாம் தில்லைச் சிற்றம்பலத்து தொல்லைத் திருக்-கொடுங்கை பொன்மெந்தா கிண்ணைக்கலிபி ந்தருக்கொடுங்க வெல்கூத்த ந்தான் உ தில்-லையில் பொன்னம்பலத்தைச் செம்பொநாவ- மெஞு வாநெல்லையைப் பொங்நாக்கிநா கென்பரால் ஒல்லை வடவெந்தர் செல்வமெலாம் வாந்தக வெல்வா-

12 ங்கும் குடைவெந்தர் தொண்டையார் கொல் உ தென்வெந்தர் கூ[டிமிந்த] செந்தமிழர் தென் கொயில் பொன் மெஞு திக்கைப்புகழ் வெந்தாமெறற்கும் குற்றம் பல கண்டொன் கொலிழைக்கு வெல் கூத்தள் சிற்றம்பலத்திலெ செந்று உ பொன்நம்பலக்கூத்தாடு மிடம் பழ[மரை]வில் பொன்நம்பலக்கூத்தர் பொன்மெந்தார் தெளாநர் மலைமன்நர் எனை வடமன்நக் குலமன்நர் செல்வமெலாம் கொண்டு [தி]ல்லைச சிற்றம்பலத்தெ பொமப்பலந்தன்னை மல்லற்கடற்றுன் வாழ்க்கூத்தன விலலவுதொ நம்புசெர் வெஞ்-சிலையின் ஆற்றலனை மாற்றிய கொன் செம்புமெவித்தான் தெரிஞு

13 எனை வட வரைசா இட்டிடைந்த செம்பொநால் எனவென தில்லைநாயகற்கு ஆனை சொதி கலமா மாமயிலை தொணடய[ர்*]கொன் கூத்தன் பரிகலமாக செய்தமைத்தான் பா[ர்*]த்து உ தெள்ளு புநற் தில்லைச் சிற்றம்பலத்தா[ர்*]க்கு தள்ளி எதிரம்பலந்தாதம் பாதம் புள்ளுண்ண நற்பிக்கம் கொண்ட நரமொகவிரன் செம்பொற்நடிக்கம் கொண்-டான் புரிந்து உ இட்டாள் எழில் தில்லை எம்மாற் கிசை விளங்க மட்டார் பொழில் மணவில் வாழ்கூத்தன ஒட்டாறை இன்ந மறற நித்தானமெற்றிநாள் நிண்மொளி-செர் செம்பொற் தனிக்காளம் செய்து உ ஆ[டு*]னத்தனிதெனுக்கு அம்பலத்தெ கர்ப்பூரம் கிடு ந்திரு -

14 விளக்கு கிடமைத்தான் கூடா ரடிக்கத் தினைநரியும் புள்ளும் கடிக்கப் பெருங்கூத்தன் தான் உ பொன்னம்பலம் சூழப் பொன்னின் திருவிளககால் மன்னுந்திருச்சுற்று வந்தமைத்-தான் தென்நவர் தம்பூ பெறுவார் குழலாரொடும் பொருள் பெருமாவெற தொண்-டை[யா]ர் மன் உ சிற்றமபலத்தானை எற்றிகா ரெவ்வடத்து பொற்றுததால் வந்த கொழுநெதிபால் பற்றுரககு கட்ட வஞ்சகம் வெலு கார்மணவில் கூத்தன் திருக்கடட வஞ்சநமாஞ் செய்து உ தொல்லைப் பதித்தில்லைக் கூத்தற்குத் தொண்டையர் கொன் எல்லைத் திசைக்கரிகள் எட்டளவும் செல்லப் பொய-

15 சாலமுதுபெய்தடிக்க தாரட்டிகத் தந்[கு*]தொணடையர் கொன் பாலமு[து*] செய்வித்-தான் பரிநு உ ஆடுந் தெளிதெனை ஆயிரநாழி கெயயால் ஆடும்படி கணடான் அன்-றிறாகள் ஒடுந்திறககண்ட நாளன் சிநக் களிற்றுன் ஞாலமறந் கண்ட தொணடை-யர் கொன் ஆங்கு[உ] நட்டப்பெருமான் [நா]ம ஞாநந் குழைந்தளித்த சிட்டப்பெரு-மான் திருப்பதியம முட்டாமைக் செ[ள்*]ப்பொ[ா*]க்கு மணடபத்தைச் செய்தான் தெவ்வெந்தர் கெடவாட்டிக்கும. தொணடையர்கொன் மன் - மலலக் குலவரையால் நூற்றுககால்மணடபத்தெ தில்லையபிரானுக்கு செய்தமைத்தான் கொல்லமழிவு கண்டான செரன் அளப்பரி-

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¹ Read ஶாஹாஂ யொவஹாஞ.

² Read ஶாஸ்யஃ.

16 ய ஆற்றல் [கிழிவு]கண்டான் தொண்டையர்கொனெறு உ தில்லைப்பெரிய திருச்சுற்றுமாளிகை எல்லைக்குரைவண்பொ னிண்டமை[த்*]தான் தொல்லைநீர்மண்மகளைக் [க]ங்கொன் மதிக்குடைக்கீழ் விற்றிருத்தி உரை மருழும் தொண்டையர்கொ னுற்று உ புட்கரணி கல்சாத்துவித்தான் பொற்(பொற்)கொயிலின்வாய் விக்காணம் பார்ப்படஹ தன்மெல் விதித்து திக்களவு மாநடத்திக் கொல் நடத்தும் வாள்கூத்தன் மண்ணிலலறம் தாநடத்தில் நீடுவித்தான் தான் உ விதிருழ் நல்விளக்கும் விற்றிருக்க மண்டபமும் மா துருழ் பாதமும் மருழ்ஹார்க்கும் பொதுருழ் தில்லைக்கெ செய்தான்

17 திசைகளூறு பொய் நிற்கும் எல்லைக்கெ செல் கலிங்கரெறு உ நடங்கவின்கொ ளம்பலத்து நாயகச் சென்[தெ]னின் நிடங்கவின்கொள் பச்சைவிளங்தெனுக்கடங்கார் கருமாணிகைய் மெல் பகடுதைத்த கூத்தன் திருமாளிகை யமைத்தான் சென்று உ எய்வுலகும் எவ்வுயிரு மின்றுமெழி லழியாரு செவ்வியான் கொயில் திருச்சுற்றைப்பவ்வஞ்சூழ்எல்லை வட்டன்தங்கொற்கியல் விட்ட வாட்கூத்தன் தில்லைவட்டத்தெ யமைத்தான் சென்றுஉ வாளுடைய பொற்பொ[து]வின் மன் நடந்தனனடனமாடும் ஆளுடைய பாவைக் கவிஷேகம் வெளுடைய பொற்பினுன் பொன்னம்பலக்கூத்தன் பொங்குசடவெற்பினுற் [ச]ரத்திரு -

18 ன் வெறு உ செய்தாம்பன் வாய்மலிக்கு தில்லையம் தெவிக்கும் [பி]தாம்பரஞ் சமைத்தான் பெரொவிகிர் மொதா வலைகின்றவெல்லை யபையனுக்கெயாக மலைகின்றதொண்[டை*]யார் மன் உ செல்வித்திருஹறங் கண்(ண)ணுனகரித் தில்லைக்கெ நல்ல மகப்பாலெண்ணை நாள்தொன்றும் செல்லத் தான் கண்டா னரும்பயர்கொன் குண்ணக்கிர்ஞாலமெல்லாங் கொண்டான் தொண்டையர்கொன் உ பொன் னுலகு தாம் புலியூர் தொழுவத[ற்]து குன்னிழிகின்ற ெ[ச]ாக்கமால் தென்னர் . . . டாமற்செருத்த கூத்தன் செம்பொன்னின் கொடி புறஞ் செய்தருமா உ ஆதிசெம்பொன்னம்பலத்-லம்மாநெழுஹருளு -

19 ம் விதியும் பொன்மெய்ந்தெனனுய் மெல்விளக்கும் சொதிக் கொடியுடைத்தா (பொன்) பொன்னுல் குறுகவலான் ஒன்றும்படி யமைத்தான் தொண்டையர்கொ(ா)ன் பார்த்து உ நாயகர் வீதி எழுஹருளும் நன்னுனால் [தூ]ய கருவெழு தூபத்தால் பொய்யொளிசெர் வான்மறைக்[க]ண் பானிம்பண்மகவ[ன] வண்புகழால் தான் மறைக்கூத்தன் சமைத்து உ பாருமைய் மொட்பச் செய்வீர் சிரியர் திருவுருவமான திருக்கொலம் பெருகொளியால் காட்டினுன் தில்லைக்கெ தாசங்[வா]ய் வெங்கலியை ஒட்டினுன் தொண்டையர்கொன் உ என்னுஞ் சிற்றம்பலத்தொங் சொமா னங்கிசங் கொடு முல-

20 கெதக[ச்சா]ங் தமைத்தான் நல்லுவந்துயினக் கொள்வீர் கொள்வொன்னல் வெல்களெ[ர்]களிரி[வளி]த்திடு தொண்டையர்கொன் [வெ]ன்று உ மன்னும் திகழ் தில்லைக்கெ வாணிக்க. சகணத்தன்று பொழில் மணவில் தொண்டைமான் என்றுஞுண்ணக்கண்டான் இகல்வெஹராகம் பருஞுண்ணக் கண்டான் பரிஜு உ தில்லை தியாகவலி விண்சிற் பஞ்சவினி எல்லை கிலங் கொண்டிறைபிழிச்சி தில்லை மறைமுடிப்பார் விதிமடஞ் சமைத்தான் மண்ணெனுர் கு[ன]ற முடிப்பார் தொண்டையர் கொ[வ] என்றும் பெறுதலால் எருவிழிற் புலியூர்மன்றி நடனுக்கு

21 மா மத்தக் குன்று குடுத்த[ருளி] மண்ணிற் கொ[டுங்]கலி வாராமெ தடுத்தான் தொண்டையர் கொன் ருன் உ முத்திறத்தா ரிசன் முதற்றிறத்தை பாடியவர் ஒக்கமைத்த செப்பெட்டினுள்ளி னெழுதித் தலக்கிலெல்லைக் கிரி[வா]யிசை யெழுதினுன் கூத்தன் தில்லைச் சிற்றம்பலத்தெ சென்று உ தில்லை வளரும் தெளிதெனெளி தழைப்ப நல்ல திருஹாவனஞ் சமைத்த வில்லத் திருக்கொட்டங்கொள் வாழ்வெஹர் கொற்றக்களியானையிட்டங் கொள் காலிங்கரெறு உ னுருபிர முகமாங் கமைத்தான் ஞென்சினத்தி பாருக வெல்களிற்று வாட்கூத்தன் கூருளும்

22 வல்லிச் சிறுகிடைக்குக் கான்வளர் நாடஞ் செய் தில்லைச் சிற்றம்பலத்தெ செந்று உ மாசிக்கடலாடி விற்றிருக்க மண்ட[ப*]மும் மாசற்றவற்றைப் பெருவழியும் பிசற்கு தெற்புலியூற்கெ யமைத்தான் கூத்தன் திசையனைத்து மன் புலியானை நடக்கறையத்து உ ஓங்கிய பொன்னம்பலத்தார்க் கொராயிரஞ் சுரவி ஆங்களித்தா னெற்றெதிர்ஹாராயிழையார்[த]ங்காதொக்கி உடலாவி யுயிர் காட்பொக்கி இருக்கென்ற தொண்டையரெறு உ தொல்லொர்வாழ்தில்லைச் சுடலை யமந்தார் கொயில் கல்லால் எடுத்தமைத்தான் காசினியிற் ெ[பா]வன் மறை -

23 வளர்க்க வெங்கலியை மாற்றி வழு[வா]மறம்வளர்க்க காலிங்க னுய்ந்து உ தில்லை மூவாயிரவர் தங்கள் திருவளர்எல்லையில் பெரெரிக்கெழில்மதகு கல்லினுற்றாநமைத்தான் தெவெஹற்கெல்லான் கலஹ விரவாநமைத்தான் தொண்டையார் மன் உ ;உ ஹார உ இது வெட்டுவித்தான் காலிங்கராய(ா)ர் ஆண்ட அரசு :—அறமறவற்க அறமல்லது துணையில்லை : உ திருச்சிற்றம்பலம் உ

No. 226.

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INSIDE THE SECOND PRAKARA OF THE SAME TEMPLE, WEST SIDE.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ||—[புய]ல் வாய்க்க வள[ம் பெரு]க[ப்] பொ[ய்யாத நான்மறையி]ன் செயல
வாய்ப்ப [தி]ருமகளும் ஜ[ய]ம[களு]ம் சிறந்து [வா]ழ வெ[ண்]ம[திபொற்] குடை
விளங்க வெல்வெந்தர் அடிவணங்[க] [ம]ண்மடந்தை ம[ன]ங்க[ளி]ப்ப மனு[நீ]தி த-

2 ழைத்தொங்கச் சக்கரமுஞ் செங்[கொலு]ங் திக் . . . . கற்[ப]-
காலம் புவிகாப்ப பெ[ா]ற்ப[மைந்த] முடி [புனைந்]து செம்பொன்வீரஸிஂஹ[ா*]-
ஹாஸனத்துப் புவனமுழுதுடையாளொடும் வீற்[றி]ருந்தருளிய கொப்பரகெ[ச]ரி -

3 வதரான த்ரிபுவ[ன]ச்சக்கரவத்திகள் . . . . . . [யாண்டு ஐ]ஞ்சாவதுந[ா]ள்
[கா]டுயினால் ப்ர[ஸா]தஞ்செய்தருளின திருமுகப்படி விருச்சிகஞாயற்றுத் தியதி ஒ-
ன்றினால் ராஜாதிராஜவளநாட்டுத் தனி[யூ]ர்

4 பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் வாச்சியன் திரு . . . . [சுங்கந்]தவி[ர்*]த்-
தருளின குலொத்துங்கசொழதெவர் மகளார் அம்மங்கையாழ்வாரான பெரியநா[ச்சி]-
யார்க்கு அந்நிய னாமகரணத் -

5 திட்டுக்குடுத்த பரிசாவது இவ . . . . மயி . . . [சி]யன்
பாணி திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையானும் இ . . . . . மகன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடை-
யா[ந்*] நக்கனும் இவந் தம்பி

6 [தி]ருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடைய . . . . [தம்]பி [திருச்சி]ற்றம்பலமுடையாந் . .
. . . இவந் தம்பி இளைய திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையாந் கண்ணியும் இ . . . . . ணி
திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையானை முதுகண்ணாக[வு]-

7 டைய . . . . . . [திருச்சி]ற்றம்பலமுடையாந் திருச்சிற்றம்பல[மு]டை[ய]ானும்
இவனையெ முதுகண்ணாகவுடைய இவந் தம்பி திருச்சிற்ற[ம்பலமு]டையாந் [தி]ருவ-
ணந்திசனும் இவனையெ முதுகண்ணா -

8 கவுடைய . . . . திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையானும் மயி . . .
. . . . [ண்]ணியும் இவனையெ முதுகண்ணாகவுடைய இவந் . . . . .
திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையானும் ஆக இவ்வனைவரும்

9 வாச்சி[யந்]மாதெவ . . . . . ம் இவந்தம்[பி] . . . . . ந்தானையும் . . . தம்
. . . . . . ந்தெவனை முதுகண்ணா[க] வுடைய இவந் மாதா தெவந் மாதெவந்
ப்ராஹ்மணி கண்[ணையு]ம் இவனையெ முதுகண்ணாக்வுடைய இவநுடந்பிறந் -

10 தான் பெ . ற்றக்க . . . . . ப . . [முடையான்] பூத . . . .
. . . ம் ஆக [இ]வ்வனைவரும் ஆக இவ்விருவரும் பக்கல் இவர் தம்முடைய காசை.
யிட்டு என்பொலெ அந்நிய நா[மகர]ணத்[த]ால் விலைகொண்டு அனுபவிக்கிற மணற்-
கொல்லை -

11 நிலம் இவ்வூர் வடபிடாகை மதுரா[ந்த]கப்பெரி[ளமைந]ாட்டு மணலூரான அபி[ம]ான-
மெருநல்லூர்பால் ஸ்ரீசுந்தரசொழவதிக்கு மெற்[கு ஸ்ரீ]ராஜராஜவாய்க்காலுக்கு
வடக்கு நாலாங்கண்ணாற்று

12 மூன்றாஞ்[சதிரத்]து நான் இவர்க்கு அன்னிய நாமகரணத்து . . . . . . க்கும் மணற்-
கொல்லை நி[லத்]துக்கு எல்லை உழைச்சாணன் குமாரந்தத்தன் மணற்கொல்லை[நி]லத்-
துக்கு கிழக்கும் இந்த மயிலைக் கவிசியன்பா[ணி] திரு-

13 ச்சிற்றம்[பலமுடைய]ான் உள்ளிட்டார் மண[ற்]கொல்லைக்கு தெற்கு[ம்] இவர்கள் ம-
ணற்கொல்லைநிலத்துக்கு மெற்கும் இவர்கள் மணற்கொல்லை நிலத்துக்கு வடக்கும் ஆக
இவ்விசைஞ்ச இன்னான்கெல்லையிலும்

14 உள்பட்ட நிலம் நூற்றிருபத்தெட்டுக்குழி கொண்டது ஒரு மாவாக அளந்துகொள்ள வந்-
த மணற்கொல்லைநிலம் கால் இன்னிலம் காலையும் இக்கொல்லைநிலத்துக்கு பழம்படி
நீர் இறைக்கவும் பாயவும் வாரவும்

.5 உடைய உரிமைகளும் ஆக இத்தனையும் யிருநூறுகாசு இட்டு என்பொலெ அன்னி-
யநாமகரணத்தால் விலைகொண்டு அனுபவித்துவருகிறமையில் என்பொரால் விலை-
கொண்ட ஒலை மெல்பட்ட மணல்கொல் -

.6 லைநிலம் காலும் இன்னிலத்துக்கு பழம்படி உடைய உரிமைகளும் உடைமைகளும் ஆக
இத்தனையும் இந்த இராஜெந்த்ரசொழரான சுங்கந்தவித்தருளின குலொத்துங்கசொ-
ழதெவர் மகளார் அம்மங்கைய[ா] -

17 ம்வாரான பெரிய நாச்சியா[ர்*]க்கு க்ஷேமமாக ஸம்மதித்து அந்நிய நாமகரணத்திட்டுக் குடுத்தேந் இந்த இராஜேந்திரசோழரான சுங்கந்தவிர்த்தருளின குலோத்துங்கசோழதேவர் மகளார் அம்மங்கை ஆழ்வாரான

18 பெரியனாச்சியா[ர்*]க்கு வாச்சியந் திரு[ச்சி]ற்றம்பலமுடையான் சங்கரநான தென்னவந் பிரமமாராயநேந் இப்பரிசு இந்த வாச்சியந் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையாந் சங்கரநாரான தென்னவந் பிரம்மாராயர் எழுதகவென்று அ-

19 ருளிச்செய்ய எழுதினேன் . . . . திருக்கழிப்பாலை உடையாந் உமைபங்கனேன் இவை எந் எழுத்து ||௨ இப்படி சம்மதித்து அந்நியநாமகரணத்[தி]ட்டுகு -

20 டுத்தே[ந்]ந் வாச்[சி]யந் திருச்சிற்றம்[பலமுடையான் ப்ர]ஹ்மமாராயநேன் இவை எந் [எ]ழுத்து ||௨ இப்படி அறிவேந் வாச்சியன் நக்கந் பொன்னம்பலக்கூத்தனேன் ||— இப்படி அறிவேன் உ[ழை] -

21 ச்சாணந் வடுகன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமு[டையான்] . . . . . . றிவேன் வாச்சியன் தேவன் [நக்]கனேந் ||௨ இப்படி அறிவேன் வாச்சியன் நக்கன் [ச]ங்கரனேன் ௨ இப்படி அறிவேன் வாச்சி[ய] -

22 ன் பொன்னம்பலக்கூத்தன் சங்கர [னேன் ௨] . . . . ன் வாச்சியன் கன்தன் மா[தே]வ[னே]ன் ||—

No. 227.

(*A.R. No.* 122 *of* 1888.)

INSIDE THE SECOND PRAKARA, RIGHT OF ENTRANCE INTO THE SAME TEMPLE, WEST SIDE.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ||* [புயல்] வா[ய்]த்[து] வளம் பெருகப் பொய்யாத நான்மறையின் செயல் வாய்ப்பத் திருமகளும் ஜ[யமகளு]ம் [சி]றந்துவாழ வெண்மதிபோல் குடை விள[ங்]க வெல்வேந்தர் அடிவணங்க மண்மட[ந்]தை மனங்களி[ப்ப]

2 மனுநிதி [தழைத்]தோங்கச் சக்கரமுஞ் செங்கோலு[ம் தி]க்கனைத்தும் செல ந[ட]க்க கற்பகாலம் புவிகாக்[கப்] பொற்பமைந்த முடி[பு]னைந்து [செ]ம்பொ[ன்வீ]ரஸி[ம்]ஹா[ஸ]நத்துப் புவநமுழுதுடை[யா]ளொடும் வீற்றி -

3 ருந்தருளி[ய கோப்ப]ரகேசரிவர்மரான த்ரிபுவநச்ச[க்]ரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீவீரராஜேந்த்ரதேவற்கு யாண்டு [ரு]ஆவது நாள் இருநூற்றுநாற்பத்தஞ்சினா[ல்] வ்யவஹாரஞ் [செய்த]ருளி வந்த செய்யும படிப்படி |||௨ ஜயங்[கொ]ண்டசோழமண் -

4 [டலத்]து [புலியூர்] [கோ]ட்டத்து குன்றத்தூர்நாட்டுக் குன்றத்தூர் வெண்குளப்பாக்கிழான் அரையன் தில்லைநாய[க]ன[ரா]ன நந்திபன்மன் தான் ஆளுடையார்க்கு [சாத்தி]அ[ருளத் திரு]ப்பள்ளித்தாமம் ஆக்கத் தில்லைந[ா]யகன் திருநந்தவன -

5 மென . . . [செய்ய]வும் இத்திருநந்தவனஞ் செய்யும் பேர் நால்வற்கும் இநந்தவனத்துக்கும் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் [மூலபருஷை]யார்பக்கல் இவன் விலைகொண்ட நிலத்துக்கு ஊர்க்கணக்கு

6 [உ]த்தமபிரியன் எழுத்[தி]ட்ட கணக்குப்படி பிடாகை அச்[சேரி]ச் சாத்தங்குடியான மஹிபாலகுலகாலநல்லூரில் குந்தவைவ[தி]க்கு மேற்கு உத்தமசோழவாய்க்காலுக்குத் தெற்கு இரண்டாங்கண்ணாற்று இரண்டாஞ்ச[திரத்]து வா[ச்சியன்]

7 இரவிகூத்தனை முதுகண்ணாக உ[டைய] இவன் ப்ராஹ்மணி தேவன் நிலியும் இவன் மகன் கூத்தன் இரவியும் பக்கல் விலைகொண்ட நிலம் அரையே முன்றுமாவும் புதுமாடம்பட்டான மண்ணைக்கடாந்தநல்லூரில் குந்தவை . . . .

8 கணவதிவாய்க்காலுக்குத் தெற்கு நாலாங்கண்ணாற்று மூன்றுஞ்சதிரத்தும் அஞ்சாங்கண்ணாற்று மூன்றுஞ்சதிரத்தும் தில்லைநாயகந் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையாந்பக்கல் விலைகொண்ட நிலம் அரையே . . . .

9 ரைக்காணிக்கீழரையும் திருவெ[ங்]களமாக ஜநநாதநல்லூரில் தி[ரு]ச்சிற்றம்பலவதிக்குக் கிழக்கு உத்தமசோழவாய்க்காலுக்குத் தெற்கு இரண்டாங்கண்ணாற்று இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்து மாறன் திரியமுடையா[ன் உள்ளிட்டார்]

10 பக்கல் விலைகொண்ட நிலம் ஞ[ஊமாவு]ம் ஆக ஊர்ப்படி நாம்பெ[ற்ற] நிலம் ஒன்றரையே இருமாவரைக்கீழரையும் அஞ்சாவது பசாந்முதல் ஆளுடையார்க்குத் தேவதானமாய்த் திருநந்தவநப்புற இறையிலிய[ாய்]

11 பலாவவையொடுங் கூட்டவும் இந்[நி]லத்து மடக்கு ஒபாதியால் வந்த நிலத்துக்கு இவ்வூர் [நி]ண்ட நிச்சயித்த ஒபாதியாலுள்ள காசு ஊரில் கழிக்கவும் இந்நிலத்தில் திருநந்தவநமாகச் செய்த நிலம் நீங்கலா[க]

12 நிக்கவும் நிக்கிநின்ற நிலம் திருநந்தவநக்குடிக[ளு]க்குக் கொற்றுக்கு ஜீவிதமாக அடைக்கவுங் கடவதாகப் பெறவெணுமென்று நந்திபன்மந் தான் நமக்குச் சொன்னமையில் இப்படி செய்யக்கடவதாகச் சொல்லி

13 வரிக்குக் கூறுசெய்வார்கள் கணக்கிலும் இ[ட்]டுக்கொள்ளக்கடவதாகவும் இன்நிலம் நந்திபன்மன் விலைகொண்ட பிரமாணங்கள் கொயிலி[லெ] ஒடுக்கக்கடவதாகவும் இப்படிக்குத் திருப்பூமண்டபத்திலெ கல்வெட்டக்கட -

14 வதாகவுஞ் சொன்னோம் இன்நிலத்தில் திருநந்தவநஞ் செய்து நீங்கல[ா]க நீக்குகிற நிலம் நீக்கி நிக்கிநின்ற நிலம் இத்திருநந்தவனக்குடி[களு]க்குக் கொற்றுக்கு ஜீவி[த]மாக அடைக்கவும் இவர்கள் மற்றுள்ள திருநந்த[வனக்கு] -

15 டிகள் அளந்துவ[ரும்]படியால் உள்ள திருப்பள்ளித்தாமம் திருப்பூமண்டபத்துக்கு முதலாக அளக்ககடவதாகவும் இப்படிக்[கு][த்] திருப்பூமண்டபத்தி[ெ]ல கல்வெட்டவும் பண்ணி நந்திபன்மன் இன்நிலம் விலைகொண்ட பிரமாணங்கள் கொயி -

16 லிலெ ஒடுக்கி இத்திருநந்தவன[க்கு]டிகளுக்கு ஜிவிதமடைத்த நிலத்துக்குக் குடிமை கொள்ளாதொழியவும் பண்ணுவது||—எழுதிநான் திருமந்திரஓலை ராஜநாராயணமூ[வெந்]தவெளான்||உ இப்படி திருவா[ய்]மொழிந்தருளினார் இவை தளம்பாராயன் எழுத்து ||—இ[வை]

17 காங்கெயராயன் எழுத்து||—இவை [ப]ல்லவராயன் எழுத்து இவை விசை[ய]ராயன் எழுத்து|—இவை வயிராதராயன் எழுத்து|—இவை விழுப்பாதராயன் எழுத்து இவை அளகராய[ன் எ]ழுத்து |உ இவை . . . . இன்நிலங்கள் அன்நிய நாமகரணத்திட்டுப்படி செம்பொலை-

18 த்ரைலொக்யசக்ரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீவீரராஜெந்த்ர[தெ]வற்கு [யா]ண்டு ௫ ஆவது கற்கடகநாயற்[று] தியதி ௨௰௫னால் ராஜாதிராஜவளநாட்டுத் தநியூர் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் [வா]ச்சியன் [தெவந]க்[க]நென் ஜ[யங்கொண்டசொழ] ம[ண்]ட[ல]த்துப் புலியூர்கொட்டமான குலொத்துங்கசொழ . . . .

19 நந்திபன்மற்கு நான் அந்நிய நாம[கர]ணத்தி[ட்டு]க் குடுத்தபரிசாவது இவர் காசு இட்டு எ[ன்]பெரிலெ இத்தெவ[ற்]கு நாலாவது இ[ஷ]பநாயற்றுத் தியதியிலெ விலைகொண்டுடைய நிலம் [இ]வ்வூர் மெல்[பிடாகை கங்]கைகொண்டசொழப்பெரிளமைநாட்டு அச்செரிச் சாத்தங்குடி . . . . .

20 இரண்டாஞ் சதிரத்து நிலம் அரையெ மு[ன்று](ம்)[மாவும்] இன்னிலன் என்[பெரிலெ] விலை கொண்டுடைய இன்னாட்டுப் புதுமாடப்பட்டான ம[ண்]ணைக்கடான்தகநல்லூர்ப்பால் குந்தவைவதிக்கு மெற்கு [கண]வதிவாய்க்கால்[லுக்குத் தெற்கு] [கா]லாங்[கண்]ணாற்று மூன்றாஞ்சதிரத்திலும் ௫ கண்ணா[ற்று] மூன்றாஞ்ச[தி]ரத்திலும் ஆக இ[ந்நில] . . . . .

21 இட்டு என்பெரிலெ கொண்[ட]மையில் இ[ப்பிர]மாணங்கள் பெற் . . . . க இப்பிரமாணைப்படி இவ[ர்]க்கு . . ம்பாக அன்னிய நா[மக]ர[ண]த்திட்டுக் குடுத்தென இந்த வெண்குளப்பாக்கி[ழான் அரையன் தில்லைநாயகனான] நந்திபன்மற்கு வாச்சியன் தெவநக்க[நென்] இவரெழு . . [வென்று பணிக்க] இந்த அ [1]

No. 228.

(*A.R. No.* 123 *of* 1888).

ON THE EAST·GOPURA OF THE SAME TEMPLE.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[||*] சீர்கொண்ட வெள்ளாறு குருதிப்பெருக்கிற் ெ-
2 சவ்வாறு பட்டொட வவ்வாறுசென் றப்பொர்வென்-
3 று வன[ப்*]பெய் நடங்கண்டதற்பின் புலியூர் நடங்கண்-
4 ட புவநெகவீரர் பார்பண்டளந்துண் டொராவிற்கிட-
5 க்கும் பச்சைப் பசுங் கொண்டலெ பத்மநாபர கார்கொண்ட
6 தின் கையில் வெலுக்கு வற்றுங் கடலல்லவென்பெதை கண்-
7 டந்த [||—] கடலெஉ மாறுபடு மன்னவர்தங் கைபூண்ட வாளி-
8 ரும்பு வெறுமவர் கால் பூண்டுவிட்டதெ சிறிமிக வெட்டந் திரி-
9 களிற்று விக்கிரமபாண்டியன் தனாட்டங் கடை சிவந்த நாள் உ

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[1] The rest of the inscription is lost.

No. 229.

(*A.R. No.* 124 *of* 1888).

ON THE WEST GOPURA OF THE SAME TEMPLE.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ உ ஸ்ரீமெற்கித்திக்குமெல் கொமாறபன்மர் திரு[பு]வனசக்க[ரவ]த்தி[கள்] ஸ்ரீகுல -

2 செகரதெவற்கு யாண்டு இருபத்தெட்டாவது நாள் ஐம்பத்தா[றி]னால் காலிங்கராயன் ஒ -

3 லை தென்னவன்ப்ரஹ்மாராயரும் குலசெகரப்ரஹ்மாராயரும் விக்கிரமசொழப்ப்ரஹ்மாராயரு -

4 ம் விக்கிரமபாண்டியப்ரஹ்மாராயரும் ஜயதுங்கப்பல்லவரையரும் எனாதியராயரும் தில்லையம்ப -

5 லப்பல்லவரையரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வரக்கண்கா -

6 ணிசெய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீ(க்)க[ா*]ரியஞ்செய்வார்களும் சாமுதாயஞ்செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ்செய்வா -

7 ர்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறுசெய்வார்களும் தில்லைநாயகன் பெரும்பண்டாரத்தாரும் திருமடைப்பள்ளி -

8 ப்பண்டாரத்தாரும் திருக்க[ர]கக்கள்ளியாரும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு [வி]டுதந்ததாவது இராசாக்கள்த -

9 ம்பிராந்திருமாளிகை மெலைத்திருமாளிகையில் நிலையெழுகொபுரத்திருவாசல் புறவாசல் தென்பக்கத் -

10 து எழுந்தருளிஇருந்து பூசை கொண்டருளுகிற குலொத்துங்கசொழவி[1] . . . . யார் சிருகாலைச்சந் -

11 தி சுந்தரபாண்டியன்சந்திக்கு பின்[ப]ாக அடை அமுது செய்[து] . . . . . [முதுசெய்]தருளும்இடத்து உ

12 டையார் ஸ்ரீமூலத்தானமுடையா[ர்*] கொயில் மெலைக்கட்டணத்து . . . . ற்றிவார் ஆமுது-

13 செய்தருளும் அடைக்கு விடும் நிவந்தக்கட்டுப்படியெ மிசைக்கு பொனகப் பழவரிசியும் வெஞ்சனங்களும்

14 விடவும் வெண்டும் நிவந்தங்களுக்கு [வ]டன்க உய்யக்கொண்டார்வளனாட்டு[2] . . . யூர்நாட்டு நெல்வாச்செரியுடை -

15 யான் திருநட்டப்பெ . . ழான் அணிதில்லையம்பலவனான நரசிங்க . . . பெரும்பற்றபுலியூர் முலபருஷை -

16 யாரில் வாச்சியன் [தி]ருவ[ல]ஞ்சுழியுடையான் நஞ்சமுதுசெயிதான்[பொரால்] விலைகொண்டு திரிவிட்டு கா -

17 . . . , ச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் சொக்கியும் இவன் தம்பி சிவதவன . னலாசமாதெவனும் பக்கல் . . . .

18 . . . . கண்ணாற்று வாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு இன்னான்கெல்லையிலும் உட் . . . . .

19 . . . . தங்கக்குக் கிழக்கும் கண்[3] . . . .

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[1] May be filled up with the syllables ஸ்ராமுடை

[2] The damaged letters may be ப்பணைய்

[3] The rest of the inscription is lost.

[4] The inscriptions published by Mr. Rice do not appear to include No. 10 of the *A.R.*—an inscription on a hero-stone which is dated in Śaka 1248, Kshaya and registers the death of a cavalier in the siege of Niḍugallu.

APPENDIX III

Two Inscriptions of Kulottunga III at Cidambaram

Reproduction of relevant pages from South Indian Inscriptions,
Volume III, pp. 204 - 217

No. 86	(A.R.E. 457 of 1902)	p. 210
No. 87	(A.R.E. 458 of 1902)	p. 213

IX.—INSCRIPTIONS OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

As I have stated on page 43 above, the time of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa III., the immediate predecessor of Râjarâja III., is settled by an inscription at Nellore, which couples Śaka-Saṁvat 1119 with the 19th year of his reign. Professor Kielhorn's calculations of the dates of twenty inscriptions of this king have shown that his reign commenced between the 8th June and 8th July A.D. 1178.[8]

The records of the reign of Kulôttuṅga III. are so numerous that a complete list of them would occupy too much space. I subjoin a list of those opening with a historical introduction, the first word of which is புயல்..

1. 3rd year : Tirumâṇikuḻi, No. 85 below.
2. 5th year : Chidambaram, No. 121 of 1887-88.
3. Do. do. No. 122 of 1887-88.
4. 8th year : Tiruveṇgâḍu, No. 118 of 1896.[9]
5. 9th year : Chidambaram, No. 86 below.

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[1] See above, p. 176, note 2.

[2] On taṉiyûr see above, p. 3, note 7.

[3] Literally, 'having stopped its being the common property (of other kings).' The same phrase (பொதுநீக்கி) occurs in a description of the reign of Râjamahêndra; see p. 191 above, clause *b*.

[4] Compare above, p. 191 and note 8. In No. 16 of the list on p. 193 above, the whole passage runs as follows (see above, p. 203, note 3) :—"Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Śôḻa-maṇḍalam, which is ruled over — having conquered the earth and having made it his exclusive property — by the warlike Vîrarâjêndra, (who) put a stop to the deceit of the Raṭṭa king after seeing (his) back in an encounter on the battle-field which (the enemy) had appointed (in his) fury."

[5] See above, p. 177 and note 3.

[6] Compare above, p. 30 and note 4.

[7] திருச்செந்நெல்நடை is evidently the same as திருச்செந்நடைநெல், which occurs in Vol. I. p. 117, line 5.

[8] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 8 and p. 169.

[9] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 264, No. 23.

No. 86.—INSCRIPTION AT CHIDAMBARAM.

This inscription (No. 457 of 1902) is engraved on the west wall of the second *prâkâra* of the great Śaiva temple of Natarâja at Chidambaram[3] in the South Arcot district. It is dated on the 88th day of the 9th year of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa III. and records that the king sanctioned a grant of land to the temple by a certain Kêraḷarâjaṉ (ll. 6 and 10). The land granted was situated in two hamlets of Chidambaram, the first of which bore the name Kaḍavâychchêri *alias* Tillainâyaganallûr (l. 6). Kaḍavâchchêri is found on the map about 2 miles south of Chidambaram,[4] and Tillainâyaganallûr survives as the name of a neighbouring village which has now been joined to Uśuppûr.[5] The second hamlet, Śâttaṅguḍi *alias* Mahîpâlakulakâlanallûr[6] (l. 7), I am unable to identify.

TEXT.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ||உ புயல் வாய்த்து வளம் பெருகப்பொய்யாத நான்மறையின் செயல்
வாய்ப் பத்திருமகளுஞ்ஜயமகளுஞ்சிறந்து வாழ வெண்மதி பொற்குடை விளங்க
வெல்வெந்தரடி வணங்க மண்மடந்தை மனங்களிப்ப மனுநீதி தழைத்-

2 தோங்கச்சக்கரமுஞ்செங்கொலுந்திக்கனைத்துஞ்செல நடப்பக்கற்பகாலம் புவி காக்கப்-
பொற்பமைந்த முடி புனைந்[து] விக்ரமபாண்டியன் வெண்ட விட்ட தண்டால்
வீரபாண்டியன் மகன்[7] பட எழகம்[8] பட மறப்படை படச்சிங்களப்படை
[9]முக்கறுப்புண்டு அலைகடல்

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[1] Compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 134, note 2.

[2] See above, p. 20, note 5.

[3] Two inscriptions from the same temple have been published in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. pp. 103 f. and 105 f.

[4] No. 108 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Chidambaram tâluka.

[5] No. 107 on the same map.

[6] This surname seems to be derived from one of the titles of Râjêndra-Chôḷa I., who is stated to have defeated a certain Mahipâla; see above, Vol. II. p. 109.

[7] No. 1 of 1899 reads மக்கள்.

[8] The same inscription reads எழகத்தார்.

[9] Read மூக்க.

3 புக வீரபாண்டியனை முதுகிடும் படி தாக்கி மதுரையும் அரசுங்கொண்டு ஜய-
ஸ்தம்பநட்டு அம்மதுரையும் அரசும் நாடும் அடைந்த பாண்டியற்களித்தருளி
மெய்ம்மலர்ந்த வீரக்கொடியுடன் தியாகக்கொடி எடுத்துச்செம்பொன் [வீ]ரஸிம்-
ஹாஸனத்துப்புவனமுழுதுடை-

4 யாளொடும் வீற்றிருந்தருளிய கொப்பரகெசரிபற்மரான திரிபுவனச்சக்ரவர்த்திகள்
மதுரை கொண்டருளின ஸ்ரீகுலொத்துங்கசொழதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு ஒன்பதாவது
நாள் எண்ப[த்]தெட்டினால் வ்யலாஹஞ்செய்தருளி வந்த செய்யுமபடிப்படி [|*]
ஆளுடையாற்குச்சாத்தியருளத்திருப்பள்ளித்தாமத்-

5 திருநந்தவனஞ்செய்யவும் [இ]த்திருநந்தவனஞ்செய்கிற திருநந்தவனக்குடிகள் பெர்
இருவர்க்கு இலக்கைக்குங்கொற்றுக்கும் திருநந்தவனப்புறஇறை[யி]லியாகவும் ராஜ-
ராஜவளநாட்டுக்கீழ்வெங்கைநாட்டுப்பெருநல்லூருடையான் திருவெகம்பமுடையான்
திருவனந்தி[ஸ்வ]ரமுடையா-[1]

6 னான கொ[ள]ராஜன் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் உழைச்சரணன் வடுகன் [தி]ருநட்ட-
மாடி பெரில் அநுராமகரணத்தால் பலர் பக்கலும் விலைகொண்ட நிலம் [|*]
இவ்வூர்ப்பிடாகை கடவாய்ச்செரியான தில்லைநாயகநல்லூரில் சுந்தரசொழவதிக்[கு]
மெற்கு உத்தமசொழவாய்க்காலுக்குத்தெற்கு முதற்-

7 கண்ணாற்று இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்துக்கொல்லைநிலம் ஒருமாவும் [|*] பிடாகை அச்செ-
ரிச்சாத்தங்குடியான மஹீபாலகுல[க]ாலநல்லூரில் குந்தவைவதிக்கு மெற்கு உத்-
தமசொழவாய்க்காலுக்குத்தெற்கு நாலாங்கண்ணாற்று முதற்சதிரத்து மிகுதிக்கு-
றைவு உள்ளடங்கத்தரம் பெற்ற நிலம் அரையெ முன்று[2] மா

8 முக்காணி அரைக்காணி முந்திரிகைக்கிழ்[3] முக்காலெ நாலு மா அரைக்காணி
முந்திரிகையும் [|*] ஆகக்கொல்லை [உ]ட்பட ஊர்[ப்]படி நிலம் அரையெ
நாலு மா முக்காணி அரைக்காணி முந்திரிகைக்கிழ்[3] முக்காலெ நாலு மா
அரைக்காணி முந்திரிகையினால் மடக்குநிலம் அரைக்காணி முந்திரிகைக்கிழ்[3] ஒன-
பது மா முக்-

9 காணிக்கீழ் முக்காலெ முக்காணியும் [|*] திருநந்தவனமும் திருநந்தவனப்புறஇறை-
யிலியுமாக ஆளுடையார் தெவதானம் இவ்வூரில் பல வரவையொடுங்கூட்டவும்
[|*] இந்நிலத்துக்கு இவ்வூர் தண்ட நிச்சயித்த காசில் மடக்கொபாதியால்
வந்த காசு ஊரில் கழிக்கவும் [|*] இப்படிக்குககொயிலில் திருப்-

10 பூமண்டபத்துக்கு [4]ஸமிபத்திலெ திருமாளிகையிலெ கல் வெட்டவும் [|*] திருநந்த-
வனக்குடிகள் பெர் இருவற்குந்திருநந்தவனக்குடிகள் செய்து வருங்குடிமை உள்-
ளிட்டன கொள்ளாதொழியவு[ம்] [|*] பெற வெணுமென்று கொளராஜன் நம-
க்குச்சொன்னமையில் இப்படி செய்-

11 யக்கடவதாகச்சொல்லி இப்படி கணக்கிலும் இட்டுக்கொள்ளக்கடவர்களாக வரிக்குக்-
கூறு செய்வார்களுக்குஞ்சொன்னொம் [|*] இந்[நி]லம் ஒன்பதாவது முதல பல
வரவையொடுங்கூட்டி[த்தி]ருநந்தவனமும் திருநந்தவனக்குடிகள் பெர் இருவற்கும்
இலக்கைக்குங்கொற்றுக்குந்திருநந்தவனப்-

12 புறஇறையிலியுமாய் [5]நீற்கவும் இப்படிக்குக்கொயிலிலெ கல் வெட்டவும் பண்ணி
இத்திருநந்தவனக்குடிகள் அளக்கக்கடவ திருப்பள்ளித்தாமம். பெர் ஒன்றுக்கு
நாளொன்றுக்குக்குறுணி நானாழியாக வந்த திருப்பள்ளித்தாமம் திருப்பூமண்டபத்-
[து]க்கு முதலாக அளக்கவும் இவர்களைத்திரு-

13 நந்தவனக்குடிகள் செய்து வருங்குடிமையுள்ளிட்டன கொள்ளாதொழியவும் பண்ணு-
வது [|*] எழுதினான் திருமந்திரஓலை ராஜநாராயணமுவெந்தவெளான்[6] [|*]

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[1] Read தீஸ்வர.
[2] Read மூன்று.
[3] Read கீழ்.
[4] Read ஸமீப.
[5] Read நிறக.
[6] Read மூவெந்த.

எழுதி விழுப்பாயிராஜரும் நுளம்பாயிராஜரும் பாண்டியராஜரும் களப்பாளராஜ-
ரும் நங்கியராஜரும் இராஜவல்லவப்-
14 பல்லவர[ா]யரும் வயிராயிராஜரும் எழுத்திட்டுப்புகுந்த செய்யும்படிப்படி எழுதியது ||உ

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail ! Prosperity ! (*The king*) put on the beautiful crown in order to protect the earth to the end of the world, while clouds were abundant and (*hence*) the fertility (*of his country*) increased ; while the conduct (*prescribed*) in the four true Vêdas prospered ; while the goddess of Fortune and the goddess of Victory were greatly delighted (*to be his wives*) ; while (*his*) parasol shone like the white moon ; while victorious kings bowed at (*his*) feet ; while the goddess of the Earth rejoiced ; while the rules of Manu flourished and spread ; (*and*) while (*the king's*) discus and sceptre went (*and*) ruled every region.

(L. 2.) While, by an army despatched at the request of Vikrama-Pâṇḍya, the son of Vîra-Pâṇḍya was subdued ; while Êḻagam[1] was subdued ; while the Maṟa army[2] was subdued ; while the Śiṅgaḷa soldiers had (*their*) noses cut off and rushed into the rolling sea,—(*he*) attacked Vîra-Pâṇḍya, (*forcing him*) to turn (*his*) back, took Madurai and the throne, set up a pillar of victory, was pleased to bestow that (*city of*) Madurai, the throne and the country on the Pâṇḍya who had taken refuge (*with him*), and raised the banner of liberality, together with the banner of heroism which displayed the body (*of the tiger ?*).

(L. 3.) On the eighty-eighth day of the ninth year of (*this*) king Parakêsarivarman, who was pleased to be seated together with (*his queen*) Bhuvanamuḻududaiyâḷ on the throne of heroes (*which consisted of*) pure gold, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Śrî-Kulôttuṅga-Śôḻadêva, who was pleased to take Madurai,— the following order was issued (*by the king*) and received.

(L. 4.) In order to lay out a flower-garden (*which shall furnish*) the garlands to be placed on (*the image of*) Âḷuḍaiyâr, and in order to (*provide*) tax-free (*land*) for the maintenance[3] of the flower-garden, (*viz.*) for (*supplying*) clothing[4] and food[5] to the two attendants who work in this flower-garden,— Tiruvêgambam-uḍaiyâṉ[6] Tiruvanantîśvaram-uḍaiyâṉ *alias* Kêraḷarâjaṉ, a native of Perunallûr in Kîḻ-Vêṅgai-nâḍu, (*a subdivision*) of Râjarâja-vaḷanâḍu,[7] purchased (*the following*) land from several persons in the name of another, (*viz.*) in the name of Uḻaichcharaṇaṉ Vaḍugaṉ Tirunaṭṭamâḍi[8] of Perumbaṟṟappuliyûr.[9]

(L. 6.) In Kaḍavâychchêri *alias* Tillainâyaganallûr, a hamlet of this village, one twentieth (*vêli*) of dry land in the second square of the first *kaṇṇâṟu* to the west of the road of Sundara-Śôḻa (*and*) to the south of the channel of Uttama-Śôḻa ; and in Śâttaṅguḍi *alias* Mahîpâlakulakâlanallûr (*near*) that *śêri* (*i.e.* Kaḍavâychchêri), a hamlet (*of this*

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[1] This place is probably identical with Tiruvêḍagam near Koḍimaṅgalam in the Madura tâluka, which is referred to as 'Êḍagam' by Tiruñâṉasambandar.

[2] *I.e.*, perhaps, the army of the Maṟavas.

[3] On *puṟam* see above, p. 6, note 9.

[4] With *ilakkai* compare *ilakkar* in the Tamil dictionaries, and its synonym *puḍavai* in No. 68 above, text line 4.

[5] On p. 141 above, note 13, *koṟṟu* was unnecessarily corrected into *kottu*. According to Dr. Gundert's *Malayâḷam Dictionary* it means 'food, victuals, rice.'

[6] This name is derived from the Tamil designation of the Ekâmranâtha temple at Conjeeveram.

[7] See page 209 above.

[8] This is a Tamil synonym of Naṭarâja, the name of the god of the Chidambaram temple.

[9] This is one of the Tamil names of Chidambaram ; see page 214 below.

village), one half (*vêli*), three twentieths, three eightieths, one hundred-and-sixtieth and one three-hundred-and-twentieth; and $\frac{1}{320}$ of [1] three quarters, four twentieths, one hundred-and-sixtieth and one three-hundred-and-twentieth— more or less— of classified land[2] in the first square of the fourth *kaṇṇâṟu* to the west of the road of Kundavai (*and*) to the south of the channel of Uttama-Śôḻa,— altogether, including the dry land, according to the village (*accounts*), one half (*vêli*), four twentieths, three eightieths, one hundred-and-sixtieth and one three-hundred-and-twentieth; and $\frac{1}{320}$ of three quarters, four twentieths, one hundred-and-sixtieth and one three-hundred-and-twentieth of land.

(L. 8.) Of (*this*), one hundred-and-sixtieth (*vêli*) and one three-hundred-and-twentieth; $\frac{1}{320}$ of nine twentieths and three eightieths; and $(\frac{1}{320})^2$ of three quarters and three eightieths (*is*) second-crop land.

(L. 9.) (*This land*) has to be added to the various plots in this village (*which are*) the temple property of (*the god*) Âḻuḍaiyâr, as a flower-garden, and as tax-free (*land*) for the maintenance of the flower-garden. Out of the money which this village has decided to levy from this land, the money which accrues from the second-crop assessment (?) has to be deducted from (*the amount due by*) the village. This has to be engraved (*on*) stone on the wall near the *Tiruppûmaṇḍapam*[3] in the temple. The services *&c.* which have to be rendered by the attendants of (*other*) flower-gardens shall not be demanded from the two attendants of (*this*) flower-garden.

(L. 10.)[4] "Kêraḻarâjaṉ having submitted to us that (*the above request*) might be sanctioned, we ordered that it should be done thus, and directed the revenue officers[5] to enter (*that land*) as such in the account (*book*)."

(L. 11.)[6] "From the ninth (*year of the king's reign*) forward, this land has to be added to the various (*other*) plots (*of this village*) and has to be considered as a flower-garden and as tax-free (*land*) for the maintenance of the flower-garden, (*viz.*) for (*supplying*) clothing and food to the two attendants of the flower-garden. This has to be engraved (*on*) stone in the temple. The garlands to be supplied by the attendants of this flower-garden, (*and*) amounting to one *kuṟuṇi* and four *nâḻi* (of flowers) per day for each person, have to be supplied in advance to the *Tiruppûmaṇḍapam.* The services *&c.* which have to be rendered by the attendants of (*other*) flower-gardens shall not be demanded from these (*attendants*)." Written by the royal secretary, Râjanârâyaṇa-Mûvêndavêḻâṉ.

(L. 13.) (*The above*) was copied from the order received, which was written (*by the royal secretary*) and signed by Viḻuppâdhirâjar, Nulambâdhirâjar, Pâṇḍiyarâjar, Kaḻappâḻarâjar, Nandiyarâjar, Râjavallabha-Pallavarâyar and Vayirâdhirâjar.

No. 87.—INSCRIPTION AT CHIDAMBARAM.

This inscription (No. 458 of 1902) is engraved on the same wall as the preceding one

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[1] Here and in the next paragraph, $\frac{1}{320}$ is substituted for the arithmetical term *kiḻ*, and $(\frac{1}{320})^2$ for the second *kiḻ*. Compare above, Vol. II. p. 48, notes 2 and 3.

[2] *I.e.* land assessed according to the quality of the soil.

[3] *I.e.* the building in which the flowers for the use of the temple were kept.

[4] The following passage contains the order of the king on Kêraḻarâjaṉ's request.

[5] Compare above, p. 44, note 10.

[6] The following passage is an endorsement of the royal secretary. I have omitted the two words *paṇṇi*, 'having caused' (l. 12), and *paṇṇuradu*, 'it shall be caused' (l. 13), which would make the translation unintelligible.

(No. 86). It is dated on the 118th day of the 11th year of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa III. and records that the king sanctioned a grant of land to the temple by a certain Vâḷuvarâyaṉ (ll. 5 and 12). The land granted was situated in the same two hamlets of Chidambaram which were mentioned in No. 86, *viz.* Mahîpâlakulakâlanallûr (l. 6) and Kadavây-chchêri *alias* Tillainâyaganallûr (l. 8). Chidambaram itself is referred to as Perumbaṟṟappuliyûr in Râjâdhirâja-vaḷanâḍu (l. 5), and its Śiva temple as Tiruchchiṟṟambalam-uḍaiyâr (l. 9.).

TEXT.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ||[உ] புயல் வாய்த்து வள[ம்] பெருகப்பொய்யாத நானமறையின் செயல் வாய்ப்பத்திருமகளும் ஜயமகளும் சிறந்து வாழ வெண்மதி பொற்குடை விளங்க வெல்வெந்தரடி வணங்க மண்மடந்தை மனங்களிப்ப மநு[நீதி] தழைத்தோங்கச்சக்கரமுஞ்செ-

2 ங்கொலுந்திக்கனைத்துஞ்செல நடக்க கற்பகாலம் புவி காக்க பொற்பமைந்த முடி புனைந்து தண்டொன்றால் வீரபாண்டியன்றன் மகனை மூக்கரிந்து கொண்டு விக்ரமபாண்டியற்கு கூடல்மாநகர் குடுத்து மீண்டதற்பின் எடுத்து வந்து பரிபவத்தால் எதிர்த்த வீரபாண்-

3 டியனை முடித்தலை கொண்டமர் முடிவில் ஜயஸ்தம்பம் நட்ட பின் வாகைப்பெருவிரக்கொடி [1] தியாகக்கொடி உடன் எடுத்து செம்பொன் வீரஸிம்ஹாஸனத்து புவனமுழுதுடையாளொடும் வீற்றிருந்தருளிய கொப்பரகெஸரிபந்மரான த்ரிபுவனச்சக்ரவத்திகள் மது-

4 ரை கொண்டு பாண்டியனை முடித்தலை கொண்டருளிய ஸ்ரீகுலொத்துங்கசொழதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு பதினொன்றாவது நாள் நூற்றொரு[ப]த்தெட்டினால் ப்ரஸாதஞ்செய்தருளி வந்த செய்யும்[ப]டிப்படி [|*] ஆளுடையார்க்குச்சார்த்தி அருளத்திருப்ப[ள்*]ளித்தாமத்திருநந்தவனமாகச்சுத்தமலி-

5 வளநாட்[டுப்]பாம்புணிக்கூற்றத்துத்தெவங்குடையான் திருப்புறம்பியமுடையான் க[யி]லாயதெவனான வாளுவராயன் செய்விக்கிற கயிலாயதெ[வ]ன் திருநந்தவனத்து குடிகள் பெர் இருவர்க்கு இலக்கைக்குங்கொற்றுக்கும் உடலாக ராஜாதிராஜவளநாட்டுப்பெரும்[ப]ற்றப்புலியூர் மூலபருஷை-

6 யாரில் உழைச்சரணன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் பொன்னம்பலக்கூத்தனும் வார்க்கியன் தெவன் பொன்னம்பலக்கூத்தனும் பக்கல் இவ்வூர் மெல்பிடாகை [2]மபிர்பாலகுலகாலநல்லூர்ப்பால் ஸ்ரீசுந்தரசொழவதிக்கு மெற்கு ஸ்ரீசொழகுலசுந்தரிவாய்க்காலுக்குத்தெற்கு ஐஞ்சாங்க[ண்]ணாற்று நாலாஞ்சதிரத்து இவர்க-

7 ள் பக்கல் விலைகொண்ட நிலத்தினுக்கெல்லை விற்பானிலத்தினுக்குக்கிழக்கும் ஒடைக்குத்தெற்கும் புளியம்பூண்டி உடையான் அந்நியகாமகரணத்தால் விலைகொண்டனுபவிக்கிற நிலத்தினுக்கு மெற்கும் கண்ணாற்றுவாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கும் [|*] இவ்விசைத்த இந்நான்கெல்லையிலும் உட்பட வந்த விளைநிலம் [அ]ரை-

8 யெ ஒருமா முக்காணியும் வடக்கில் ஒடைநிலங்காணியும் ஆக விளைநிலம் அரையெ இரண்டு மாவும் [|*] கடவா[ய்*]ச்செரி ஆன தில்லைநாயகநல்லூர்ப்பால் ஸ்ரீசுந்தரசொழவதிக்கு [மெ]ற்கு உத்தமசொழவாய்க்காலுக்குத்தெற்கு முதற்கண்ணாற்று [3] மூன்றாஞ்சதிரத்துத்திருநந்தவனமாகக்கொண்ட கொல்லைநிலத்தினுக்கு எல்லை உடையார் தி-

9 ருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் தெவதானம் எதிரிலிசொழத் [தி]ருநந்தவனத்துக்கிழை [4]த்திருமு[டை]விளாகத்து மனை வாளிளத்துக்கு கிழக்கும் உத்தமசொழவாய்க்காலுக்குத்தெற்கும் விற்பான் கொல்லைக்கு மெற்கும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடை-

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[1] Read வீர.

[2] Read மஹீபால.

[3] Read [illegible]

[4] Read கீழை.

யார் தெவதானம் நிச்சயவாசகன் திருநந்தவனத்துக்கு வடக்கும் [|*] ஊர்ப்படி [நி]லம் இரண்டு மா-

10 வும் [|*] வாச்சியன் மஹெஶ்வரன் திரண்டவான் குறங்கனை ராஜஸ்ரீயப்பிரமமாராயன் பெரில் அன்னியநாமகரணத்தால் விலைகொண்ட விளைநிலம் அரையெ இரண்டு மாவும் கொல்லைநிலம் இரண்டு மாவும் ஆக இவ்வூர்ப்படி நிலம் அரையெ நாலு மாவும் [|*] முன்னுடையாரைத்தவிர்ந்து[1] இறையிலி ஆக ஆளுடையார் தெ[வ]தானம் பல

11 வரவையொடுங்கூட்டி இந்நிலத்துக்குத்தண்ட நிஶ்சயித்த நிலஒபாதி தரஒபாதி மடக்கால் வந்த காசு ஊரிற்கழிக்கவும் [|*] இந்நிலம் விலைகொண்ட ப்ராஹ்மணங்கள் கொயிலிலெ ஒடுக்கவும் [|*] திருநன்தவநக்குடிக[ள்] பெர் ஒன்றுக்கு நாளொன்றுக்கு குறுணி நானாழி ஆக வந்த திருப்பள்ளித்தாமந்திருப்பூமண்ட[ப]த்துக்கு முதலாக அளக்கவும் [|*]

12 இவர்கள் மற்றுள்ள திருநந்தவனக்குடிகள் செய்யுங்குடிமைகள் செய்யாதொழியவும் [|*] இப்படிக்கு திருமாளிகையிலெ கல் வெட்டவும் [|*] பெற வெணுமென்று வாளுவராயன் தான் நமக்குச்சொன்னமையில் இப்படி செய்யக்கடவதாகச்சொல்லி கணக்கிலும் இட்டுக்கொள்ளக்கடவர்களாக வரிக்குக்கூறு செய்வார்களுக்குஞ்சொ[ன்]னோம் [|*] இப்ப-

13 டி செய்ய[ப்]பண்ணுவது [|*] எழுதினேன் திருமந்திரஓலை மீனவன்முவெந்தவெளான்[2] [|*] இப்படி திருவாய் [மொ]ழிந்தருளினார் [|*] இவை குருகுலராயன் எழுத்து [|*] இவை களப்பாளராயன் எழுத்து [|*] இவை [வ]யிராதராயன்[3] எழுத்து [|*] இவை மழவராயன் எழுத்து [|*] இவை நந்[தி]யராய[ன எ]ழுத்து [|*] இவை அமரகொன் எழுத்து [|*] இவை காடு[வெ]ட்டியெழுத்து [|*] இவை பாண்டியராய[னெ]ழுத்து [|*] இவை அனக[ரா]யன் எழுத்து [||*]

TRANSLATION.

[The first sentence is identical with the beginning of No. 86 above.]

(Line 2.) By a single army (*he*) had the nose of the son of Vîra-Pâṇḍya cut off, gave the great city of Kûḍal (*i.e.* Madhurâ) to Vikrama-Pâṇḍya, and returned. After this, (*he*) took the crowned head of Vîra-Pâṇḍya,[4] who had started and faced (*him*) because (*he felt his*) disgrace.

(L. 3.) After having set up a pillar of victory at the end of the war, (*he*) raised the banner of victory and great heroism, together with the banner of liberality. On the one-hundred-and-eighteenth day of the eleventh year of (*this*) king Parakêsarivarman, who was pleased to be seated together with (*his queen*) Bhuvanamuḻuduḍaiyâḷ on the throne of heroes (*which consisted of*) pure gold, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Śrî-Kulôttuṅga-Śôḻadêva, who, having taken Madurai, was pleased to take the crowned head of the Pâṇḍya,[5]— the following order was issued (*by the king*) and received.

(L. 4.) In order to supply clothing and food to the two attendants of the flower-garden of Kayilâyadêvaṉ,— which Tiruppuṟambiyam-uḍaiyâṉ[6] Kayilâyadêvaṉ[7] *alias*[8]

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[1] Read தவிர்த்து.

[2] Read முவெந்த.

[3] Read வயிராதிராயன் in accordance with No. 86 above, text line 14, where we have வயிராயிராஜர்.

[4] From No. 88 below, text line 4 f., it appears that this phrase implies that the king, while seated on the throne, placed his feet on the crown of the Pâṇḍya king, who thus publicly acknowledged his defeat. On previous occasions I explained the words *talai koṇḍa* by 'who cut off the head;' see above, pp. 21 and 43, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 219.

[5] See the preceding note.

[6] Tiruppuṟambiyam is a village near Kumbhakôṇam; see above, Vol. II. p. 381.

[7] *I.e.* Kailâsadêva.

Vâluvarâyaṉ, a native of Dêvaṅgu[ḍi] in Pâmbuṇi-kûṟṟam, (*a subdivision*) of Śuttamali-vaḷanâḍu, had caused to be laid out as a flower-garden (*which should furnish*) the garlands to be placed on (*the image of*) Âḷuḍaiyâr,—(*he*) purchased from Uḷaichcharaṇaṉ Tiruchchiṟṟambulam-uḍaiyâṉ Poṉṉambalakkûttaṉ[1] and Vârkkiyaṉ Dêvaṉ Poṉṉambalakkûttaṉ, (*two*) among the chief members of the assembly[2] of Perumbaṟṟappuliyûr in Râjâdhirâja-vaḷanâḍu, land in the fourth square of the fifth *kaṉṉâru* to the west of the road of Śrî-Sundara-Śôḷa (*and*) to the south of the channel of Śrî-Śôḷakulasundarî in Mahîpâlakulakâlanallûr, a hamlet in the west of the village. The boundary of (*this land is*) to the east of the land of the seller, to the south of a water-course, to the west of the land purchased in the name of another[3] and enjoyed by Puḷiyambûṇḍi-uḍaiyâṉ, and to the north of the *Kaṉṉâṟṟu*-channel. One half (*vêli*), one twentieth and three eightieths of wet land enclosed in these four boundaries thus described, and one eightieth of land (*occupied by*) the water-course in the north,—altogether, one half (*vêli*) and two twentieths of wet land.

(L. 8.) For the flower-garden (*itself he*) purchased dry land in the third square of the first *kaṉṉâṟu* to the west of the road of Śrî-Sundara-Śôḷa (*and*) to the south of the channel of Uttama-Śôḷa in Ḳaḍavâ[y]chchêri *alias* Tillainâyaganallûr. The boundary of (*this land is*) to the east of the side[4] of the houses of the *Tirumuḍaiviḷâgam*[5] on the east of the flower-garden of Edirili-Śôḷaṉ, (*which is*) the temple property of the god Tiruchchiṟṟambalam-uḍaiyâr, to the south of the channel of Uttama-Śôḷa, to the west of the dry land of the seller, and to the north of the flower-garden of Nichchayavâśagaṉ, (*which is*) the temple property of the god Tiruchchiṟṟambalam-uḍaiyâr. According to the village (*accounts*), two twentieths (*vêli*) of land.

(L. 10.) In the name of another, (*viz.*) in the name of Vâchchiyaṉ Mahêśvaraṉ Tiraṇḍavâṉ Kuṟaṅgaṉ *alias* Râjasûrya-Brahmamârâyaṉ, (*he*) purchased (*these*) one half (*vêli*) and two twentieths of wet land[6] and two twentieths (*vêli*) of dry land,[7]—altogether according to (*the accounts of*) this village, one half (*vêli*) and four twentieths of land.

Having bought out the former owners and having added (*this land*) to the various plots (*which are*) the temple property of (*the god*) Âḷuḍaiyâr as tax-free (*land*),—the money that accrues from the second crop (*according to*) the land assessment (?) (*and*) the class assessment[8] which (*this village*) has decided to levy from this land, has to be deducted from (*the amount due by*) the village. The documents of the sale of this land have to be deposited in the temple. The garlands amounting to one *kuṟuṇi* and four *nâḻi* (of flowers) per day for each of the attendants of the flower-garden have to be supplied in advance to the *Tiruppûmaṇḍapam*.[9] These (*attendants*) shall not be bound to render the services rendered by the attendants of other flower-gardens. This has to be engraved (*on*) stone on the wall of the temple.

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[1] This name means 'the dancer in the golden hall' and is synonymous with Naṭarâja, the deity of the Chidambaram temple; compare above, Vol. II. p. 253.

[2] *Parushai* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *parishad*; compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 43, note 2.

[3] Compare No. 86 above, text line 6.

[4] *Vaṉiḷam* is perhaps the same as *vâl-vichchu*, 'the length of a house from the front to the back-door.'

[5] See above, p. 24 and note 3.

[6] According to text line 6, these $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{2}{20}$ *vêli* of wet land were situated in Mahîpâlakulakâlanallûr.

[7] These $\frac{2}{20}$ *vêli* of dry land were situated in Kaḍavâychchêri; see text line 8.

[8] Compare above, p. 213, note 2.

[9] See *ibid.* note 3.

(L. 12.) "Vâḻuvarâyaṉ himself having submitted to us that (*the above request*) might be sanctioned, we ordered that it should be done thus, and directed the revenue officers to enter (*that land*) in the account (*book*)." [1]

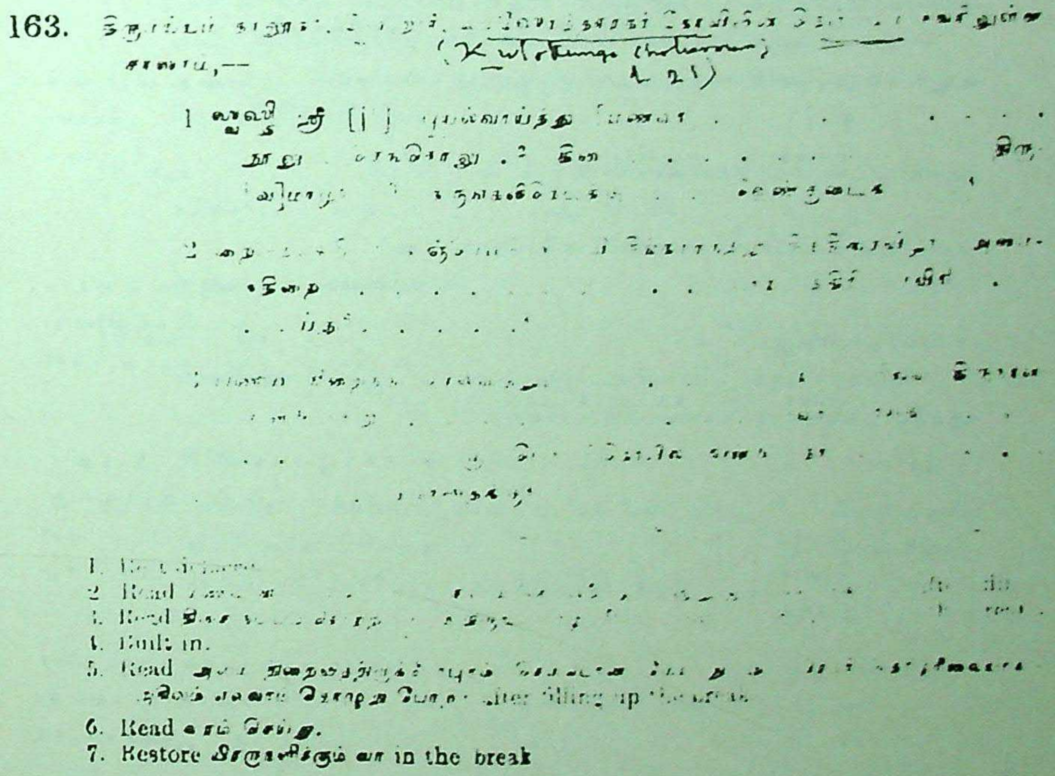
"Thus it should be caused to be done." Written by the royal secretary, Mîṉavaṉ-Mûvêndavêḷâṉ.[2]

(L. 13.) "Thus (*the king*) was pleased to order by word of mouth." This (*is*) the signature of Kurukularâyaṉ. This (*is*) the signature of Kaḷappâḷarâyaṉ. This (*is*) the signature of Vayirâdh[i]râyaṉ. This (*is*) the signature of Maḻavarâyaṉ. This (*is*) the signature of Nandiyarâyaṉ. This (*is*) the signature of Amarakôṉ. This (*is*) the signature of Kâḍuveṭṭi. This (*is*) the signature of Pâṇḍiyarâyaṉ. This (*is*) the signature of Anagharâyaṉ.

APPENDIX IV

Inscriptions (Texts) of Pudukkottai State

Reproduction of copy therefrom of Inscription No.163 of Kulottunga III, dated in his 34th regnal year (= A.D. 1212), — found on the south wall of the Vamsoddharaka temple (original name Kulottunga Colisvaram) at Seranur, in Tirumayyam Taluk in old Pudukkottai state (the present day Pudukkottai district).



163. [illegible] [illegible],—
(Kulottunga Cholisvaram
L. 21)

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।] புயல்வாய்த்து [illegible] . . . . .
[illegible] . . . . .
[illegible]

2 [illegible] . . . . .
[illegible] . . . . .
. . [illegible] . . . . .

[illegible]

1. [illegible]
2. Read [illegible]
3. Read [illegible]
4. Built in.
5. Read [illegible] after filling up the break.
6. Read [illegible].
7. Restore [illegible] in the break

5. மைந்தன் முக்கரிந்து தமிழ்மதுரைகொண்டு விக்கிரமபாண்டி[ய]ற்கு . .
. . . . .³ பரிபவந்தாலெடுத்துவந்த வெட் . . . .
. . த⁴ வீரபாண்டியன் முடித்தலைகொண்ட மாமுடிதத்த . மட-
. கொடியை . .²

6 யிக்கிழி[ரு]ப்பவர் முடிபெண்டிவை[த்தா] . ப்படிவழங்கி முடிவழங்கி
பாண்டி . . . . யற்கு விடைகொடுத் . . .
. . . . குட் கொற்றவர் பெருந்திருவழங்கி விடைகொளக்
விறல் த[ரி]த்து . . . . ண்டுவர்²

7 [தி]லெய்த திருமகந்தரித்த பாண்டியற்கு . . ⁷ செந்தியும் பரிசட்ட-
மும் லக்குமணக்கல்லுக் . . . . ண்ட . . . . . . க-
ருளி⁸ ஆழிமண்டல[த்]தரைசி[றை]யருச வழிய . . . . . . தல-
கும பாழ்படப்பொருது புக்குக்கநலூர் சொழுகொளகொன்று மக்கர்
தொழு . ⁹ சை²

8 வருடக் பொரபலை . . . . யப்படையெல்லாம்
படப்பொரு[து] . . . . கசொடமி பகைக்-
தலைத்தகைபட்டமூர் . . . . . கோட்டையும் . ¹⁰ [illegible]-
[illegible] பட்டவைகைத்தலய . ¹¹ செங்க[ளி]டு-

9 [illegible]]புண்டு [illegible]
கட] . . . . . . [illegible] . . . . [illegible] . . [illegible]-
[illegible] . . . . [illegible]-
[illegible]
[illegible]

10 [illegible] வளைய-
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] படைக [illegible]
[illegible]

11 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] . . . . . [illegible]
[illegible] . . [illegible]
[illegible]

12 [illegible]
[illegible] நடைச்-
[illegible]
[illegible]

1. Read பொ[illegible]டை. 9. [illegible]
2. Built in. 10. [illegible]
3. Restore [illegible]. 11. Re[illegible].
4. Read [illegible]

13 க்கற்படியுங்[கு]டுத்தருளி வண்டறைதார் வழுதியரைக்காடை பாண்டி
மண்டலத்தை[ச்]சோழபாண்டிமண்டலமென்றெழுபாருஞ்செல்ல . . .
. . . வபல மதுரையையும் மதுரையென்றும் பெயரொழிக்க
சொல்ல முடித்தலைகொண்டு[1]

14 . தப்பிரான்சென்றம பெரொழுதி பாண்டியனை பனைவலிகொண்டும் பெர்
. மா[றி*]வர் கெடுப்படைத் . . க்கவர் கெட மதுரைகொண்ட
தோள்வலி ப . . . . . . ஈனந்த பாண்டியர்கென்று பரும .
[ணி]ப்பட்டங்கட்டிச் சூட்டி வெஞ்சிலைவாங்கி வெட்ட[1]

15 சிரப்படிந்தாம [ஓ]டை மதிக்களிற்றெறிபாடல் வம்பரி நடவிதண்டுளவமலர்
பாலையில் வண்டார் தெண்டாடி அரசிருந்தல . . மைந்தவர் . . .
. . . [3] சிறந்த பெருந்திருவிதியுந்திரு[நா]ளுங்கண்டருளிப்பொருப்பு
நெடுஞ்சிலையா[1]

16 யில் செலித்து தென்மதுரைத்திருவாலவாய் பொன்மலைபெற்ப பொன்
மெய்ந்து திறைகொண்ட புகன்னைக்கைச்சோழபாண்டி . . . . .
[4]த்திவிறைகொண்ட பசும்பொ[ற்]றமிறைப்பிலியுமெயிற் புலியூர் ஆமெ[1]

17 [க]ங்கி[ளி]கதுப பைப்பொன்மதள் திருவாரூர் வாசவற்குந்திரிபுவனவீரீச்-
சரம் குந்தவற்குத்தென்னிரிசடைத்திருவாலவாய்ச்செழுங்கடற்குந் .
. . . . பத்தாமறை முழுதுபார்ந்த அந்[த]ணர்க்கரமெற்றிபெழுத
வென்றிசசெ[ய*]த்தப[1]

18 ன்று . . . . ளடங் . வ பொதிப்பித்தவன்றிருநாட்பைப்பதிசிபஞ்-
சமிகை ப . த கடமி . . நவடி நெப்மி . . வ[டித . . .
. . . . . ச [நா]ரையுங்[கோச]ணையுமெய்பரிசுங்கொடுத்தருந்-
குருசாமும் வைகைாரப்ப[1]

19 வன் செ . . . . க் ஈதூலாவச்செம்பொன்
விரலிக்ஞாலசுத்து புவகமுமுதடையாளொடு விற்றிருந்தருளி . .
. . . . [5] பசுமாார திரிபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீமது-
ரையு[1]

20 புங்கொண்டு ன்சைய வவிஷேகமும் ரா வடிஷேகமு ன்னளியருளிய
ஸ்ரீதிரிபுவனவீரதேவர்க்கு யா . . . . து கொள்ளிபென்-
கொண்டு ச கா டா க டைடயா தலை

93

24 ஞ்செலுத்தபப[ண்*]ணுக எழுதினார் திருமந்திரஓலை__மீகவன்__மூவேந்த
வேளார் [||*] இவை வில்லவராயன் எழுத்து [||*] . . . . . .
ணுதராசன் எழுத்து [||*] இவை சித்தராயன் எழுத்து [||*] இவை[1]

25 களராயனெழுத்து [||*] இவை தொண்டைமான் எழுத்து [||*] இவை
வாணுதராயன் எழுத்து [||*] இவை . . . . . மராயன் எழுத்-
து ||. —

---

1. Built in.
2. Read தெக்வர்.
3. Restore கு தண பேரால்.
4. Restore உண் மண்டல.
6. Read விஜையா அபிஷேகமும் ப்ரா அபிஷேகமும்.
7. Read perhaps யாண்டு முப்பத்தொணுவது.
8. Read செய்வார்களுக்கும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ்.
9. Read இறையிலியாக.
10. Read உத்தரவம்

APPENDIX V

South Indian Inscriptions, Volume XXIII, No. 190 (A.R.E. 190 of 1907), pp 147, 148

Reproduction of the inscription in Grantha Script and Sanskrit language of Kulottunga III found at the Kampaharesvara temple, Tribhuvanam.

No. 190

(*A. R. No. 190 of 1907.*)

Tribhuvanam, Kumbhakonam Taluk, Tanjavur District

Kampaharēśvara temple—on the same wall

This is a Sanskrit inscription in Grantha of the reign of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva (III)** who is stated to have won victories over the kings of Simhaḷa and Kēraḷa and over Vīra-Pāṇḍya after destroying his capital city Madura, and to have performed the anointment of heroes. He is also eulogised for his strength of arms and for his proficiency in arts. The record states that he built (renovated ?) the *maṇḍapa* for God Sabhāpati, the *gōpura* over the shrines of Śrīpati (Vishṇu) and of Girijā (Pārvati), the *prākāra* and the golden hall (at Chidambaram ?); the temple for Ekāmrēśvara (at Kāñchīpuram); for Hālāsya (at Madurai); for Madhyārjuna (at Tiruviḍaimarudūr) ; for Rājarājēśvara (at Dārāśuram ?); for Valmīkēśvara (at Tiruvārūr) for whom he also constructed a golden hall and a *gōpura*; and finally for Tribhuvanavīrēśvara (at Tribhuvanam) for whom he built this temple of great beauty with several shrines and tall *vimānas*. He got the god and goddess consecrated in the temple by his *guru* Sōmēśvara (also called Īśvara-Śiva) son of Śrīkaṇṭha-Śambhu. This teacher Sōmēśvara was a great scholar well-versed in the eighteen *vidyās* (*Śaiva-darśanas*) and capable of expounding the glory of Śiva as taught in the *Upanishads*. He is said to have written a work called the *Siddhāntaratnākara*. He is surmised by Mr. Venkayya to be identical with Īśānaśiva the author of *Siddhāntasāra* (*An. Rept*. 1908, Part II, para 64).

Text

1. स्वस्ति श्री ॥ आचक्रा मानुराधीं समरशिरसि [य]स्संहरन् सिंहळे[न्द्र]ा न्योजैषीत् केरळेशं विजितसुरपतिं योऽवधी वीर[पाण्डयम्] [।*] यो· वा वीराभिषेकं व्यतनुत मधुरां पाण्डयगुप्ता म्मथित्वा राजा त्रैलोक्यवीरस्स भुविविजयते श्रीकुलोत्तुंगचोळ [·*] ॥ २ विश्वंभरा यस्य भुजार्ग्गळायां हतोपसर्गं परिपाल्यमानाम् [*] प्रीत्या स्मरत्यादि वराहदंष्ट्रा-वासासिधाराव्रतवेदना[नाम्] [॥*]. भुजप्रतापा[नळ]धूमलेखा

2. संग्रामलक्ष्मीकबरीकलापः [*] त्रैलोक्यरक्षाविधि विश्वमूर्त्ते र्ज्जागर्त्ति यस्यानुगुणः कृपाणः [॥*] धात्राभुवो व्याप्य विजृम्भमाणा निरंकुशा राज्य .... [।*] रथांगपाणे रनुकुर्वतीव मूर्त्तेरपर्य्याप्तजगत्त्रयायाः ॥ २ सौन्दर्ये मदनस्तरुर्वितरणे दिव्य क्षमायां क्षिति[:] क्रोधे दण्डधरः पराक्रमविधौ तौ जामदग्न्यार्ज्जुनौ [*] नीतौ [शु]क्रबृहस्पती सुरपति स्त्रैलोक्यरक्षाक्रमे संगीते भरतो मुनि र्नरपति[र्धी]रः कथं वर्ण्यते ॥ २

3. संभापतेर्म्मण्डपमप्रवर्त्ति गिरीन्द्रजा वेश्मनि गोपुरञ्च प्राकारहर्म्यञ्च [वि]धा[य] हेम्न्तदेकभक्तो मुमुदे नरेन्द्रः ॥ २ एकाम्रे[श्व]र दिव्यधाम मधुरा हालाहलास्यालयं श्रीमध्यार्ज्जुनधाम धाम च तथा श्रीराजराजेश्वरम् वल्मीकेश्वर वेश्मचेति नि[खि]लन्निर्म्माय हैम्नन्नृपो वल्मीकाधिपतेश्चकार च [स]भान्दिव्याम् महत् गोपुरम् ॥ २ जित्वा पृथ्वीन्त्रिभुवनवीर श्चतुरन्ताश्चक्रे स्थानन्त्रिभुवनवीरेश्वरमेतद नानाहर्म्यप्रकटितशोभम् बहुरथ्यं हैमोत्तुङ्ग प्रवरविमान स्थगिता[र्कम्] [॥*]

4. श्रीकण्ठशम्भु तनयेन पतिर्न्नृपाणाम् पाण्डयारिरीश्वरशिवेन मह .... स्मिन् सोमेश्वरेण गुरुणा भुवनस्य पित्रो[:*] श्रेयानकारयदसौ शिवयोः प्रतिष्ठाम् ॥ २ विद्या येन मनीषिणा निरूपिता विस्पष्टमष्टादश स्थाणोर्य्येन विविक्तमौपनिषदं विश्वाधिकत्वं विभोः येनाकारि च शैवदर्शनदृशा सिद्धान्तरत्नाकरो राज्ञो यस्य गुरुस्स ईश्वरशिवः कस्तस्य मृग्यो गुणः ॥

APPENDIX VI

Reproduction of relevant pages of South Indian Inscriptions, Volume VIII

(containing inscriptions of the Later Pallava Chief Kopperunjinga, copied from the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram)

43	(A.R.E. 455 of 1902)	50	(A.R.E. 462 of 1902)
44	(A.R.E. 456 of 1902)	51	(A.R.E. 463 of 1902)
45	(A.R.E. 457 of 1902)	52	(A.R.E. 464 of 1902)
46	(A.R.E. 458 of 1902)	53	(A.R.E. 465 of 1902)
47	(A.R.E. 459 of 1902)	54	(A.R.E. 466 of 1902)
48	(A.R.E. 460 of 1902)	55	(A.R.E. 467 of 1902)
49	(A.R.E. 461 of 1902)	56	(A.R.E. 468 of 1902)

No. 43.

(*A.R. No.* 455 *of* 1902).

ON THE WEST WALL OF THE SECOND PRAKARA OF THE NATARAJA TEMPLE AT CHIDAMBARAM, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ஃவ சகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீ. கொப்[பெ*]பருஞ்சிங்கதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு முப்பத்தாறாவது ஸிம்ஹநாயற்றுத் தியதி ஒன்பதினால் கலியூர் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் மூலப்பருஷையார் எழுத்து [|*] நம்மூர் [illegible]ணகு தன்மப்பிரியனும் தில்லைமூவாயிரவெளானும் கண்டு நம்மூர் [illegible] யெல்படாகை [க*]ங்கைகொண்டசொழப் பெரிளமைநாட்டு அச்சொ[illegible]த்தங்குடியான மயி(ல்)பாலகுலகாலநல்லூர்ப்பால் ஸ்ரீ சுந்தரசொழவ[தி]க்கு மெற்கு செ[illegible]முகுலசுந்தரவாய்க்காலுக்கு தெற்கு **Chidambaram.**

2 கூ-கூ[1] ந-சதிரத்து எதிரிலிசொழன் திருநந்தவனத்து எல்லைக்கு மெற்குப்பட்ட நிலத்து குலொத்துங்கசொழன் திருத்தொப்புக்கு மண்கொண்ட கு[ழி]யாய் தரமிலியாய் மாராயர் கூத்தப்பிரானார் உள்ளிட்டார் பெரில் மா[ப்]பெ[ப]று பெற்ற நிலமாய் இவர்கள்பக்கல் முன்னாளில் முதலியார் திருமஞ்சனமழகியார் விலை கொண்டு தாமரைஒடையாய் இவர் புன்பயிற்ச் செய்து அனுபவித்துவருகிற குளம் துருத்து முதலியார் திருவையாறுடையார் தில்லைநாயகச்சரு-

3 ப்பெதிமங்கலம் என்னும் திருநாமத்தால் வைய்த்த அகரத்து வ்யாணேர் நாயகர் திருத்தெர் எழுந்தருளும்பொது திருப்புறக்குடையிலெ அத்யயனம் பண்ணி ஸேவித்தும் திருநாள்களிலும் திரு(வ்)வஸந்தன் திருநாளிலும் குலொத்துங்கசொழன் திருத்தொப்பி(லி)[ல்*] எழுந்தருளினால் ஸ்வஸ்தி சொல்லி ஸெவித்தும் திருமஞ்சனகாலத்து அத்யயனம் பண்ணி ஸெவித்தும் எதிரிலிசொழன் திருநந்தவனத்து பிள்ளையார் சிவபாதசெகரன் சித்ததுணைப்பெருமாள் உற்ஸவ-

4 ங்களுக்கு திருப்பாவிலத் திருநாள்க்களுக்கு எழுந்தருளினால் [ஸ்ரீ][ஸ்*]மரஹணம் பண்ணி அருளும்பொது ஸ்வஸ்தி சொல்லியும் செவித்துப்பொதுகிற அகரத்து வ்யாணேர் பலகட்டளைகளிலும் பலர்பக்கல் ஊனமாகவும் விலையாகவும் கொண்டு அனுபவிக்கிற நி கூஇ [|*] இன்நிலம் ஒன்பதரையும் அம்பலநாயகப்பெருந்தெருவில் திருநாவுக்கரசுதெவன் திருமடத்து நாயனார் அழ்கியதிருவையாறுடையார் கிழைத்திருவாசல் முகட்டணத்து எழுந்தருளிஇருந்து பூஜெகொண்டருளுகிற குலொத்துங்கசொழவினாய-

5 கப்பிள்ளையாரை [ரா]ஜாக்கள்தம்பிரான் திருவீதிநாயக[ர்*] திருப்பவனி எழுந்தரு[ளு*]ம்பொது திருக்கண் சாத்தியருளும் நாள்க்களுக்கு திருமுன்பு செவிக்கும் திருக்காட்ச்சிகளுக்கும் திருப்பண்ணிகாரத்துக்கும் விட்ட நி இ இன்நிலம் அரையும் ஆக நி ம-வி [|*] இன்நிலம் பதிற்று வெலியும் இன்நாள்முதல் முன்பு உடையார் அழகியதிருவையாறுடையார் திருநாமத்துக்காணிக்கு நாங்கள் முன்பு எழுதிக்குடுத்த விவஸ்தைப்படியெ உடையார் திருச்சிற்ற[ம்*]பலமுடையார்க்கு திரு[த்]தெர் ம[ட]க்கு விழுக்காட்டிலெ திருத்தெர் எழுந்தருளிவிக்கவும் கொயிற்கு (கு)டிமை உள்ளிட்ட ஸஹாவிநியொகமும் மற்றும் சென்னிர் அமைஞ்சி உள்ளிட்ட தெவைகளும்

6 வெள்ளான் வெட்டியும் உட்பட எப்பெர்பட்டனவும் தவிர்ந்து ஊர்க்கிழ் இறையிலியாக உதகம் பண்ணிக்குடுக்கையில் இன்நிலத்துக்கு வந்தன ஊரிலெ எற்றி இறுக்கவும் இன்நிலங்கள் ஒழுகும் மடக்கும் பிற[க்]கும் இடத்து தில்லைநாயகசசருப்பெதிமங்கலத்து அத்யயன பட்டர்கள்பெரி[ல்*] தில்லைமூவாயிரவிளாகம் என்னும் பொராலெ எழுதக்கடவர்களாகவும் [|*] இப்படிக்கு திருமாளிகையிலெ கல் வெட்டிக்கொள்ளக்கடவர்களாகவும் கடவதாகவும் சொன்னொம் [|*] இப்படி செய்யப்பண்ணுக [|*] இவை அருளால் ஊர்க்கணக்கு எடுத்தபொற்பாதப்பிரியன் எழுத்து [|*] இப்படிக்கு மூலபருஷையார் எழுத்திட்ட நியொகம் திருக்கைகொட்டியில் ஒடுக்கி கல் வெட்டியது உ

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[1] This symbol stands for the word கண்ணாற்று.

No. 44.

(*A.R. No.* 456 *of* 1902).

ON THE SAME WALL.

Chidambaram.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ஃஉ ஸக[லி]புவனச்சக்ரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீஅவனிஆளப்பிறந்தாரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவற்கு யாண்டு முப்பத்தாறாவது வெணுடையான் ஓலை[|*] தென்னவன் பிரம்மாராயரும் ஜயதுங்கப் பல்லவரையரும் தில்லைஅம்பலப்பல்லவரையரும்

2 உடையார் திருச்[சிற்]றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வரக் கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் சாமுதாயஞ்செய்வார்களும் கொயில் நாயகஞ் செய்வார்[க*]ளும் திருமாளிகைக் கூறுசெய்வார்களும் பண்டாரபொத்தகமுடை-

3 யார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடுதந்ததாவது[|*] கொயிலுக்கும் திருக்கா[மக்*]கெ[ா*]ட்டமுடைய பெரியநாச்சியார் கொயிலுக்கும் திரு[ந*]ந்தவனமும் திரு[ந*]ந்தவனப்புறமும் திருஓடையும் திருஓடைப்புறமும் ஆடியருள கரும்புஇடு விளாகமும் பசுமஞ்சள்காப்பு கொ-

4 ல்லையும் ஆகக் குன்றப்பெருமாள்நாச்சியார் கொண்டு விட்ட பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் பிடாகை [மி]னிக்குடியான தான[வி]னொதநல்லூரிலும் நல்லாவியான விக்கிரமசொழநல்லூரிலும் எருக்காட்டஞ்செரியான செயங்கொண்டசொழநல்லூரிலும் மிதினி[க்]குடியில் திருநிலை-

5 அழகியாள் என்னும் திருநாமத்தால் செய்த திரு[ந*]ந்தவனத்துக்கும் திருஓடைக்கும் திரு[ந*]ந்தவனப்புறமும் திருஓடைப்புறமும் உட்பட்ட நிலம் முன்பெ இரண்டுமாக காணியும் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் மூலபருஷையார் எழுதின ஸபா வ்யவஸ்தையொக-

6 ப்படியெ முப்பத்தாறாவதுமுதல் திருநாமத்துக்காணியாகவும் இன்னிலத்துக்கு வரும் மடக்கு ஊரிலெ எற்றிக்கொள்ளவும் [|*] கொயில்குடிமை திருஅரங்கு [வி]ரபொகம் ம[ட]அரிசி உள்ளிட்டன தவிர்வதாகவும் [|*] இப்படிக்கு விக்கிரமசொழன் திருமாளிகையிலெ கல்வெட்-

7 டவுங்கடவதாகப் பண்ணுவதெ [|*] இவை வெணுடையான் எழுத்து என்று புகு[ந்]த எவற் திட்டின்படி கல் வெட்டியது ஃஉ

Nos. 45 and 46.

(*A.R. Nos.* 457 *and* 458 *of* 1902).

ON THE SAME WALL.

Published in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, pp. 210 and 213.

No. 47.

(*A.R. No.* 459 *of* 1902).

ON THE SAME WALL.

1 உ ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ஃஉ ஸகலபுவனச்சக்ரவதிகள் அவனிஆளப்பிறந்தாரான ஸ்ரீகொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவற்கு யாண்டு ஐஞ்சாவது நாள் நாஉ௰உ-றல் சொழகொனெலை [|*] தென்னவன் ப்ரஹ்மாராயரும் ஜயதுங்கப் பல்லவரையரும்

2 தில்லைஅம்பலப் பல்லவரையரும் உடைய[ா*]ர் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெ[ஸ்வ]ர கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் ஸாமுதாயஞ்செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு

3 செய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடு தந்ததாவது[|*] ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வரகண்காணி காத்யாயனகொத்ரது கண்டியூர் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் காணியும் இறையிலியுமாகப் பெற்ற ராஜாதிராஜவளநாட்டு [நி]லவூர்நாட்டு இருமரபுந்தூயபெ-

4 ருமாள்மங்கலத்தடன் கூட்டின நிலத்துக்கு உள்வரியும் திருமுகப்படி நிலமுமாய் இவர் தம்பியார் திரு[ை*]வயாறுடையார் திருப்பாவாடைச்சிறப்பாகக் குடுத்த விருதராஜபயங்கரவளநாட்டு குறுக்கைநாட்டு ராஜநாராயணசதுர்வெதிமங்க-

5 லத்துப் பிறிந்த அரிந்தவன்சாத்தப்பாடியில் ஒழுகறைஉடையான் சிங்களராயர் காணியான நிலத்து மாறிக் காணியாகப் பெற்ற நிலத்தும் இராஜநாராயணசதுர்வெதிமங்கலத்து வெறு இறுக்கிற நிலமும் வெறு ஒட்டுக் கொண்டுவருகி-

6 ற நிலமும நீக்கி நீக்கிநின்ற நிலத்துப் பிடாகை கடாரங்கொண்டசொழநல்லூரில் ப்ராஹ்மணப்பற்றி[ல்] தரம் பெற்ற நிலம் ஆறுமாக் காணி அரைக்காணிக் கிழ் ஒருமா வரை அரைக்காணியும் கங்கைகொண்டசொழபுரத்து வெட்டிச் சிவிகை உள்- Chidambaram.

7 ளிட்ட பல[நி]யாயத்தார்க்கு அடைத்து வெறு ஒட்டுக்கொண்டுவருகிற நிலத்து தரம் பெற்ற நிலம் ஒன்றரையெ காணி அரைக்காணிக் கிழ் எட்டுமாவும் இராஜாயிராஜநல்லூரென்று வெறு இறுக்[கி]ற [நி]லத்துத் தரம் பெற்ற நி-

8 லம் ஐஞ்செ முக்காலெ மும்மா வரையின் கிழ் முக்காலெ காணி அரைக்காணியும் ஆக நிலம் ஏழெ முக்காலெ முக்காணி முந்திரிகைக் கிழ்க் காலும் அருந்தவன்சாத்தப்பாடியில் தரம் பெற்ற நில[ம்*] இரண்டெ காலுமா அரை-

9 க்காணிக் கிழ் முக்காலும் ஆக நில[ம்*] பதிற்று வெலியும் அந்தராயம் பாட்டம் உள்பட காணியும் இறையிலியுமாகப் பெற்றபடியெ திருநாமத்துக்காணியம் இறையிலியுமாகக் குடுத்தமைக்கும் இந்நிலம் அந்தராயம் பாட்டம் உள்ப-

10 ட இறையிலி இட்ட(ப்)படிக்கு உள்வரியும் திருமுகமும் திருக்கை ஒட்டிப் பண்டாரத்துப் புகவிட்டு எதிரடை இடவும் இப்படிக்குக் கல்வெட்டவும் கடவுதாகப் பண்ணுவதெ [|*] இது சொழகொன் எழுத்து என்றும் வந்-

11 த எவற்[த்]திட்டின்படி கல் வெட்டியது உ

No. 48.

(*A.R. No.* 460 *of* 1902).

ON THE SAME WALL.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ꞉ உ ஸகலபுவனச்சக்ரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீஅவனிஆளப்பிறந்தாரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவற்கு யாண்டு எட்டாவது சொழகொ னொலை[|*] தென்னவன் ப்ரஹ்மாராயரும் ஜயதுங்கப்பல்லவரையரும் தில்லைஅம்பலப்பல்ல[வ*]ரையரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வரக் கங்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் சாமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடு தந்ததாவது [|*]

2 கொயிலுக்கும் திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய பெரியநாச்சியாருக்கும் சாத்திஅருளச் செங்கழுநீர்த் திருப்பள்ளித்தாம[ம்*] ஆக்கித் திருப்பூமண்டபத்துக்கு முதலாக எண்ணப் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் பிடாகை பள்ளி[ப்*]படையான விக்கிரமசொழநல்லூரில் விக்கிரமசொழந் திருவிதியில்த் தென்பக்கத்து மெற்கடைய[ப்] பலவரயை[1]யான நிலத்துப் பலபணி நிமந்தக்காறர் ஜீவித மாறிக் கூத்தாடுநாயன் என்னும் பொரால் செய்த திருவொடைநிலம் ஒன்றரையும் இக்கட்டளையில் செங்கனிவாயந்திரு-

3 நந்தவனத்து மெல்பக்கத்து நாற்பத்தெண்ணாயிரவன் மடப்புற நிலத்துத் திருவொடையாகச் செய்த நில மாறுமாவும் இவ்வூர்ப் பிடாகை மதுராந்தகப் பெரிளமைநாட்டு பண்ணங்குடிச் செரியான பரகெஸரிநல்லூரிலும் மணலூரான கங்கைகொண்டசொழநல்லூரிலும் கண்ணுடைச்சிய னென்னும் பொரால் செய்வித்த திருவொடைக்கு முலபருஷையார் நிலத்துப் பலர்[ப]க்கலிலும் உடையார் திருக்கிளாஞ்செடியுடையார் சிவநாமத்தும் உழைச்சாணன் கலையன் ஸஹாபதிபெரில் விலைகொண்ட ஊ-

4 ர்ப்படி நிலம் இரண்டெ முன்றுமா அரைக்காணியினால் நிலம் இரண்டெ முக்காலெ அரைக்காணி முந்திரிகைக் கிழ்க் காலும் இவ்வூர் நிலத்து செக்கிழான் வைராதராயர் செய்வித்தத் திருத்தொண்டர்சிருரைத்தான் திருநந்தவனத்துக்கு இவர் கொண்டு விட்ட ஊர் மாவிந்த கடமை குடிமை கழித்து கல்வெட்டுப்பெற்ற நிலமாய்த் திருவொடையி லகப்பட்ட நிலம் எட்டுமாக் காணி முந்திரிகைக் கிழ்க் காலும் பொன்மெ[ய்*]ந்தபெருமாள் திருநந்தவனத்துடன் கூடின மகனங்கக்காறந் திருநந்தவனக்குடி-

5 கள் ஜிவிதத்து அகப்பட்ட பலவரவை நிலம் இரண்டுமா முக்காணி அரைக்காணிக் கிழரையும் ஆக நிலம் முன்றெ ஆறுமாக் காணி அரைக்காணி முந்திரிகையும் வெளர்பாடியில் பலபணி நிமந்தக்காறர் ஜீவிதமான நிலத்துத் தாய்க்கொரம்பொகாதான் சொழகொனென்னும் பொரால்(ச்) செய்த திருவொடைநிலம் இருவெலியும் தியாகவ[ல்*]லிச்சருப்பெதிமங்கலத்து மாறன்பாடி நத்தத்துக்கு மெற்குப்பட்ட நிலத்துக் கிழக்கடையநின்ற வளாகமென்னும் பொரால் செய்த சொழகொன் திருவொடை நிலம் பதிற்று வெலியும்

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[1] Read பலவரவை as in line 5.

6 கீழ்பூந்தமங்கலத்துச் சொழகொன்திருவொடை என்னும் பொரால் செய்த திருவொடை நிலம் நால்வெலியும் ஸ்ரீவிரநாராயணச்சருப்பெதிமங்கலத்துப் பிடாகை அக்காரமங்கலமான திருவம்பலப்பெரு[ம்*]பள்[ளி]நல்லூரில் செய்வித்த செங்கனிவாயன் திருஓடை நிலம் இரண்டரையும் புனவாயில் கொன்றைநிலத்துச் செங்கனிவாயன் திருஓடை நிலம் காலெ அரைக்காலும் பெரும்பெற்றபுலியூரில் இருமரபுந்துய்யபெருமாள்எ[ரி]த் தென்பக்கத்தும் மெல்பக்கத்தும் எரிக்குனிக்கலான நிலத்து ஆளுடையதனிநாயக[ன்*] என்னும்

7 சிவனுமத்தா[ல்] செய்த திருஓடையும் திருஓடைக்குடிகள் குடிஇருப்பு உள்பட்ட நிலம் ஒன்றரையும் திருஓடையாகச் செய்து செங்கழுநீர்ஆக்கி திருப்பள்ளித்தாமம் எண்ணவும் இத்திருஓடைகளில் பலபணி நிவந்தக்காறர் ஜிவிதத்து ஆகப்பட்ட நிலத்துக்கு தலைமாறு ஜிவிதம் அடைத்துக்குடுக்கவும் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் நிலத்து பலர்பக்கலும் விலைகொண்ட நிலத்துக்கு வடக்கு நிலம் ஒருமாவின் கிழ்அரைஇ[ய ஒ]ருமாவரையும் ஊர்மா ஈந்த கடமை குடிமை தவிர மூலபருஷெயார் எழுதின நியொகப்படியெ தவிரவும் இன்னியொகமும் நிலம்

8 விலைகொண்ட வ்ரமாணங்களும் திருக்கை ஒட்டிப் பண்டாரத்து ஒடுக்கவும் இப்படிக்கு திருமாளிகையில் கல் வெட்டவும் கடவதாக பண்ணுவதெ ௨ இப்படிக்கு இவை சொழகொன் எழுத்தென்றும் இந்த திருஓடைகள் அவனிஆளப்பிறந்தாரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவர் திருமெனிக்கு நன்றாக இவர் முதலிகளில் பெருமாள்(ப்)பிள்ளை ஆன சொழகொனார் செய்வித்துக் கல் வெட்டியது ௨ எவல்த்திட்டின்படி ௨

No. 49.

(*A.K. No.* 461 *of* 1902).

ON THE SAME WALL.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ஃ௨ ஸகலபுவனச்சக்ரவதிகள் ஸ்ரீஅவனிஆளப்பிறந்தாரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவற்கு யாண்டு முப்பத்துநாலாவது வெணுடையான் ஓலை[|*] தென்னவன் பிரமாராயரும் ஜயதுங்கப்பல்லவ[ரை*]யரும் தில்லைஅம்பலப்பல்லவரையரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வரக் கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் சாமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண . . . . . .

2 வி சொளிஸ்வரமுடையார் கொயில் திருப்பள்ளிஅறைநாச்சியார் அவனிஆளப்பிறந்தநாச்சியார்க்குப் பூசைக்குப் பெருமாப்பிள்ளையான சொழகொனார் ஆதித்தபட்டரான திருவையாறுடையாரும் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் உலகுடையான்பட்டனும் பக்கல் ஸ்ரீவிரநாராயணச்சருப்பெதிமங்கலத்துப் பிடாகை மதுராந்தகநல்லூரில் வெறுழிந்த அத்திய[ய*]னபட்டர்கள் அகரப்பற்று இறையிலிஉடன் சொர்ந்த இவர்கள் காணியும் இறையிலியுமான நிலத்து இறையிலி உட்பட விலைகொண்டு திருப்பாவ[ா]-

. . . . .

3 ஒட்டிப் பண்டாரத்திலெ சாதனமும் ஒடுக்கிப் பலபணி நிவந்தக்காறர்க்கு ஜிவிதம் அடைத்[த] நிலம் பதினெட்டுமாக் காணி அரைக்காணி முந்திரிகைக் கிழரையெ இரண்டுமாக் காணி முந்திரிகைக் கிழ் அரையும் தெவதானம் திருநாமத்துக்காணியாய் அந்தராயம் பாட்டம் உட்பட இறையிலியாய் முன்பு அநுபவித்துப் பொந்தபடியெ அநுபவிக்கவும் இந்நிலம் பெரும்பாடிகாவல் உட்பட அனைத்துவற்கங்களும் உட்பட இறையிலியாகவும் இப்படிக்குத் திருமாளிகையி[லெ] . . . . . .

4 ம் கடவதாகச்சொன்னொ[ம்] [|*] இப்படி செய்வதென்று தெவர் திருமுகம் வருகையில் இத்திருமுகப்படியெ திருமாளிகையிலெ கல்வெட்டிவிக்கவும் கடவதாகப் பண்ணுவதெ [|*] இவை வெணுடையான் எழுத்து என்று புகுந்த எவற்திட்டின்படி கல் வெட்டியது ௨

No. 50.

(*A.R. No.* 462 *of* 1902).

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE SAME PRAKARA.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ௨ சகலபு[வனச்ச]க்கரவதிகள் அவனிஆளப்பிறந்தாரா[ன] ஸ்ரீ[கொ]ப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவற்கு யாண்டு மூன்றாவது ள் நா௨௰௫-ஞல் தனியூர் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் மூலபருஷெயார் எழுத்து[|*] நம்மூர் நிலக்கணக்கு தன்மபிரியனும்

2 தில்லைமூவாயி[ர]வெளானும் கண்டு உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் சாத்திஅருள அரசூருடையார் செங்கனிவாயரான பிள்ளை சொழகொனார் ஆளியார் திருநந்தவனமாகச் செய்யக் கொண்டு விட்ட இவ்வூர் மெல்பி(ட்)டாகை கங்கைகொண்-

Chidambaram.

3 டசொழப்பெரிளமைநாட்டு இருந்தச்செரியான சண்டெஸ்வரநல்லூர்ப்பால் ஸ்ரீசுந்தரசொழவதிக்கு மெற்கு ஸ்ரீசொழகுலசுந்தரிவாய்க்காலுக்குத் தெற்கு ௩-கூ ச-சதிரத்து வாச்சியன் ந[க்க]ன் திருஞானசம்பந்தன்பக்கல் கொண்டு விட்ட நி.

4 சபதல கீ ஜஹு-னல் மடக்கு நி உஙநிபசும் வாச்சியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் உ[ஹ்ர]ஸஹாவதியும் இவன் தம்பி திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் தெவகள்தெவனும்பக்கல் விலைகொண்ட நிலமாய் வாச்சியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான்

5 பஞ்சவன் வ்ரஹ்மமாராயர்பெரில் குறைத்த நிலம் [மு]க்காணி அரைக்காணிக்கீழ் முன்று மா முக்காணியினல் மடக்குநிலம் கீ இ-ம் உடையார் திருப்புலிஸ்வரமுடையார் திருநாமத்துக்காணியாய்ப் பரிவத்தனையாற் புகுந்த இஷபதெவவிளாகமென்று பெரு-

6 டைய நிலத்து கூ-ம் வபுஉவூ கீ வசுஎஉப-னல் மடக்கு நி ப உ வூ கீ ஜ-ம் உடையார் திருப்புலிஸ்வரமுடையார் திருநந்தவனத்து உட்கிடையாய் அகப்பட பலவரவை [தி]ற்றமுது சங்கடுவானுக்கு அச்செரிச் சாத்தங்குடியி லடைப்பான நிலத்தால்க் கு[ழி] எண்பத்தெ-

7 ழெ முக்காலெ ஒரு மாவுக்குத் தலைமாறு இச்சண்டெஸ்வரநல்லூர் இஷபதெவர்விளாகத்துப் பரிவத்தனையாய்ப் புகுந்த குழி அமௌஜப-னல ஊர்ப்படி நீ- சுபுப கீ ஆ-னல் மடக்கு நி கீ ஙு வும் ஆக உடையார் திருப்புலிஸ்வரமுடையார் திருநாமத்துக்காணிய ப-

8 ரிவத்தனையாய் புகுந்த நீவல கீ சலஉப-னல் மடக்கு நிவு கீ ஜங-வும் ஆக நி இருஉவூ கீ இசுபுப-னல் மடக்கு நி உ கீ வசுஎசு இந்நிலம் இருஎஉவூ கீ இ சுபுப-னல் மடக்கு நி உகீ வசுஎசுயும் இப்பெரர்களில்க் குறைத்து

9 முன்றுவது பசான்முதல் ஊர்க்கீ ழிறையிலியாக ஊர்மாவிந்த கடமை குடிமை நெல்லரிசி பயறு உட்பட்ட கடமைகள் தவிர்ந்து ஊர்க் கீழிறையிலியாக இம்மடக்குக் கழித்து ஊரில் நிக்கினின்ற யடக்கிலெ விழுக்கா டிட்டுக்கொள்ளக் கடவுதாகப்பண்ணு[வெ*]த [।*] இப்-

10 படி செய்யக்கடவுதாகச் சொன்னெம் [।*]இவை அருளால் ஊர்க்கணக்குத் திருவுடைஅந்தணப்பிரியன் எழுத்து உ முலபருஷையார் எழுதி எழுத்திட்ட நியோகப்படி கல் வெட்டியது உ

No. 51.

(*A.R. No.* 463 *of* 1902).

ON THE SAME WALL.

1 உ ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ உ சகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீ அவனியாளப்பிறந்தாரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு ஐஞ்சாவது உ சொழகொன் ஓலை[।*] தென்னவன் வ்ரஹ்மாராயரும் ஜயதுங்கப்பல்லவரைய[னு]ம் தில்லையம்பலப்பல்லவரைய[னு]ம்

2 உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வரக் கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் ஸமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் கொயிற் கணக்கருங் கண்டு ஜயங்கொ-

3 ண்டசொழமண்டலத்து ஆற்றூ[ரான] ராஜராஜநல்லூர் தரப்படி நிலம் முன்னூற் றறுபத்து நால்வெலியில் உள்ளூர்ப் பலதெவர்கள் தெவதானங்களும் திருவிடையாட்டங்களும் பிடாரிபட்டி துக்கைபட்டி பள்ளிச்சந்தம உள்ளிட்ட நிலம் நாற்பத்தறு வெலியும்

4 அகர மகாவிபூதிச்சருப்பெதிமங்கலம் நிலம் பன்னிரு வெலியும் செட்டலூர் பிரான்பட்டனுக்கும் மாடபொசை வரதராஜபட்டனுக்கும் வங்கிப்புறத்து கருணாகரபட்டனுக்கும் பட்டவிருத்தி நிலம் வெலியும் கடிகை[ய]ார் இறையிலி நிலம் முன்றெ மு-

5 க்காலும் ஆக நிலம் அறுபத்திரண்டெ காலும் நிக்கி நிக்கி[நின்ற*] நிலம் முன்னூற் றொன்றெ முக்காலும் இவ்வூர்க் கொல்லைப் புன்செய்யும் காசாயங்களும் வெட்டி பாடிகாவலும் அரிப்பாடிகாவலும் உள்ளிட்ட காசாயங்களும் நெல்[வ]ாயங்களும் இவ்வூர் தெவதானம் அகரங்-

6 கள் உள்ப்பட்ட இறையிலிகளுக்கு முன்பு கொண்டுவரும் ஆயங்க ளுள்ப்படத் தனியூர் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார்க்கு ஐஞ்சாவது ஆடிமாதமுதல் தெவதான இறையிலியாக இ[க்*]கொயிற் தெற்கி[ல்] திருவாசல் சொக்கச்சியன் திருநிலை எழுகொபுரத் திருவாசல்-

26

Chidambaram.

7 த் திருப்பணிக் குடலாக விட்டொ மென்றும் இப்படிச் சந்திராதித்தவரை தெவதான இறையிலியாகச் செய்வதாக ஆற்றூர் திருமுத்தீஸ்வரமுடையார் கொயிற் கல்லுய் வெட்டி நாற்பா லெல்லையிலும் திருச்சூலஸ்தாபனமும் பண்ணி உடையார் திருவெகம்பமுடையார் கொயிலிலும்

8 கல்லும் வெட்டிவித்த தென்றும் இப்படி கொயிற் கணக்கிலு மிட்டு கொயிலிலும் கல்லு வெட்டிவிப்ப தென்றும் தெவர் திருமுகம் வருகையில் இத்திருமுகம் இரண்டா நிலத்தில் கொக்கவும் பண்ணுவதெ [।*]இவை சொழகொன் எழுத்து [எ]ன்று வந்த ஏவற்றிட்டின்படி கல் வெட்டியது உ

No. 52.

(*A.R. No.* 464 *of* 1902).

ON THE SAME WALL.

1 உ ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ꞉ உ சகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் அவனிஆளப்பிறந்தாரான ஸ்ரீகொப்பெருஞ்[சி]ங்கதெவற்கு யாண்டு ௫-வது உ நாள் ௩௱௰௪-னல் சொழகொ னோலை[।*] தென்னவன் ௬ [illegible]மாராயரும் ஜயதுங்கப்பல்லவரையரும் தில்லையம்பலப்பல்[ல]வரையரும் உடைய திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வர கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் ஸா[மு]தாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும கணக்கரும் கண்(ட்)டு விடுதெந்ததாவது[।*]

2 கொயிலுக்கும் திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய பெரியநாச்சியார்க்கும் சாத்திஅருள திருச்செங்கழுநீர்த் திருபள்ளித்தாமமாக்க பெருமாள்திருவொடை என்னும் பொரால் செய்கிற திருவொடைக்கு பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர்த் தென்பிடாகை [பு]வலொகமாணிக்கவளநாட்டு கொப்பாடியான [க]ணபதிநல்லூர்ப்பால் சொழமாதெவிவதிக்கு மெற்[கு]ம் ஸ்ரீதெவிவாய்க்காலுக்குத் தெற்கும் ஐஞ்சாங் கண்ணாற்று னாலாஞ் சதிரத்து தென்கிழ் [க]ண்டத்து வாச்சியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் சொமன்பக்கல் வாச்சியன் எதிரிலாப்பெருமாள் திருவலஞ்சுழியுடையான்பெரில் காசு ஆயிரத்

3 தைஞ்ஞூற்றுக்கு விலைகொண்ட குழி ஐஞ்ஞூற் றெருபத்திரண்டும் இவ்வூரில் இக்கண்ணாற்று இச்சதிரத்து உழைச்சாணன் கொற்றன் கொவன்பக்கல் மெற்படியான்பெரில்க் காசு ஆயிரத் தைஞ்ஞூற்றுக்கு விலைகொண்ட குழி ஐஞ்ஞூற் றெருபத்திரண்டும் ஆகக் காசு மூவாயிரத்துக்கு விலைகொண்ட குழி ஆயிரத் திருபத்துநாலினால் ஊர்ப்படி நிலம் எட்டுமா இந்நிலம் எட்டுமாவினால் விரிவுநிலம் அரையெ காணி இன்நிலம் அரையெ காணியும் ஐஞ்சாவது முதல் திருச்செங்கழுநீ ரிட்டுத் திருப்பூமண்டபத்து முதலா[க] எண்ணவும் இன்னிலம் விலை-

4 கொண்ட ஸாயநங்களும் இந்நிலத்துக்கு மடங்கு கழித்த ஊரவர் எழுதின நியொகங்களும் திருக்கைய் ஒட்டிப் பண்டாரத்துப் புகவிட்டு எதிரிடை இட்டு இப்படி[க்*]கு[த்*] திருமாளிகையிலெ கல் வெட்டப்பண்ணுவதெ [।*]இவை சொழகொ னெழுத்து என்றும் புகுந்த எ[வ*]ல்த்திட்டின்படி கல் வெட்டியது [॥*]

No. 53.

(*A.R. No.* 465 *of* 1902).

ON THE SAME WALL.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ உ சகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் அவநியாளப்பிறந்தாரான ஸ்ரீகொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு மூன்றாவது நாள் எண்பத்தொன்று சொழகொ னோலை[।*] தென்னவன் பிரமமார[ா]யரும் மதுராந்தக விழுப்பரையரும் உடையார்

2 திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீ மாஹெஸ்வரக் கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் சிகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் சாமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் பண்டாரப்பொத்தக முடை-

3 யார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடுதெந்ததாவது[।*] விக்கிரமசிங்கபுரத்து மெல்புறத்தில் செய்வித்த ஆளியார் திருத்தொப்பில் மரங்களா(ா)க்கவும் இத்திருத்தொப்பில் பலாக்காய் வாழைக்காய் பழங்கள் உள்ளிட்டன திருமடைப்பள்ளி-

4 ப் பண்டாரத்துக்கு முதலாக எடுக்கவும் தொப்புக்குடிகளாக ஐம்பது ஆள் முதல்கொள்ளவும் இவ் ஆளுக்கு இரண்டுமாவாக நூறுமா நி[ல]ம் இவ்வூர் எரியாலும் முதலைபாடி எரியாலும் நீர்பாயும் நிலத்திலெ மூன்றாவது ஆனிமா(ா)-

5 த முதல் அடைத்துக் குடுக்கப்பண்ணுவ தென்று தெவர் திருவெழுத்துச்சாத்தின திருமுகம் வந்தமையில் ஆளியார் திருத்தொப்பென்னும் பெரால் செய்த திருத்தொப்புக்கு நாற்பத்தெட்டு ஆளும் இரண்டு நாயகமும் ஆக ஐம்பது ஆள்

6 மூன்றாவது நாள் எழுபதுமுதல் முதல்கொள்ளவும் இப்பெர்க்கு இலக்கைக்கும் கொற்றுக்கும் செர்க்கச்சியன் கமுகுதிருநந்தவனக் குடிகள் பெற்றுவருகிறபடியெ நாயகப்பெர் இரண்டுக்கு கொற்றுக்கு பெர் ஒன்றுக்கு நாள் ஒன்றுக்கு முக்-

7 குறுணியாக வந்த நெல்லும் புடவைமுதல் ஆட்டைக்குப் பெரால் மூன்றாக வ[ந்]த காசும் பெர் நாற்பத்தெண்வர்க்கு கொற்றுக்குப் பெர் ஒன்றுக்கு நாள் ஒன்றுக்கு பதக்காக வந்த நெல்லும் புடவைமுதல் ஆட்டைக்குப் பெரால் இரண்-

8 டாக வ[ந்]த காசும் இந்நாள்முதல் பெற்று இத்திருத்தொப்பில் மாங்களுமாக்கி இத்திருத்தொப்பில் பலாக்காய் வாழைக்காய் பழங்கள் உள்ளிட்டன திருமடைப்பள்ளிப் பண்டாரத்துக்கு முதலாக எடுக்கவுங் கடவர்களாகவும் இ-

9 வர்களுக்குக் கொற்றுக்குடைய நெல்லுக்கும் புடவைமுதல் காசுக்கு காசு ஒன்றுக்கு பதினைங்கலப்படியால் வந்த நெல்லுக்கும் இவ்வூரில் இட்ட நிலம் நூறுமாவும இவர்களுக்கு அடைத்துக்குடுக்கவும் இப்படிக்குக் குலொத்-

10 துங்கசொழன் திருமாளிகைப் புறவாயிலெ கல்வெட்டவுங் கடவதாகவும் பண்ணுவதெ[|*] இவை சொழகொன் எழுத்தென்று வந்த எவற்றிட்டின்படி கல் வெட்டியது உ

No. 54.

(*A.R. No.* 466 *of* 1902).

ON THE SAME WALL.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ உ சகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் அவ[னி]யாளப்[பி]றந்தாரான ஸ்ரீகொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு மூன்றாவது நாள் எண்பத்தொன்று சொழகொன்
2 ஓலை[|*] தென்னவன் பிரமமாராயரும் மதுராந்தகவிழுப்பரையரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹேஸ்வர கண்காணி செய்வார்களும்
3 சிகாரியஞ்செய்வார்களும் சாமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் பண்டாரப்பொத்தக மு-
4 டையார்களுங் கணக்கருங் கண்டு விதெந்ததாவது[|*] கொயிலுக்கும் திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய பெரியநாச்சியார் கொயிலுக்கும் பால்அமுது செய்தருளவும் பாற்-
5 பொனகப் பாலுக்கும் குலொத்துங்கசொழன் திருக்கொசாலை அணுக்கன் சுரபிகளுக்கு முதலாக இஷபமும திருச்[சூ]லமுஞ் சாத்தித் திருக்கொசாலை யிடையர்க்கு முத-
6 வாக மூன்றாவது நாள் அறுபத்தாறினால் விட்ட பசு நானூற்றெருபதினால உரு ஒன்றுக்கு செலவிராசகெசரியால் உழக்காக நாளொன்றுக்கு பால் கலனெ அறுநாழி உரியு[ம்]
7 விட்டு அமுதசெய்தருளவும் முன்பு நிவந்தக்கட்டுப்படி விட்டு அமுது செய்தருளி வந்த பா(ல்)விலெ இப்பால் கலனெ அறுநாழி உரியும் விடுகை தவிர்ந்து இப்பாலுக்கு முன்-
8 பிலாண்டுகளும் நெய் ஒட்டுகொண்டு வரும்படியெ நெய் முதல்கொண்டு திருமடைப்பள்ளிப் பண்டாரத்துக்கு முதலாக அளக்கவும் இந்தப் பசுக்களுக்கு பசு நூற்றை-
9 ம்பதுக்கு பெர் ஒன்றாக வந்த பெர் முதல்கொள்ளவும் இப்பெர்க்கு கொற்றுக்கு பெர் ஒன்றுக்கு நாள் ஒன்றுக்கு பதக்காக வந்த நெல்லும் புடவைமுதல் ஆட்டைக்குப் பெரால் ஒன்றரை-
10 யாக வந்த காசுக்குப் பதினைங்கலப்பிடியால் வந்த நெல்லும் பலபணி நிவந்தக்காரர்க்கு ஜீவிதம் அடைக்கும்படியெ ஜிவிதம் அடைக்கவும் பெரியதெவர்க்கு மூன்றாவது குடு-
11 த்த பசு எண்ணூற்றெழுபதும் நாலாவது குடுத்த பசு இருநூற்றெருபத்தாறும் ஆக[த்] திருமஞ்சனத்துக்கு ஆடியருள வெண்ணைஉருக்கு நெய்க்கும் பாலுக் குடலாகவும் தெவகொன்
12 பசு ஆயிரத்தெண்பத்தாறினால் உரு ஒன்றுக்கு செல்விராசகெசரியால் உழக்காக அளந்துவருகிற பால் இருகலனெ இருதூணிக் குறுணி எழுநா[ழி] உரியும் ஆகப் பசு ஆயிரத்து
13 நானூற்றுத் தொண்ணூற்றாறும் விட்டபடிக்கு குலொத்துங்கசொழன் திருமாளிகைப் புறவாயி[லி*]லெ கல் வெட்டவுங் கடவத[ா]கவும் பண்ணுவதெ[|*]இவை சொழகொன் எழுத்தென்-
14 று வந்த எவ(ர்)ற்றிட்டின்படி கல் வெட்டியது உ

No. 55.

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ON THE SAME WALL.

Chidambaram.

1 உ ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ உ ஸகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் [ஸ்ரீ]கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவற்கு யாண்டு பதினாறாவது நாள் இருநூற் றறுபத்[தி]ரண்டு சொழகொன் ஓலை[|*] தென்னவன் ப்ரஹ்மாராயரும் மதுராந்தகவிழுப்பரையரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில்

2 ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வரக் கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் ஸமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் பண்டாரப்பொத்தக முடையார்களும் கணக்கருங் கண்டு விடுதந்ததாவது[|*] கொயி(ல்)லுக்கும்

3 திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய பெரியநாச்சியார்க்கும் வெசாலிப்பாடிப்பற்று பூவாலையில் சொக்கச்சியன் கமுகுதிருநந்தவனத்துக்கு திருநந்தவனஞ் செய்ய முதல் கொண்ட நாயகம் பெர் ஐஞ்சும் பெர் தெண்ணூற்றைஞ்சும் ஆகப் பெர் நூற்றுவர்க்கு இலக்கைக்கும் கொற்றுக்கும் இவ்வூ-

4 ரில் அடைத்த நிலம் இருநூற்று நாற்பத் தெழுமா அரைக்காணியினால் நெல்லு ஆறாயிரத்து தொளா[யி]ரத் தொருபத்தெண் கலனெ இருதூணிக் குறுணியும் பதினைஞ்சாவது நாள் இருநூற் றறுபத் திரண்டுமுதல் அந்தராயம் பாட்டம் உள்ப்பட இறையிலியாக இட்டுத் தெவர் திரு-

5 வெழுத்துச் சாத்திஅருளின திருமுகம் வந்தமையில் சொக்கச்சியனென்னும் திருநாமத்தால் செய்த கமுகுதிருநந்தவனத்துக்கும் சுற்றுக்குலைக்கும் வெசாலிப்பாடிநாட்டுக் குறுஞ்சி அளநாட்டுத் தெவதானம் சிறுபாலையூர்ப்பால் பூந்தமங்கலத்தும் இராஜாதிராஜவளநா-

6 ட்டு குறுஞ்சி அளநாட்டுத் தெவதானம் தாமரையான்பாடியான வெளங்கன்பட்டிலும் வெள்ளாற்றுக்கு மெல்கரைப்பட்ட துண்டத்தும் கூடின நிலத்துக் கமுகுத[றை]யும் சுற்றுக்குலையும் உள்ப்பட விரிவு நிலம் அறுபத்துமுன்றுமா முக்காணி கீழ் முக்காலும் நீங்கலாகவும் இத்திருநந்-

7 தவனஞ் செய்ய வெண்டும் பொராய் நிச்சயித்த நாயகம் பெர் ஐஞ்சும் பெர் தொண்ணூறைஞ்சும் ஆகப் பெர் நூறு இ[தி]ல் நாயகம் பெர் ஐவர்க்கு கொற்றுக்கு நாள் ஒன்றுக்கு பெர் ஒன்றுக்கு முக்குறுணியாக நெல்லு கலனெ முக்குறுணியும் புடவைமுதல் ஆட்டைக்கு பொரால் முன்று-

8 கக் காசு பதினைஞ்சும் பெர் தொண்ணூற்றைவர்க்கு கொற்றுக்கு நாள் ஒன்றுக்கு பெர் ஒன்றுக்கு நெல்லு ப[த]க்காக நெல்லு பதினைங்கலனெ இருதூணிப் பதக்கும் புடவைமுதல் ஆட்டைக்குப் பொரால் காசு இரண்டாக காசு நூற்றுத்தொண்ணூறும் ஆகப் பெர் நூற்றுவர்க்கு கொற்றுக்கு நாள் ஒ-

9 ன்றுக்கு நெல்லு பதினெழு கலனெ குறுணியும் ஆக ஆட்டைக்கு உடைய நெல்லுக்கும் புடவைமுதல் ஆட்டைக்கு காசு இருநூற்றைஞ்சுக்கும் காசு ஒன்றுக்கு பதினைங்கலப்படியால் வந்த நெல்லுக்கும் தெவதானமான ஊர்களில் பலபணி நிவந்தக்காறர்க்கு சீவிதமடைக்கும்படி-

10 யாலுள்ள நெல்லுக்கு வெசாலிப்பாடிப்பற்று ஜயங்கொண்டசொழச்சருப்பெதிமங்கலத்துக் கீழ்பிடாகை பூவாலைசுந்தரசொழநல்லூரில் பதினைஞ்சாவது நாள் இருநூற் றறுப்பத்திரண்டு முதல் அந்தராயம் பாட்டம் உள்ப்பட தெவதான இறையிலி இட்ட நிலம் இருநூ-

11 ற்று நாற்பத்தெழுமா வரைக்காணிக்கு மாத்தால் நெல்லு இருபத்தெண் கலமாக நெல்லு ஆறாயிரத்து தொளாயிரத் தொருபத் தொன்பதின் கலனெ தூணிப் பதக்கும் ஆகத் திருநந்[த]வனத்தறை உள்ப்பட [நி]லம் எழுபத்தெழரையெ நான்மா வரை முந்திரிகைக் கீழ்முக்காலினால் விரி-

12 வு நிலம் முன்னூற் றெருபதுமா முக்காணி அரைக்காணிக் கிழ்முக்காலும் அந்தராயம் பாட்ட முள்ப்பட தெவதான இறைஇலி இட்டமைக்கு குலொத்துங்கசொழன் திருமாளிகையில் புறவாயிலெ கல் வெட்டிக்கொள்ளக்கடவதாகப் பண்ணுவதெ[|*] கமுகுதறையும் சுறறுக்குலையும்

13 நிலம் அறுபத்துமுன்றுமா முக்காணிக் கிழ்முக்காலும் திருநந்தவனக்குடிகளுக்கு ஜிவிதம் அடைத்த நிலம் இருநூற்று நாற்பத்தெழுமா அரைக்காணியினால் நெல்லு ஆறாயிரத்துத் தொளாயிரத்து ஒருபத்தொன்பதின் கலனெ தூணி பதக்குக்கும் [।*] இவை சொழகொன் எழுத்து .

Chidambaram.

14 என்று வந்த ஏவற்றிட்டுப்படி கல் வெட்டியது உ

No. 56.

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ON THE SAME WALL.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ உ ஸகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீகொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவற்கு யாண்டு பதினாறாவது நாள் இருநூற்று இருபத்தெட்டு உ சொழகொன் ஓலை[।*] தென்னவன்ப்ர[ஹ்ம]மாராயரும் மதுராந்தகவிழுப்பரையரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயிற் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வரக் கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் ஸமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் [தி]ருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களு[ம் ப]ண்டாரப்பொத்தக முடையார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடுதந்தாவது[।*] கொயிலுக்கும் திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய பெரியநாச்சியார்க்கும் சிறப்பாகச் சாத்திஅருள

2 சொழகொனார் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர்ப் பிடாகை பள்ளிப்படையான விக்கிரமசொழநல்லூரில் பலவரவையான நிலத்துச் செய்வித்த செங்கனிவாயன் திருநந்தவனத்தரைக்கு வ்ருதிக்ஷெத்ரமாகவும் இத்திருநந்தவனஞ் செய்ய வெண்டும் பெராய் இவர் நிச்சயித்த நாயகம் பெர் இரண்டும் பெர் முப்பத்துநாலும் திருப்பூமண்டபத்து திருப்பள்ளித்தாமந் தொடுக்கும் பெர் இரண்டும் ஆக பெர் முப்பத்தெண்வர்க்கும் இலக்கைக்கும் கொற்றுக்கும் விருதராஜபயங்கரவளநாட்டு ஸ்ரீவிரநாராயணச்சதுர்வெதிமங்கலத்து வடபிடாகை மதுராந்தகநல்லூரில் இவர் விலைகொண்டு திருநாமத்து-

3 க்காணியாகத் திருக்கைஒட்டிப் பண்டாரத்துக் குடுத்த ப்ரமாணப்படி நிலமாய் பாடிகாவல் வெள்ளான்வெட்டி அந்தராயம் பாட்டம் உள்ப்பட தெவதான இறையிலியாக இட்ட [தி]றப்பு கார்மறு நிலம் முப்பத்தாறுமா முக்காணி முந்திரிகைக் கிழரையெ மும்மா வரையினால் நெல்லு ஆயிரத்து நானூற்றெண்பதின்கலனெ ஐங்குறுணி இருநாழி உரி யாழாக்கும் ஒருபூ நிலம் அரைக்காணி முந்திரிகைக் கிழொன்பதுமா வரையெ அரைக்காணியினால் நெல்லு நாற்கலனெ எழுகுறுணி எழுநாழியும் ஆக கார்மறுவும் ஒருபூவும் நிலம் முப்பத்தெழுமா முந்திரிகைக் கிழ் முன்றுமா வரைக்காணியினால் நெல்லு

4 ஆயிரத்து நானூற்றொருபத்துநாற் கலனெ குறுணி இருநாழி உரிஆழாக்கு இதில் இத்திருநந்தவனத்தரைக்கு வ்ருதிக்ஷெத்ரமாகக் குடுத்த நிலம் பன்னிரண்டு மாவினால் நெல்லு நானூற்று அறுபத்தொரு கலனெ ஐஞ்ஞாழி நிக்கி இத்திருநந்தவனக்குடிகளுக்கு இலக்கைக்கும் கொற்றுக்கும் உடலான நிலம் இருபத்தஞ்சுமா முந்திரிகைக் கிழ் முன்றுமா வரைக்காணியினால் நெல்லுத் தொளாயிரத் தைம்பத்துமுக்கலனெ நானாழி உரியும் ஆக நிலம் முப்பத்தெழுமா முந்திரிகைக் கிழ் முன்றுமா வரைக்காணியினால் நெ-

5 ல்லு ஆயிரத்து நானூற்றொருபத்துநாற்கலனெ குறுணி இருநாழி உரியும் திருநாமத்துக்காணியும் தெவதான இறையிலியுமாய் அந்தராயம் பாட்டம் உள்ப்பட இறையிலியாகவும் நிக்கி இத்திருநந்தவ[ன]க்குடிகளுக்கு அடைக்கவெண்டும் நெல்லு ஆயிரத்தெழுநூற்று நாற்பத் தறுகலனெ இருதூணி முக்குறுணிமுன்னாழி உரிக்கும் மதுராந்தகநல்லூரில் திறப்பு கார்மறுவும் ஒருபூவுமான நிலத்திலெ நெல்லுக்கு வெண்டும் நிலம் தெவதானஇறையிலியாக அந்தராயம் பாட்ட முள்ப்படவும் தில்லைவனமுடைய பரமெஸ்வரிக்கு நித்தற்படிக்கும் ஆட்டைத்திரு-

6 நாள் எறுபடிக்கும் கறி விறகு உள்ளிட்ட விஞ்சனத்துக்கும் வெண்டும் நெல்லுத் தொளாயிரத் தைம்பத்து ஒருகலமும் மதுராந்தகநல்லூரில் திறப்பு கார்மறுவும் ஒருபூவுமான நிலத்திலெ நெல்லுக்கு ஒக்க அடைத்து தில்லைவனமுடைய பரமெஸ்வரிக்கு அ[ந்]தராயம் பாட்ட முள்பட தெவதான இறையிலியாகவும் இப்படிகளால் வந்[த] நிலமும் நெல்லும் பதினஞ்சாவது நாள் இருநூற்று அறுபத்திரண்டு முதல் இவ்வூரில் கழித்து ராஜாயிராஜவளநாட்டு நெல்லூர்நாட்டு முதலுமாய் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமங்கலமென்னுந் திருநாமத்தால் வெறு-

Chidambaram.

7 பிரிந்து தெவதான இறையிலி ஆகவும் கடவதாக தெவர் திருவெழுத்துச் சாத்தின திருமுகம் வந்தமையில் செங்கனிவாயன் திருநந்தவன நிலம் முவெலியும் திருநந்தவனஞ் செய்து திருப்பள்ளித்தாமம் அளக்க முதல்கொண்ட நாயகம் பெர் இரண்டும் பெர் முப்பத்துநாலும் திருப்பூமண்டபத்து திருப்பள்[ளி]த்தாமந் தொடுக்கும் பெர் இரண்டும் ஆகப் பெர் முப்பத்தெட்டும் பதினைஞ்சாவது நாள் இருநூற் றறுபத்திரண்டுமுதல் முதல்கொண்டு இவர்களில் திருநந்தவனக்குடிகள் நாயகம் பெர் இருவற்கு கொற்றுக்கு நாள் ஒன்-

8 றுக்குப் பெரால் நெல்லு முக்குறுணியாக நெல்லுத் தூணிப் பதக்கும் புடவைமுதல் ஆட்டைக்குப் பெரால் காசு மூன்றாகக் காசு ஆறும் பெர் முப்பத்துநால்வற்கு கொற்றுக்கு நாள் ஒன்றுக்கு பெரால் நெல்லுப் பதக்காக நெல்லு ஐங்கலனெ இருதூணியும் புடவைமுதல் ஆட்டைக்குப் பெரால் காசு இரண்டாகக் காசு அறுபத்தெட்டும் திருப்பூமண்டபத்து திருப்பள்ளி[த்*]தாமந் தொடுக்கும் பெர் இருவர்க்கு கொற்றுக்கு நாளொன்றுக்குப் பெரால் நெல்லு முக்குறுணியாக நெல்லு தூணிப் பதக்கும் புடவைமுதல் ஆட்டைக்குப் பெரால் கா-

9 சு மூன்றாகக் காசு ஆறும் ஆகப் பெர் முப்பத்தெண்வர்க்குக் கொற்றுக்கு நாள் ஒன்றுக்கு நெ(ா)ல்லு அறுகலனெ இருதூணியாக ஆட்டைக்குடைய நெல்லுக்கும் புடவைமுதல்க் காசு எண்பதுக்குக் காசு ஒன்றுக்கு பதினைங்கலப்படியால் வந்த நெல்லுக்கும் தெவதானமான ஊர்களில் ஜீவிதமடைக்கும்படியாலுள்ள நெல்லுக்கும் திருநந்தவனத்தறைக்கும் வ்ருத்திக்ஷெத்ரம் விடவெண்டும் நிலம் முவெலிக்கும் ஸ்ரீவீரநாராயணச்சதுர்வ்வெதிமங்கலத்துப் பிடா-

10 கை மதுராந்தகநல்லூரில் பாடிகாவல் வெள்ளான்வெட்டி அந்தராயம் பாட்டம் உள்படவும் தெவதான இறையிலி இட்டு இந்நாட்டில் முதலுந் தவிர்ந்து இராஜாதிராஜவளநாட்டு நெலுவூர்நாட்டிலெ முதலுமாய் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமங்கலமென்னுந் திருநாமத்தால் வெறுபிரிந்த நிலத்துக்கு கட்டளைக்கணக்கு பெரும்புலியூருடையான் எழுத்திட்ட கணக்குப்படி நிலம் இருபத்திரண்டெ ஆறுமாக் காணி அரைக்காணி முந்திரிகைக் கிழ்முக்காலெ அரைமாவினால் விரிவு நிலம் எண்பத்தெழுமா வரைக்காணி முந்திரி-

11 கைக் கிழ்க் காலெ காணி அரைக்காணி இதில் தரமிலி நிலம் அரைமா அரை[க்]காணிக் கிழ்முக்காலெ இருமா வரையெ அரைக்காணி நீக்கி தரம்பெற்ற நிலம் எண்பத்தாறுமா வரையின் கிழ்எழுமா முக்காணி இதில் பலர்பக்கலும் விலைகொண்டு திருநாமத்துக்காணியாகத் திருக்கைஒட்டி பண்டாரத்துக் குடுத்த பிரமாணப்படி நிலம் எழுபதுமா முக்காணி முந்திரிகைக் கிழரை இதில் தரமிலி நீரொடுகாலும் குளமும் பெருவழியும் பயிர்செய்யஒண்ணாப் பாழும்நிலம் அரைமா அரைக்காணிக் கீழ்முக்காலெ இருமா வரையெ

12 அரைக்காணி நீக்கித் தரம்பெற்ற நிலம் எழுபதுமா வரைக்காணிக் கிழரையெ இரண்டுமாக் காணி அரைக்காணி இதில் திறப்புக் கார்மறு நில முப்பத்தாறுமா முக்காணி முந்திரிகைக் கீழரையெ மும்மா வரையினால் நெல்லு ஆயிரத்து நானூற்றொன்பதின் கலனெ ஐங்குறுணி இருநாழி உரி ஆழாக்கும் ஒருபூ நிலம் அரைக்காணி முந்திரிகைக் கீழொன்பதுமா வரையெ அரைக்காணியினால் நெல்லு நாற்கலனெ எழுகுறுணி எழுநாழியும் நீக்கி நிலத்து பலதெவர்கள் தெவதானமான நிலத்துக்குத் தலைமாறு தெவதானம் அடைத்த

13 குடிப்பெ[ரி]லெ இத்தெவர்களுக்கு தெவதானமாகச் செர்த்துக்குடுத்துப் புகுந்த கார்மறு நிலம் இருபதுமா முக்காணி அரைக்காணியினால் நெல்லு எண்ணூற் றறுபத் தறுகலனெ தூணிப் பதக் கொருநாழி உழக்கும் ஒருபூ நிலம் பதினொருமா அரைக்காணி முந்திரிகைக் கிழொன்பதுமாக் காணியினால் நெல்லு இருநூற் றிருபத்தெழுகலனெ ஐங்குறுணி ஐஞ்ஞாழி முவுழக்கும் அகரம் வீரப்பெருமாள்மங்கலம் நிலம் ஒருமா[வி]னால் நெல்லு முப்பத்தெழுகலனெ பதக்கு நானாழி உரிக்கு அகரஒட்டுப்படி நெல்லு பதினைங்கலனெ எழுகுறுணி

14 ஒருநாழியும் ஆகக் கார்மறுவும் ஒருபூவும் நிலம் எழுபதுமா அரைக்காணிக் கிழரையெ இரண்டுமாக் கா[ணி] அரைக்காணி[யி]னால் தரவரிசைப்படியும் அகரஒட்டுப்படியும் நெல்லு இரண்டாயிரத் தைஞ்ஞூற் றிருபத்து முக்கலனெ இருதூணி ஒருநாழி உரி இதில் திருநந்தவனத்தறை[க்]கு வ்ருத்திக்ஷெத்ரமாக விட்ட வீரப்பெருமாள்மங்கலம் உட்பட நிலம் பன்னிரண்டுமாவினால் அகரஒட்டு உள்பட நெல்லு நானூற்று முப்பத்தொன்பதின் கலனெ ஐங்குறுணி ஒருநாழி உரி நீக்கி இத்திருநந்தவனக்குடிகளுக்கும் திருப்பூமண்டபத்து திருப்பள்ளித்தாம-

Chidambaram.

15 ந் தொடுப்பார்க்கும் இலக்கைக்கும் கொற்றுக்கும் உடலான கார்மறுவும் ஒருபூவும் நிலம ஐ[ம்*]பத்தெட்டுமா அரைக்காணிக் கிழரையெ இரண்டுமாக் காணி அரைக்காணியினால் நெல்லு இரண்டாயிரத் தெண்பத்து நாற்கலனெ முக்குறுணி நிக்கி தெவதான இறையிலி இட்டுக் குடிப்பெரில் இறுக்கச் செர்த்த [க]ார்மறு நிலம் பதினைஞ்சுமாக் காணி அரைக்காணிக் கிழ்முக்காலெ அரைமாவினால் தரவரிசைப்படி நெல்லு அறுநூற்று ஒருபத்தைங் கலனெ இருதூணிப் பதக் கொருநாழி உழக்கும் ஒருபூநில முக்காணி அரைக்காணிக் கிழ்முக்கா-

16 லெ நாலுமா முக்காணி அரைக்காணியினால் நெல்லு இருபத்தொரு கலனெ தூணிப் பதக் கொருநாழி உழக்கும் ஆக கார்[ம]றுவும் ஒருபூவும் நிலம் பதினாறுமாக் காணி முந்திரிகைக் கிழ்முக்காலெ காணி அரைக்காணியினால் நெல்லு அறுநூற்று முப்பத்தெழுகலனெ தூணி முன்னாழி உரியும் ஆகக் கார்மறு நிலம் எழுபத்துநாலுமா வரைக்காணி கிழொன்பதுமாவினால் நெல்லு இரண்டாயிரத்து தொளாயிரத் தெழுகலனெ தூணி அறுநாழியும் ஒருபூ நிலம் பன்னிரண்டுமாக் காணி முந்திரிகைக் கிழ்முக்காலெ முன்றுமா முக்காணியினால் நெல்லு

17 இருநூற் றைம்பத்து முக்கலனெ எழுகுறுணி எழுநாழியும் ஆகக் கார்மறுவும் ஒருபூவும் நிலம் எண்பத்தாறுமா வரையின் கிழெழுமா முக்கா[ணி]யினால் நெல்லு மூவாயிரத் தொருநூற் றறுபத்தொரு கலனெ ஐஞ்ஞாழியும் பாடிகாவல் வெள்ளான்வெட்டி அந்தராயம் பாட்டம் உள்ப்பட தெவதா[ன] இறையிலி இட்டமைக்கு குலொத்துங்கசொழன் திருமாளிகைப் புறவாயி[வி*]லெ கல் வெட்டிக்கொள்ளக் கடவதாகப் பண்ணுவதெ[|*] இவை சொழகொன் எழுத்தென்று வந்த எவற்றிட்டு[ப்]படி கல வெட்டியது உ

APPENDIX VII

Reproduction of pages 356 to 371 of South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VIII,
containing Inscriptions of Later Pallava Chief Kopperunjinga,
copied from the Tillai Amman temple at Cidambaram.

706	(A.R.E. 390 of 1903)	712	(A.R.E. 396 of 1903)
707	(A.R.E. 391 of 1903)	713	(A.R.E. 397 of 1903)
708	(A.R.E. 392 of 1903)	714	(A.R.E. 398 of 1903)
709	(A.R.E. 393 of 1903)	715	(A.R.E. 399 of 1903)
710	(A.R.E. 394 of 1903)	716	(A.R.E. 400 of 1903)
711	(A.R.E. 395 of 1903)	717	(A.R.E. 401 of 1903)

No. 706.

(*A.R. No.* 390 *of* 1903).

ON THE EAST WALL OF THE CENTRAL SHRINE IN THE TILLAIYAMMAN TEMPLE AT CHIDAMBARAM, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

Chidambaram.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[||*] சகலபுவனச்சக்கரவதிகள் ஸ்ரீகொப்பெருஞ்சி-
2 ங்கதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு ௩-வது மிதுனநாயற்று தியதி இரண்டாநாள் த-
3 னியூர் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் கவுணியன் சிவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான்
4 தில்லைவனமுடையபரமெஸ்வரி திருவருளால் இக்கொயில் தெ-
5 வகன்மி கொயி[ற்கண*]ககனுக்கு அன்னியகர்மதிட்டுக் குடுத்தபரிசாவது[*]
6 [பி]டாகை வெள்ள . . . . க்க . சி[வ]ன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடை-
7 யான் ஸ்ரீமந்தரகதிபதெவனையகனும் இவ தம்பி திருச்சிற்ற-
8 ம்பலமுடையான் செந்தன்பக்கலும் இவ[ர்*]கள் மாதாக்கள் உ-
9 ள்ளிட்டார்பக்கல் கொண்ட பள்ளி[ப]டையில் சுந்தரிசொழவதிக்கு கி-
10 ழ[க்*]கு கண்டராதித்தன்வாய்க்காலுக்கு தெற்கு இர[ண்*]டாங் கண்ணாற்று
11 முதல் சதிரத்து காக்கைபாத்தி என்று பெர்கூவ[ப்*]பட்ட நிலம் விலைஓ-
12 [லைப்படி] ௯ . . . க்கு காசு ௨௰௮௨ பெருங்கவுசியன் இரவி தி-
13 ருக்கழிப்பாலைஉடையானும் இவன் மகன்பக்கலும் உழைச்சானன் கனகசவா[ப]-
14 திபக்கலும் இவன் மாதாவும் யிவன் பிராமணிபக்கலும் கொண்ட முட்டை . . . சுந்தரிவதிக்கு
15 கிழக்கு வானவன்மாதெவி வாக்காலுக்கு வடக்கு முதற் கண்ணாற்று நாலாஞ் சதிரத்து
16 கொண்ட ஓலைப்படி விளைநிலமும் கொல்லையும் உட்பட விலைஓலைப்படி ௯௨௬-
17 வினால் காசு சூதடுா-ம் இப்பெருங்கவுசியன் இரவி திருக்கழிப்பாலை உடையானும் இவ-
18 ர் மக்கள்பக்கலும் கொண்ட திருச்சிற்றம்பலவதிக்கு கிழக்கு வானவன்மாதெவிவாக்-
19 காலுக்கு வடக்கு . . . . . த்து தரமிலிபில் கொண்ட ஓலைபபடி ௯ உச
20 இப்படி கொண்ட ஓலைப்படி காசு உதூ ருாம் ஆக ௯சஇ பசுசஉ-மும் கொண்
21 ட ஓலைப்படிகளால் காசு ௩௰௭௲ இக்காசு முல்பத்தெழாயிரமும் பண்டாரக்காசிலெ
22 யிட்டு என்பெராலெ கொண்டமையில் யின்னிலங்கள் நாச்சிய[ா*]ர்க்கு திருநாம-
23 த்துக்காணியாக திருவுதிட்டு குடுத்தென் தெவகன்மி கொயில்கண்க்க(க)ரும்[1]
24 கவிணியன் சிவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையானெ[ன்*][।*]இது இவர்கள் சொல்ல எழு
தினெ[ன்*]
25 புலியூருடையானெ[ன்*] எழுத்து[।*]இப்படி சம்மதித்து திரிவுதிட்டு குடுத்தென் கவு-
26 ணியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையானென்[।*] இவை என் எழு[த்*]து உ

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[1] Read கணக்கனுக்கு.

No. 707.

(*A.R. No.* 391 *of* 1903).

ON THE SOUTH WALL OF THE SAME SHRINE.

Chidambaram.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] சகலபுவனச்சக்ரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீ கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கத்தெவர்-
2 க்கு யாண்டு ௩-வது மெஷநாயற்று தியதி இருபத்தஞ்சா நாள்
3 தமியூர் பெரும்பற்றபுலியூர் பெருங்கவிசியன் திருக்கழிப்ப[ா*]லை உ-
4 டையான் இரவியும் இவரையெ முதுகண்ணாக உடைய இவன் பி-
5 ராமணி அம்பலத்தமுது கொத்தலர்குழலியும் இவரையெ முதுகண்-
6 ணாக உடைய இவர் மகன் இரவி திருக்கழிப்பாலைஉடையானும்
7 பெருங்கவிசியன் இரவி திருநட்டமாடியை முதுகண்ணாக உடைய-
8 இவன் பிராமணி அன்னிசாரன் [1] கிழக்கடையநின்றாளும் பெருங்கவ-
9 சியன் இரவி அம்பலத்தமுதை முதுகண்ணாக உடைய இவன் பிராமணி
10 திருக்கழிப்பாலைஉடையான சிவகாமசுந்தரியும் பெருங்கவுசியன் இர-
11 வி சிரிமுலத்தான[மு]டையானும் [உமை]ழச்சா[ண*]ன் வினாயகன் பசுபதியை முது-
கண்-
12 ணாக உடைய இவன் மாதா திருக்கழிப்பாலைஉடையான் தத்தையும் இவனை
13 முதுகண்ணாக உடைய இவன் பிராமணி திருககழிப்பாலைஉடையான் கொண்-
14 டாளுங் இ[வ்*]வனைவொம் கவுசியன் சிவன் திருசிற்றம்பலமுடையானுக்கு நாங்கள் நி-
15 லவிலைபிரமாணத்திட்டு குடுத்தபரிசாவது[|*] ந[ா*]ங்கள் இவற்கு இன்னாயற்று தியதி
16 [ப]தின்முன்றா நாள் விற்று விலைத்தரவு எழுதிக்குடுத்து யிற்றைநாளால் விலைப்பிரமா-
ணத்-
17 திட்டு எழுதிக்குடுக்கும் எங்கள் நிலம் இவ்வூர் வடபிடாகை மதுராந்தகப்பெரிளமை-
18 நாட்டு முட்டையூறலான பரா[க்]கிரமசொழநல்லூர்பால் ஸ்ரீசுந்தரவதிக்கு கிழக்கும்
ஸ்ரீ-
19 வ[ா*]னவன்மாதெவிவாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு முதற் கண்ணாற்று நாலாஞ் சதிரத்து எங்-
கள் ம.-
20 க[ள்] வாச்சியன் நாயன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் உள்ளிட்டார்பொரால் இக்கண்ணா-
21 ற்று யிசசதிரத்தும் பொத்தகம்பெற்ற நிலமாய் நாங்கள் இவ[ர்*]களபக்கல் சிதனத்
தாலு-
22 ம் அபாவத்தாலும் நாங்கள் பெற்றுடையொமாய் நாங்கள் அனுபவித்து விற்றுக்-
23 குடுத்த நிலத்துக்கு எல்லை செவட்டையறுதிக்கு கிழக்கும் கண்ணாற்றுவாக்காலுக்கு தெ-
24 ற்கும் கிழக்கும் திருக்காளீசுரமுடைய நாயநார் நிலத்துக்கு தெற்கும் திருச்சிற்றமபலவ-
25 திக்கு மெற்கும் வானவன்மாதெவிவாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கும் ஆக யிசைந்த யின்நான்கெல்-
26 லையிலும் உட்பட கருத்தளவாக மிகுதிக்குறை வுள்ளடங்க வந்த விளைநிலங்களும் கொ-
27 ல்லைகளும் குளங்களும் வாய்க்கால்களும் உட்பட வகையான கூ உஇசபவபூஇ-
28 ன்நிலம் இரண்டரையெ நாலுமா அரைக்காணி முந்திரிகை [சி]ன்னத்தில் நாங்கள்
முன்னாளிலெ
29 வாச்சியன் . . . . . [திரு]நட்டப்பெருமாளுள்ளிட்டாற்கு நாங்கள் விற்றுகுடுத்த
ஒலை-
30 ப்படிகளால் வந்த விளைநிலங்களும் கொல்லைகளும் குளஙகளில் இவர் பாதியும் விற்ற ஒ-
31 லைப்படிகளால் நிக்கின கூ இசநிவ கூ நிக்கி நிக்கி எங்கள் கூஉ௱ கீஇவ-
32 ம் இன்நிலம் இரண்டெ அரைக்காணி கிழரையெ இரண்டு மாவின் சின்னத்தை மிகுதி-
33 க்குறைவு உள்ளடங்க வந்த விளைகூ வஉப இன்நில[ம்*] எழுமாவும் வடகிழைமூலையில்
கொ-
34 ல்லைதிருத்தான விளைகூ . . அரைமாவும் இந்நிலத்துக்கு வடகிழைமூலையில்
35 நீர்நிலையும் கிருயும் இதில் உட்பட்ட குளங்களிலும் மல்லிகைகொல்லைகளும் உள்-
36 ப்பட வந்த நிலம் இரண்டெ அரைக்காணி கிழரையெ இரண்டு மாவின் சின்னத்தை[2]
. . . . . .
37 படிசொம்பாதியால் வந்த குளமும் கரையும் தரவில் சொம்பா[தி]யும் உள்பட வந்த நில-
மும் கொல்லையு . . . .
38 ன்னத்தையும் விற்று விலைவ்ராணமிட்டு எழுதி[க்*]குடுத்தொம் இந்த கவுணியன்
சிவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடைய . . . .
39 . . . . . . டய இவர் பிராம . . . .

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[1] Probably அனத்திசரன் as in line 10 of No. 392 of 1903. [2] A portion is missing at the ends of lines 36 to 39.

No. 708.

(*A.R. No.* 392 *of* 1903).

ON THE SOUTH WALL OF THE SAME SHRINE.

Chidambaram.

1 யாண்டு ௩-வது ள் மெஷநாயற்று தியதி இருபத்த-
2 ஞ்சா நாள் தனியூர் பெரும்பற்றபுலியூர் பெருங்கவிசி-
3 யன் திருக்கழிப்பாலைஉடையான் இரவியும் இவனெ மு-
4 துகண்ணாக உடைய இவன் [பிர]ாமணி [அம்]-
5 பவத்தமுது கொத்தலாகுழலியும் [இவ]
6 னெ முதுகண்ணாக உடைய இவர் மக[னி]-
7 ரவி திருக்கழிப்பாலைஉடையானும் ெ-
8 பருங்கவுசியன் யிரவி திருநட்ட[மாடியை]
9 முது[க]ண்[ணா]க உடைய இவன் பிராமணி அன-
10 ந்தி[சு]ரன் கிழக்கடையநின்றானும் பெருங்-
11 [க]விசியன் யிரவி அம்பலத்தமுதை முதுகண்ணா[க]
12 உடைய இவன் பிராமணி திருக்கழிப்ப[ாலை]-
13 உடையாள் சிவகாமசுந்தரியும் பெருங்க . . . .
14 முலத்தானமுடையானும் வாச்சிய [ன்*]வினாயக . . . . .
15 முதுகண்ணாக உடைய இவன் மாதா திருக்கழிப் . . . . .
16 ான் தத்தையும் இவனெ முதுகண்ணாக உடை . . . . . .
17 ணி திருக்கழிப்பாலைஉடையான் கொண்டா . . . .
18 வொம் கவுணியன் சிவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடை . . . . . .
19 [க்கு கி]ரெயச்செலவு குடுத்தபரிசாவது [।*]நாங்கள் இவனுக்கு இ-
20 ற்றைநாளால் விற்றுகுடுத்த சாதன ஓலைப்படி நிலம் இரண்-
21 டெ அரைக்காணி கிழரையெ இரண்டுமாவின் [சின்]னமும்
22 விற்றுகுடுத்த ஓலைப்படி காசு ஆறாயிரத் தஞ்ஞூற்றும் கொண்-
23 டொம் கொண்டபரிசாவது [।*]எங்களில் வாச்சியன் வினாயகன் ச-
24 பாபதியை முதுகண்ணாக உடைய இவன் பத்தா திருக்கழிப்பாலை-
25 உடையான் தத்தை ஸ்ரீதனம் பெற்றுடைய பிரிதி [நி]ாநிலம் ஒ[ரு]-
26 மாவரை இதில் இவளுடைய நில[ம்*] ஒருமாவுக்கு காசு ௲ இக்காக அறு-
27 நூறும் இவன் கைகொண்டும் இவன் மருமகன் கொண்டா-
28 ன் எழுதிஉடைய ஓலைப்படி நிலம் அரைமாவுக்கு கைக்கொண்ட கா-
29 சு [௲ ஆக] விளைநில[ம் ஒ]ருமாவரைக்கும் கைக்கொண்ட
30 காசு [தொள]ாயிரமும நி[க*]கி நிக்கி நாங்கள் உடைய விளைநில-
31 மும் கொல்லையும் உ[ள்]ப்பட நிலம் ஒன்றெமுககாலெ நான்கு-
32 மாவரை அரைகா[ணி கி]ழரையெ இரண்டு மாவின் சின்னத்-
33 துக்கு கைக்கொண்ட [காசு] ஐய்யாயிரத் தறுநூற்றும் உடை-
34 யர் உடையபடி யறக்கொண்டும் ஆக காசு ஆறாயிரத் தஞ்ஞூ-
35 றும் இப்பரி[சி*]னாலெ யறக்கொண்டு [கி]ரெயச்சிலவு குடுத்தொ-
36 ம் இந்த கவுசியன் சிவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையானுக்கு முற்குறி-
37 த்த இ[வ்*]வனைவொம் [।*]இ[ப்]பரிசு பி[வ்*]வனைவரும் எழுதுக யென்[று]
38 . . யும் விற்று[க*]குடுத்து கொண்[ெ*]டாம் . . . . விலைப்[பொ]-
39 ருள் யன்றாடு செல்லு நற்காசு ௲த்துறா இக்காசு ஆறாயிரத் தஞ்ஞூ-
40 றும் உடையொம் உடையபடி. காட்டெற்றி கைச்செல அற-
41 க்கொண்டு முற்குறித்தபடியெ . . . இந்த நீஉ
42 ஈ/ கீஇசல இந்நிலம்[இரண்]-
43 டெ அரைக்காணி கிழரையெ இரண்டுமா-
44 வின் சின்னத்தையும் இன்நாயற்று தியதி
45 பதின்முன்றினால் நிலம் விற்று விலைத்த[ரவு]
46 எழுதிக் குடுத்து இற்றைநாளால் விலை-
47 [ப்]பிரமாணமிட்டு குடுத்தொம் இந்தக-
48 வுசியன் சிவன் திருசசிற்றம்ப[லமு]டையா-
49 னுக்கு முற்குறித்த [இவ்வனைவொம்] [।*] இந்நிலத்-
50 துக்கு இக்காசு ஆறாயிரத் தஞ்ஞூறுமெ வி-
51 லையாவுதாகவும் [।*]பொருள்மாவறுதிப் பெ[ா]-
52 ருட் சிலஓலையும் இதுவெயாவதாகவும் [।*]பி-
53 து அல்லது வெறு பொருமாவறுதிப் பொருட்சிலஓலை க[ா]-
54 ட்டகட[வ]தல்லகாகவும [।*]இனநிலத்துக்கு ப[ழ]ம்படி பா-

55 யு நிர் பாயவும் வாரிநிர் வாரவும் இறைக்குநிர் யிறைக்க-
56 வும் பெறுவதாகவும் [।*]இன்நிலத்துக்கு யன்னி உடைய[ா]ர்-
57 [நில நின்று இன்நிர் உறப் பாயவும் வாரவும் உடை]-
58 ய வ[ா]க்காலும் யின்நிலத்துக்கு வந்த தடையும் யிடை-
59 யூறுந் தித்து ஆழ்விப்பதற் கெங்கள் வாழ்வெ யாட்சி யி-
60 றைப்பிணை யாவுதாகவும் [।*]இப்படி சம்மதித்து முற்குறித்த க[ா]-
61 சு ஆறாயிரத் தஞ்ஞூறும் ஆவணக்களரியெ உடையொம்
62 உடையப[டி] கைய்யிலெ யறக்கொண்டு முற்குறித்தப-
63 டிகளால் [வ]ந்த நில [ம்*]இரண்டெ அரைக்காணி கிழரைெ-
64 ய இரண்டுமாவின் சின்னத்தையும் விற்று விலைத்தர[வு]
65 எழுதிக்குடுத்து இற்றைநாளால் விலைபிரமாணத்தி[ட்]-
66 டு யெழுதிக்குடுத்தொம் இந்த கவுணியன் சிவன் [திருச்சிற்ற]-
67 ம்பலமுடையானுக்கு பெருங்கவிசியன் திருக்கழிப்பா-
68 லை உடையான் இரவியும் இவனெ முதுகண்ணாக உடைய இவ-
69 ன் பிராமணி அம்பலத்தமுது கொத்தலர்குழலியும் இவனெ மு-
70 துகண்ணாக உடைய. இவர் மகன் யிரவி திருக்கழிப்பாலைஉ[டை]-
71 யானும் பெருங்கவுசியன் யிரவி திருநட்ட மாடியை முதுக-
72 ண்ணாக உடைய இவர் பிராமணி அனந்திசுரன் கிழக்கடையநி[ன்]-
73 றாளும் பெருங்கவிசியன் யிரவி அம்பலத்தமுதை முதுகண்ணாக
74 உடைய இவன் பிராமணி திருக்கழிபாலைஉடையான் சிவகாம-
75 சுந்தரியும் பெருங்கவுசியன் இரவி ஸ்ரீ முலத்தானமுடையானு[1]

No. 709.

(*A.R. No.* 393 *of* 1903).

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE SAME SHRINE.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ—சகலபுவனச்சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ கொப்பெரு-
2 ஞ்சிங்கதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு ௩-வது மெ[ஷ]நாயற்று தியதி
3 நாவினால் தனியூர் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் வெ[வ]ள்ளறைக் கவசிய-
4 ன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான்
5 பஞ்சாக்ஷரதெவனும் இவன் மக[ன் வெ]-
6 வள்ளறைக் கவுசியன் சிபஞ்சாக்ஷ[ர]-
7 தெவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையா-
8 னும் இவனெ முதுகண்ணாக உடை-
9 ய இவன் பிராமணி திருககழிப்பா-
10 லைஉடையான் பிள்ளையாண்டியும வெ-
11 ள்ளறைக் கவுசியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பல[மு]டையா-
12 ன் ஸ்ரீபஞ்சாக்ஷ[ர*]தெவனை முதுகண்ணாக உ-
13 டைய இவன் மாதா வெள்ளறைக கவிசியன் திரு-
14 ச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் பிராமணி செந்தன் தத்-
15 தையும் வெள்ளறை திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான்
16 செந்தனும் இவன் மகன் வெள்ளறை க்கவிசியன்
17 செந்தன் தில்லைநாயகனும் இவனையெ முதுக-
18 ண்ணாக உடைய இவன் பிராமணி சென்னித்தழு-
19 ம்பன் திருக்கழிப்பாலைஉடையாளும் இ[வ*]வனைெ-
20 வாம் கவுணியன் சிவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையா-
21 னுக்கு நாங்கள் நிலைவிலைப்பிரமாணத்திட்டு
22 குடுத்த பரிசாவது [।]நாங்கள் இவனுக்கு இவா-
23 ட்டை மினநாயற்று தியதி இருபத்தாறிநால விற்-
24 று விலைத்தரவு எழுதிக்குடுத்து இதுக்கு இற்றைநா-
25 ளால் விலைப்பிரமாணத்திட்டு எழுதிக்குடுகெகும் நி-
26 லம் [।*]இவ்வூர் வடபிடாகை மதுராந்தகப்பெர் இளன-
27 ம[நா]ட்டு பள்ளிபடையான விக்கிரமசொழந[ல்*லூர்] [பா]-
28 ல் சுந்தரசொழவதிக்கு [கி]ழக்கு கண்டராதி[த்*]தவா-
29 . . . [கு] இரண்டாங் கண்ணாற்று முதல்சதிரத்து [காக்]-
30 கைபாத்தி யென்று பெர்கூவ[ப்*]பட்ட நிலத்துக்கு எல்-
31 லை [।*] சுன்தரசொழவதிக்கு கிழக்கும் கண்ணாற்று வாய்-

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[1] A few other signatures are wanting to complete this record.

360

Chidambaram.

32 க்காலுக்கு தெற்கும் பிடாரி வடவாயில் செல்வி நி[ல]-
33 த்திலுக்கு மெற்கும் வடமெற்கும் பிரமிசரமுடைய-
34 மாதெவர் நிலத்திலுக்கு வடக்கும் ஆக இசைந்த
35 இன்னான்கெல்லையிலும் உள்ளிட்ட சது[ர]த்துளவா-
36 க மிகுதிக்குறை உள்ளடங்க நத்தமும் குள[மு]ம் உள்ப்ப-
37 ட வந்த நீவஉப இன்நிலம் எழுமாவும் இதில் உள்-
38 பட்ட தெ[ங்கு புளி]உள்ளிட்ட பல்லுருவில் பயன் மரங்களும்கு-
39 ளத்தில் கிழ்நிரும் மெல் நிரும் இறைக்க உடைய துலையும் நிலை-
40 யும் இன்நி[ல*]த்துக்கு முலஓலைபடிகளாலும் பொத்தகபடிகளாலும் உ[ள்]-
41 [ள] உடைமைகளும் உரிமைகளும-
42 [ா]க இத்தனையு மற்று மொழிவின்றி
43 . . தயாய் விற்றுக்கு[டு]த்துக்கொ[ள்]-
44 வ.தான எம்மிவிசைந்த விலைப்பொ-
45 ருள் ளன்றுடுசெல்லும் நற்காசு
46 உய்அத இக்காசு இரு[ப]த்தெண்ணாயி-
47 ரமும் உடையொம் உடையபடி ஆ-
48 வணிக்களிரியெ காட்டெற்றிக் கைச்செல வ-
49 றக் கொண்டு விற்று விலைப் பிரமாணத்திட்-
50 டுக் குடுத்தொம் இந்த கவிசியன் சிவன் திருச்சிற்றம்-
51 பலமுடையானுக்கு முற்சொல்லப்பட்ட இ[வ*]வனை-
52 வொம் [।*]இன்நிலத்துக்கு இதுவெ விலை ஆவதாகவு-
53 ம் விலைப்பிரமாணமும் பொருள் மாவறுதிப பொருட்-
54 சிலஓலையும் இதுவெ ஆவுதாகவும் [।*] இதுவலலது வெ-
55 வறு பொருமாவறுதிப் பொருட்சி[ல*] ஓலைகாட்ட கட-
56 வதல்லாதுதாகவும்।*]இன்நிலத்துககு வந்த தடை-
57 யும் இடையூறும் திர்த்து ஆழ்விப்பதற்க்கு எங்கள்
58 வாழ்வெய் ஆழ்ச்சி இறைப்புணை ஆ(ம்)வுதாகவும்[।*]
59 இன்[நில]த்துக்கு பழம்படி பாயும் நிர் பாயவும் வா
60 ரும்நிர் வாரவும் இறைக்கும் நிர் இறைக்கவும் பெறு-
61 வதாகவும் இப்படி சம்மதித்து முற்கூறி தந்த காசு இ-
62 ருபத் தெண்ணாயிரமும் உடையொம் உடையபடி அ-
63 றக்கொண்டு முற்குறித்த மிகுதிக் கு[றை*]மை உள்ளடங்-
64 க நிலமும் நத்தமும் குளமும் உள்ளிட்[டு] வந்த நிலம்
65 எழுமாவும் நிலம் முள்ளிட்ட மெ(ர்)நொக்கின தெங்கு-
66 ம் புளி உள்ளிட்ட பல்லுருவில் பயன்மர[ங்*]களும் கிழ்குளத்-
67 து கிழ்நிரும் மெநிரும் இறைக்க உடைய துலையும் நி-
68 லையும் மற்று முல[1] விலைப்படிகளாலும் பொத்தகப்படி-
69 யாலும் வந்த உடைமைகளும் உரிமைகளு[ம்*] உள்ளி-
70 ட்ட[2] விற்று விலைபிரமாணத்திட்டு குடுத்தொம் இ-
71 ந்த கவுணியன் சிவ[ன்*] திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் ஸ்ரீ-
72 பஞ்சாக்ஷ[ர*]தெவனு[ம்*] இவன் மகன் வெள்ளறை கவிசியன்
73 ஸ்ரீபஞ்சாக்ஷ[ர*]தெவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையானும்
74 இவனையெ மு[து*]கண்ணாக உடைய இவன் பிராம-
75 [ணி] திருக்கழிப்பாலைஉடையான் பிள்ளையாண்டியும் இந்த வெள்ளறை க[வி]சியன் திருச்சிற்-
76 றம்பலமுடையான் ஸ்ரீபஞ்சாக்ஷயதெவனை முதுகண்ணாக உடை[ய*] இவன் மாதா வெள்ளறை-
77 க் கவிசியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் பிராமணி செ[ந்*]தந் த[த்*]தை-
78 [த]யும் வெள்ளறை-
79 க் கவிசியன் திருச்சி-
80 ற்றம்பல[முடைய][ான்*]
81 செந்தனும் இவன் ம-
82 கன் வெள்ளறை க-
83 விசியன் செந்த-
84 ன் தில்லைநாயகனும் இ-
85 வனையெ முதுகண்ணாக உ[டை]-

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[1] Read முல ஓலைப்படிகளாலும் as in line 40.

[2] Read உள்ளிட்ட.

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86 ய இவன் பிராமணி சென்[னித்த]-
87 மூ[ம்பன்] திருக்கழிப்பாலைஉடை-
88 யானும் இவ்வனைவொம[।*] இப்பரிச [இவ]-
89 வனைவரும் எழுதுக வென்று முன்[னி]-
90 ன்று பணிக்கவும் இவர்களுக்கு இவ-
91 வெள்ளறைக் கவிசியன் திருச்சிற்ற[ம்]-
92 பலமுடையான் ஸ்ரீபஞ்சாக்ஷிய-
93 னும் இவன் மகனா[ன] ஸ்ரீபஞ்சாக்ஷி-
94 [ர]தெவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடை[யானும்]
95 [வெ]ள்ளறைக் கவிசியன் செந்தன் தி-
96 ல்லைநாயகரும் இ[வ்*]வனைவரும் முது-
97 கண்ணா[க*] இருந்து எழுதுவித்துப் பணிக்-
98 கவும் எழுதினென் கரணத்தான [பு]-
99 லியூருடையான் பெற்றான் தில்லை-
100 நாயகனான தன்மபிரய(ன்)னென் இ-
101 வை என் எழு[த்*]து என்றும் இப்படி சம்ம-
102 தித்து முது[க*]ணாய் யிருந்து விற்பி-
103 (பி)த்துக்குடுத்தென் வெள்ளறை கவுசி-
104 யன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான்
105 ஸ்ரீபஞ்சாக்ஷி[ர*]தெவனென் இவை என்-
106 எழுத்து என்றும் இப்படி சம்மதி[த்*]து வி
107 ற்றும் விற்பித்தும் முதுகண்ணாக யிரு-
108 [ந்]து விற்[பி]த்துக்குடு[த்*]தென் வெள்ளை
109 றக் கவுசியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடை
110 யானெந் இவை என் எழுத்து என்றும்
111 இப்படி சம்மதித்து
112 முதுக்கண்ணாயிருந்-
113 து [வி]ற்றும் விற்[பி]-
114 த்துகுடுத்தென் ெ-
115 வள்ளறைக் கவுசி-
116 யன் ஸ்ரீபஞ்சாக்ஷி[ர*]-
117 தெவன திருச்சிற்ற-
118 [ம்*]பலமுடையானெந் இவை
119 என் [எ]ழுத்தென்றும் இப்படி வி-
120 . . த்தென் பாலாசிரியன்
121 (பாலை) திருக்கழுப்பாலைஉடைய-
122 ான் எழுத்தென்றும் இப்படி சம்மதி-
123 த்து முதுகணா கயிருந்து விற்பித்-
124 துகுடுத்தென் வெள்ளறைக் கவுசிய-
125 ன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் செந்-
126 தன் தில்லைநாயகனெந் [எ]ழுத்தென்-
127 றும் இப்படி அறிவென் வாச்சியன்
128 இளையதிருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையா-
129 ந்[ஸ*]ட்டனெ என்று [ம்*]இப்படி அறிவெ-
130 ன ஆதிதிரையன் திருக்கழிப்பாலைஉ-
131 டையான் திருநட்டபெருமாளென்றும்
132 இப்படி அறிவென் ஆதிதிரையன் திருந-
133 ட்டபெருமாள நக்கனெ என்றும் இப்ப-
134 டி அறிவென உழச்சாணன் தெவன் வி-
135 னாயகனென் எ[ன்*]றும் இப்படி அறிவென்
136 திருக்கடவூ[ர்*] சொமத்தியன் அபிமு-
137 த்திசரமுடையான் திருக்கிளாஞ்செரி-
138 உடையானென் என்றும் இப்படி அறி-
139 வென் வாச்சியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமு-
140 டையான் மாதெவனென் என்றும்
141 இப்படி இசைந்தென் பெரும்பார-
142 நாயன் தெவன இராசெந்திரசொழ-
143 னென் இவை என எழுத்தென்றும் [||*]

Chidambaram.

No. 710.

(*A.R. No.* 394 *of* 1903).

ON THE NORTH BASE OF THE MANDAPA IN FRONT OF THE SAME SHRINE.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*]. சகலபுவனச்ச [க்*]கரவத்திக[ள்*] ஸ்ரீகொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு ௫-ஐஞ்சாவது [illegible]நாயற்று தியதி[1] . . னால்
2 தனியூர் பெரும்பற்ற[ப்*]புலியூ[ர்*] மிசினக்குடி கௌசியன் திருக்கிளாஞ்செரிஉடையான் உதாரசெநனை முதுகண்ணாகஉடைய இவர் பிராமணி தி-
3 ரிச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் நாயகநாச்சியென் இ[வ்*]ஊர் கவுணிய[ன்*] சிவ[ன்*] திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடை[யா](ன்)னுக்கு நான் நிலவிலைப்பிரமாண-
4 கிட்டு குடுத்தபரிசாவது[।*] இ[ற்*]றைநாளால் விற்று குடு[க்*]கும் என் நிலம் இ[வ்*]ஊர் வடபிடாகை மதுராந்த[கப*]பெர் இளமைநாட்டுப் ப[ள்*]ளிபடையான வி-
5 க்கிரமசொழநல்லூர்பால் ஸ்ரீசுந்தரசொழவதிக்கு கிழக்கு ஸ்ரீ கண்டராதித்தன்வாய்க்கா(ல்)லுக்கு தெற்கு [க]ண்ணா(ா)ற்று ௧-சதிரத்து
6 நான் முன்னாளில் ஸ்வயநஃ பெற்றுடையெ(ன்)நாயும் விலைகொண்டு உடையெ(ன்)நாயும் என்னுதாய் நான் அநுபவித்துவருகிற
7 நட்டன்நாலுமா வென்றும் குளகுறை என்று பெர்உடைய நிலம் நாலு மாவுக்கும் [பி]த்துசெய் என்று பெர்உடைய நி-
8 லத்து தெற்கடைய இ[ந்*]நிலத்தொடெ செர ஒருமாவுக்கும் ஆக நிலம் நாலுமாவுக்கும் எல்லை தி[ல்*]லைவனமுடைய பரமெ-
9 ஸ்வ(ஸ்வ)ரி நிலத்[தி]ர்க்கு கிழககும் மாடலன்[2] . . . . [illegible]ணி ஆவ்வாள் நிலத்துக்குத் தெற்கும் கிழக்கும்
10 விசு[3] செந்தன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் நிலத்தினுக்கு தெற்கும் அறுதிக்கு மெற்கு உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையா-
11 ர் பலைவரவை நிலத்துக்கு மெர்க்கும் வடக்கும் பிடாரி வடவாயில்செல்வி நிலத்தினுக்கு வடக்கும் ஆக இசைந்த இ[ந்*]நான்கெல்லையு-
12 ம் உள்படக் கருத்தளவாக மிகுதி குறை வுளடங்க வந்த நிலம் கிழைகுளத்தில் நாலுமா[வு]க்கும் குழி எட்டும் ஒருமாவுக்கு நில[4]

No. 711.

(*A.R. No.* 395 *of* 1903).

ON THE SOUTH WALL OF THE SAME MANDAPA.

1 யாண்டு ௩-வது ஸிம்ஹநா-
2 யற்று தியதி பதிமூன்றினால் த-
3 னியூர் பெரும்பற்ற[ப்*]புலியூர் பெ-
4 ருங்கவுசியன் திருக்கழிப்பாலை-
5 உடையான் இரவியும் இவனெ
6 முதுகண்ணாகஉடைய இவன் பி-
7 ராமணிகொத்தலர் குழலியும் இ-
8 வனெ முதுகண்ணாகஉடைய இவன்-
9 மகன் யிரவி திருக்கழிப்பாலை-
10 உடையானும் பெருங்கவி-
11 சியன் இரவி திருநட்டமாடி-
12 யும் இவன் தம்பி இரவி அ-
13 ம்பலத்தமுதும் இவர் தம்பி
14 இரவி ஸ்ரீமூலத்தானமுடைய-
15 னும் இவ்வனைவொம் கவி-
16 சியன் சிவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பல-
17 முடையானுக்கு கி[ை]ரயச்சிலவுதரவு குடுத்தபரிசாவது [।*]நாங்கள் யிவனுக்கு விற்று[க்*]குடுத்த இந்த பி-
18 ரமாணப்படியால் வந்த நிலம் இரண்டெ நான்மாவரையின் சின்னமும் விற்று[க்*]குடுத்த பிரம-
19 ாணப்படி காசு ௨௲௫௱ இக்காசு இரண்டாயிரத் தஞ்ஞூறும் காட்டெற்றி கைச்செலவற வங்-

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[1] There is space here for two digits. [2] Space for about fifteen letters is left unengraved.
[3] This seems to be a contraction. [4] The continuation is lost.

20 த தெ[ச]த்தெ உ-
21 டைய . . . . . .
22 படி நெராக கை-
23 க்கொண்டு கி[ரை]ய-
24 ச்செலவுதரவு குடு-
25 த்தொம் கவுணியன்
26 சிவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடை-
27 யானுக்கு இவ்வனைவொம் [।*] இ-
28 வர்கள் பணிக்க எழுதினென் . . .
29 த்தான் புலியூருடையான் பெற்றான் தி-
30 ல்லைக்கூத்தனென் இவை என் எழுத்-
31 து என்றும் இப்படி சம்மதித்து முதுக-
32 ண்ணாயிருந்து கைச்செலவுதரவு குடுப்-
33 பித்துகுடுத்தென் பெருங்கவுசியன் தி-
34 [ரு*]க்கழிப்பாலைஉடையானென் இவை என்
35 [எழுத்து என்றும்] இப்ப[டி]. . . . திக்
36 [கி]ரெயச்சிலவுதரவு குடுத்தொ[ம்*] பெரு-
37 ங்கவுசியன் திருநட்டமாடியென் இை-
38 வ என் எழுத்து என்றும் இப்படி அறிெ-
39 வன் ஆகச் சியன் பொன்னம்பலக்கூத்-
40 தன் தெவனென் [*] இப்படி சம்மதித்து கி-
41 ரையச்சிலவுதரவு குடுத்தென் இப்பெரு-
42 ங்கவுசியன் இரவி சிமுலத்தானமுடையா-
43 னென் இவை என் எழுத்து என்றும் இப்ப-
44 டி அறிவென் உழைச்சாணன் திருச்சிற்றம்-
45 பலமுடையா[ன்*] மாதெவனென்[।*] இப்படி
46 அறிவென் வாச்சியன் விஜயகன் சபா-
47 பதியென் [।*] இப்படி அறிவென் வாச்சி-
48 யன் காரி தெவனென் [।*] இப்படியென்
49 உழைச்சாணன் எடுத்தருளியசிபாத-
50 மென் [॥*]

No. 712.

(*A.R. No.* 396 *of* 1903).

ON THE SAME WALL.

1 யாண்டு ௰௪-வது இ-
2 ராஜதிவாகரப்பெ-
3 ருன்தெருவில் நகரத்தெ-
4 தாம் நியொகம் [।*] தில்லை-
5 வனமுடைய பரமெசுரிக்-
6 குச் சாத்தி அருளு[ம்*] மஞ்சள்காப்-
7 பு நெல்விசாப்பு உள்ளிட்டனவை-
8 [யிற்றுக்]கும் அமுதுசெய்தருளும்
9 அடைக்காயமுது பாக்கு வெற்றிலை உள்-
10 ளிட்டனவையிற்றுக்கும் நாங்கள் உபைய[ம]-
11 ாக வைத்துக்குடுத்த இவர் திருவாசலில் கடை-
12 [ட]ய் பரிமாறுங் கடை ஒன்றுக்கு ஆயமும் [த]-
13 ரகும் கொள்ளாது வெற்றிலை பாக்கு மஞ்ச-
14 [ள]ாக இநெல்வி தான்றி முதிரை வற்க முள்ளிட்-
15 டன விற்று ஆயத்தா லுள்ளதும் தாகால் உள்-
16 ளதும் இவர் பண்டாரத்தெ இவ்வாட்டை வை-
17 தம்மாதத்து இருபத்துநாலாந் தியதியான
18 நாள் இருநூற்று முப்பத்தெட்டுமுதல் ஒடு-
19 க்குவித்துக் கொள்ளக்கடவதாகவும [।*]இப்-
20 படி ஸ[ம்*]மதித்தொம் இன்நகரத்தொம் இப்-
21 [ப*]டி செய்யுமிடத்து இகடை ஒன்றுக்கு
22 வெண்டுஞ் சரக்குகள் இக்கடையி-
23 ல் இருந்தவன் தான் வெண்டின இடங்க-

Chidam-baram.

24 ளிலெ கொண்டு பரிமாறி ஆயத்தால்
25 உள்ளது இவர் பண்டாரத்தெ ஒடுக்க-
26 [கட]வனாக[வும்] இ[ப்*]படி ஸம்மதித்தொம்
27 [இ]னகரத்தொம்[*] இது நகரப்ப[ணி]-
28 யால் நகரக்கணக்கு நந்திமங்கலமுடை-
29 டயான் எழுத்துவ இப்படிக்கு இவை பு-
30 துவூர்உடையான் எழுத்துவ இப்படிக்கு
31 இவை [அ]ன[ல்] ஊர்கிழவன் எழுத்து [।*] இப்படிக்-
32 கு இவை பட்டம்உடையான் எழுத்து வ இ-
33 ப்படிக்கு இவை அளகைக்கொன் எழுத்து வ

No. 713.

(*A.R. No.* 397 *of* 1903).

ON THE SAME WALL.

1 . . சகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீகொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு உ-வது [ரிஷப] . . . . .
2 . . . தியதி பதின்முன்றினால் தனியூர் பெரும்பற்றபுலியூர் பெருங்கவிசயன் திருக்கழிப்பாலை . . . . .
3 . . ன் இரவியும் இவனெ முதுகண்ணாக உடைய இவன் பிராமணி அம்பலத்தமுது கொத்தலர் . . . .
4 ம் இவனெ முதுகண்ணாக உடைய இவ . . . . . ன இரவி திரு . . .
5 [ப்பாலை]உடையானும் பெருங்கவுசிய[ன்] [இ]ரவி திருநட்டமா . . .
6 வன் தம்பி யிரவி அம்பலத்தமுதும் இவன் தம்பி இரவி ஸ்ரீ [முலத்த]-
7 ானமுடையானும் இவனைவொம் கவுணியன் சிவன் திருச்சிற்றம்[பல முடை*]-
8 டையானுக்கு நாங்கள் நிலவிலைப் பிரமாணத்திட்டு குடுத்தபரி [சாவது] . .
9 வனுக்கு இன்நாயற்று தியதி எட்டுநால் விற்று விலைத்தரவு
10 குடுத்து [இது]க்கு யிற்றைநாளால் விலைப்பிரமாணத்திட்டு எ . .
11 . கொ . . . . நிலம் இவ்வூர் பிடாகை மதுராந்தகப்பெரிளமை . . .
12 [மு]ட்டையூ[ற]லான பராக்கிரமசொழநல்லூர்பால் ஸ்ரீதிருச்சிற்றம்[ப]ல-
13 வதிக்குகிழக்கு வானவன்மாதெவிவாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு முதற் கண்[ணாற்று]
14 முதல்சதிரத்து எங்கள்நிலமாய் கருய்யாய் நிர்நிலையுமாய்
15 பெய்திநாதி எல்லை திருச்சிற்றம்பலவதிக்கு கிழக்கும் எங்கள் முளி . . . . .
16 பாத்தகம் பெற்று எங்கள் பக்கல் புறப்பாடாய் அனுபவித்து வருகி[ற கொ]-
17 ல்லை நாச்சியார்.நிலத்துக்கு தெற்கும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடைய-
18 ார் பலவரவை நிலத்துக்கு மெற்கும் வாச்சியன் குடமுடையான் திரு-
19 நட்ட பெருமான் . . . . ' த்தப் பிரமராயன் நிலத்துக்கு கிழக்கும் . . .
20 ம் வானவன்மாதெவி வாக்காலுக்கு வடக்கும் இவ(ர்) இசைந்த யின்[னா]ன்கெ-
21 ல்லைஉள் உள்பட்ட பொத்தகப்படி தரமிலியாய் எங்களுதாய் நா[ங்கள்]
22 விற்று குடுத்த நில[ம்*] இரண்டரையெ அரைமாவின் சின்னத்தில் பெருங்க-
23 வுசியன் தெவன் திருத்தபிரியன் ஓலைப்படியெ ஆறுமா நிக்கி நிக்கி [நாங்]-
24 கள் விற்ற நிலம் இரண்டெ நான்மாவரையின் சின்னமும் இ[தி]ல் உள்ள -
25 குளமும் ஆனைமடுவில் நிர்நிலையு[ம்*] ஆக இத்தனையும் முற்று மொழிவி[ன்றியெ]
26 றுதியாக விற்றுகுடுத்து கொள்வதான எம்மிலிசைந்த விலைப்பொருள் [அன்றாடு]
27 நற்காசு இரண்டாயிரத்து நூறும் ஆவணக்களியெ காட்டெற்ற[கைச்]-
28 [செல]வற கைய்யிலெ யறக்கொண்டு இன்நிலம் இரண்டெ [நான்மாவ]-
29 ரையும் சின்னமும் கைய்யற விற்று விலைப்பிரமாணத்திட்டு எழுதிக்கு[டுத்]-
30 தென் இந்த கவுணியன் சிவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையானுக்கு இ[வ*]வனைவெ[ா]ம் இ-
31 க்காசு இரண்டாயிரத் தஞ்[னூ]றுமெ விலையாவுதா[க*]வும் விலையாவணமும். . .
32 ாருமாவறுதிப் பொருட்சி[லவெ]வாலையா[வுதா]கவும்[।*] யிதுவல்லது [வெறு]
33 பொருமாவறுதிப் பொருட்சிலவொலை காட்டக்கடவ தல்லாததாகவும்[।*]பழ-
34 ம்படியெ பாயுநிர் பாயவும் வாருநிர் வாரவும் யிறைக்கு நிர் யிறைக்கவும் . . . .
35 பெறுவதாகவு[ம்] [।*]பொத்-
36 தகப்படியாலுள்ள உடைமை-
37 மகளும் உரிமைகளும் மு . .
38 ற்று மொழிவின்றியெ கெ . . . . .
39 பதாகவும் யிதுக்கு வந்த

40 கடையூறும யடையூறும் திர்-
41 த்து ஆழ்விப்பத[ற்*]க்கெ எங்[க]-
42 ள் வாழ்வெ யாட்சி இறைப்பு-
43 ணை ஆவுதாகவும் [।*]இப்படி சம்-
44 மதி[த்*]து முற்குறித்த காசு இரண்டாயி-
45 ரத்தஞ்நூ[று*]ம் உடையொம் உடையப-
46 டி கைய்யிலெ அறக்கொண்டு[ம்] . . .
47 . . . குறித்தபடியால் வந்த நிலம் இரண்-
48 டெ நான்மாவரையின் சின்னத்தை-
49 யும் விற்று [வி]லைப்பிரமாணத்திட்டு எ-
50 ழுதிக்குடுத்தொம் இந்த கவுணியன்
51 சிவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையானுக்-
52 கு பெருங்கவுசியன் திருக்கழிப்பாலை[யு]-
53 [டை]யான் யிரவியும் இவனெ முதுகண்-
54 ணாக உடைய இவன் பிராமணி அம்பல[த்]-
55 தமுது கொத்தலர்குழலியும் இவனெ மு-
56 துகண்ணாக உடைய இவன் மகன் பெருங்-
57 கவுசியன யிரவி திருக்கழிப் பா[லை*]உடையானு-
58 ம் இவன் தம்பி இரவி திருநட்டமாடியும்
59 இவன் தம்பி யிரவி அம்பலவனும் இவ-
60 ன் தம்பி யிரவி ஸ்ரீமூலத்த[ா*]னமுடையானு-
61 ம் இவ்வனைவொம்[।*] இப்படியால் இவர்க-
62 ள் பணிக்க எழுதினென் கரணத்தான் புலி-
63 யூருடைய[ா*]ன் பெற்றான் தலைக்கூத்தனெ-
64 ன் இவை என் [எ*]ழுத்தென்றும் இப்படி சம்-
65 மதித்து முதுகண்ணாய் யிருந்து விற்பித்தும்
66 விற்றும்குடுத்தென் பெருங்கவுசியன் திரு-
67 க்கழிப்பாலை உடையான் இரவியென் இ-
68 வை என் எழுத்தென்றும் இப்படி சம்-
69 மதி[த்*]து விற்று[க்*]குடுத்தென் இந்த பெருங்க-
70 விசியன் திருநட்டமாடியென் இவை எ-
71 ன் எழுத்து என்றும் . . . .
72 அறிவென் ஆகச்சி[ய]ன் பெ]-
73 ான்னம்பல[க்*] கூத்தன் மா . .—
74 வனென்[।*] இப்படி ச-
75 ம்[ம*]தித்து விற்றுக்குடுத்-
76 தென் பெருங்-
77 கவுசியன் யி[ர]-
78 வி ஸ்ரீமூலத்த[ா]-
79 னமுடையானெ[ன்] [।*]
80 இவை உழச்சாணன் எ-
81 ன் எழுத்து என்றும் இப்-
82 படி அறிவென் வாச்சியன்
83 காரி தெவனெ[ன்*] [।*] இப்படி அ-
84 றிவென் விநயகன் சபாபதிெ-
85 யன்[।*] இப்படி அறிவென் வாச்-
86 சியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடை
87 யான் மாதெவனென்[।*] இப்படி
88 அறிவென் எடுத்தருளியஸ்ரீபா-
89 தமென் உ

No. 714.

(*A.R. No.* 398 *of* 1903).

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE SAME MANDAPA.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ உ சகலபுவன[சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ]கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு
ரு ௵ ஐஞ்சாவ . . . .
2 தனியூர் பெரும்பற்றபுலியூர் கவிசியன் சிவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையா(ன்)னென்
சியன் திருச்சி . . . .

366

Chidambaram.

3 [ற]ன் நிலவிலை பிரமாணத்திட்டு குடுத்த பரிசாவது[।*] இவ(ன்)னுக்கு இற்றைநாளால் விற்றுகுடுக்கும் நிலமாவது இ . . . .
4 பக்கலும் விலைகொண்டு எங்கள் முதலியார் திருமெ . . . . .
5 த்து இவர் அனுபவித்து இவர் அபாவத்து இவர் பிள்ளை . . . . .
6 பிள்ளைகளுக்கு சிலபெர் இறுக்கவெண்டுகைய் . . . .
7 முடைய விலையாக விற்று இக்கான[ச] நாங்கள் . . . . .
8 டல்லாக தரவெணும் என்று இவர்கள் சொல்லுகை . . . .
9 இற்றைநாளால் விற்றுகுடுக்கும் நிலம் இவ்வூர் வடபிட . . . . . .
10 ளமைநாட்டு பள்ளிபடையான விக்கிரம . . . . . .
11 [தர]சொழவதிக்கு மெற்கு ஸ்ரீ ராஜராஜவாய்க்காலு . . - .
12 து நான் விற்று[க்*]குடுக்கும் கருப்படி என்று பெர்கூவப் . . . .
13 கவல்லி பெருவழிஆன ஆறைற்றுக்கு கிழக்கும் உற இவன் . . . . . .
14 ஞானசம்பந்தர் மடப்புறத்துக்கு தெற்கும் சுந்தர . . . . .
15 வாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கும் ஆக இ[வ்*]விசைந்த இ[ந்*]நான்கெ . . . . . .
16 க மிகுதிகுறை வு[ள்*]ளடங்க வந்த விளை நிலமும் தென்மெலைமூலையில் பூந . . .
17 [யும்] வடகிழைமூலையில் குடிஇருப்பு நத்தமும் மாவும் தெங்கும் புளியும் . . .
18 . . . . மரங்கள்ளும் குளத்தில் இறைக்கும் செந் . . குலையும் கிலையும் எத்த மும்
19 மூல ஓலைபடிகளா(ல்)லும் பொத்தகபடியா(ல்)லும் உள்ள உடைமைகளு . . .
20 தனையும் முற்றுமொழிஅன்றி விற்றுகுடுத்த நிலம் கூ இ இநிலம் அரை . . .
21 ற்றுகுடுத்து கொள்வதான எம்மிலி(இ)சைந்த விலைப்பொருள் அன்றாடு செல . . .
22 காசு ஐ[ம்]பதிராயிரமும் கொண்டென் கொண்ட பரிசாவது[*]எங்கள் பூ . . .
23 ளை நிச்சயி[த்*]து இறுக்கிற பொன்னுக்கு தி[ல்*]லை நாச்சியார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீபண் . . . .
24 ம் நெலலும் மற்றும் உள்ளிட்ட உடல்களும் விற்று இருந்த தரிசாய் வாங்கிக்குடுத்த . . .
25 ரயெ முன்[று]மாவும் விற்[று] விலைப்ரமாணத்திட்டுக் குடுத்தென் கவுசியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பல . . . . . -
26 க்கு கவிசிவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையா(ன்)னென் இ[ந்*]நிலத்துக்கு இககாசு ஐம்பத்தி . . . .
27 கவும் அதுவெ பொருள் மாவறுதிபொருள் சிலஓலை யாவதாகவும்[।*] இது அல்லது வெறு பொ . . . .
28 லஓலை காட்டக்கடவதல்லாதாகவும்[।*] இ[ந்*]நிலத்துக்கு பழம்படி பாயுநிர் பாயவு . . . .
29 இறை[க்]கும் நீர் இறைக்கவும் பெறுவதாகவும் இந்நிலத்துக்கு பொத்தகபடியாலு மு . . . .
30 டைமைகளும் உரிமைகளும் முற்று மெ[ா*]ழிவின்றி பெறுவதாகவும் இ[ந்]நிலத்துக்கு வந் . . . .
31 தித்து ஆழ்விப்பதற்கு என் வாழ்வெ ஆச்சி இனை[ற*]ப்புணையாவது ஆகவும் இ[ப்ப*]டி ச[ம்*]மதித்து . . . .
32 பத்திராயிரமும் முற்குறித்தபடியெ வாங்கி குடுத்து முறித்த நிலம் அரையெ மு . . . . . .
33 று விலைப்ரமாணதிட்டு குடுத்தென் கவிசியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் சிவன் . . . . .
34 ச்சிற்றம்பலமுடைய(ன்)னென்[।*] இப்பரிசு இவர் பணிக்க எழுதிவித்து எழுதுமுடி[த்தெ]ன் இ[வ்*]வூர் கரண . . . .
35 ல்லை[க்*]கூத்தன் செங்கமலர்பொற்பாத(ம்)மான தன்மப்பிரிய(ன்)னென் இவை என் எழுத்து[।*] . . . . . .
36 பெ, முன்றுமாவும் விற்று[க்*]குடுத்த கா[சு*] ஐம்பத்திராயிரமும் முற்க்குறித்தபடியெ இப்பொன்னு . . . .
37 .கவிசியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான்னென் இவை எழுத்து[।*] இப்படிக்கு . . . . .
38 இப்படிக்கு இவை திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் உலகுடையபட்டன் எழுத்து[।*] இப்படி அ . . . . . .
39 இப்படி அறிவென் வாச்சியன் சங்கரன் தில்லைநாயகனென் உ இப்படி அறிவென் எடுத்தருளிய சிபாதம் தி[ல்*]லை[க்*]க[ன்ப]னென் உ இ . . . .

No. 715.

(*A.R. No.* 399 *of* 1903).

Chidambaram

ON THE SAME WALL.

1 சகலபுவனச்சக்க[ரவ]த்தி-
2 கள் ஸ்ரீகொப்பெ[ருஞ்]சிங்-
3 கதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு ௩-௫-
4 வது மெஷநா-
5 யற்று தியதி நா-
6 லா(நலா)நாள்[1]
7 தனியூர் பெ-
8 ரும்பற்றப்பு-
9 லியூர் வெள்-
10 ளறைக் கவுசி-
11 யன் திருச்சிற்றம்ப-
12 லமுடையான் [பஞ்சா]க்ஷ[ர]-
13 தெவனும் . . . . [வெள்ள]-
14 றைக் கவிசியன் ஸ்ரீபஞ்சா-
15 க்ஷ[ர*]தெவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பல-
16 முடையானும் இவனையெ
17 முதுகண்ணாக உடைய இ-
18 வன் பிராமணி திருக்கழிப்-
19 பாலைஉடையான் பிள்ளை-
20 யாண்டியும் வெள்ளறைக்
21 கவிசியன் திருச்[சி]ற்றம்பல-
22 முடையான் ஸ்ரீ பஞ்சாக்ஷ[ர]-
23 தெவனை மு[து*]கண்ணாக உடை-
24 ய வெள்ளறை திருச்சிற்றம்ப-
25 லமுடையான் பிராமணி செ-
26 ந்தன் தத்தையும் வெள்ளறை-
27 திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடை-
28 யான் செந்தனும் இவன் மகன்
29 செந்தன் தில்லைநாயகனு-
30 ம் இவனையெ முதுகண்ணாக
31 உடைய இவன் பிராமணி செ-
32 ன்னித்தழும்ப(ப)ன் திருக்கழி-
33 ப்பாலைஉடையானு[ம்*] இ[வ்°]வனை-
34 வொம் கவணியன் சிவன்
35 திருச்சிற்றம்பல . . . .
36 த்த நிலம் இவவூர் பிடாகை . . . . . கிரமசொழநல்லூ(ர்)பால் ஸ்ரீ சுந்தர-
சொழவதிக்கு கிழக்கு கண்ட-
37 ராதித்தவாய்க்காலுக்கு தெ . . . . ணாற்று முதல்சதிரத்து காக்கை-
பாத்தி என்று பெர் கூவப்பட்ட
38 நந்தமும் குளமும் . . . . நிலம் எழுமாவரையும் வி-
39 ற்று[க்குடுத்த] பிரமா . . . .
40 மும் கொண்டெ . . . . காண்ட பரி[ச]ரவத[ா°]கவிசியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பல-
41 முடையான் ஸ்ரீ பஞ்சாக்ஷரதெவனும் இவன் மகனும் மாதாவும் ஒபாதி காசு
42 கதங[ா]ஙடிங இவன்பக்கல் ஒற்றிக்கும் அசலுக்கும் இவர்கள் வாங்[கி][க்°]குடுத்த
43 பிள்ளையாழ்விப்பிள்ளைக்கும் செல்வ[ப்*]பிள்ளைக்கும் அசலுக்கு குடுத்த காசு
44 கதஙாசுடிக இன்னிலத்துக்கு வரிக்காசுக்கு குடுத்த காசு . . இன்நிலத்துக்கு ஒ-
45 ற்றிக்கு அப்பாண்டானுக்கு குடுத்த காசு கதஉா ஈசானதெவனுக்கு ஒற்றிபடி[*க்]கு குடு-
46 த்த காசு சாடுடிஉ முத்திக்கு நாயகனுக்கு ஒற்றிபடிக்கு குடுத்த காசு சாடு . . . எருக்-
47 குடைச்சிக்கு ஒற்றிக்கு குடுத்தக் காசு சா[ங]டிக கொண்டானுக்கு ஒற்றிப்படி[க்கு]
48 குடுத்த காசு கதூ-ம் ஆண்டார் பெரியதெவ[ர்]க்கு ஒற்றிபடிக்கு குடுத்த காசு உா
இந்த ஸ்ரீ-

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[1] The date intended was probably the 4th day.

368

Chidambaram.

49 பஞ்சாக்ஷரதெவர் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையானுக்கு குடுத்த காசு கதசூா பெரியார்க்கு குடு-
50 த்த காசு உாருய ஆக காசு அதருா[எய]-ம் நாங்கள் கையில் கொண்ட காசு எாசூயங ஆக க-
51 ாசு ஒன்பதினாயிரத்து முன்[னூ]ற்று முப்பத்துமுன்றும் இப்படி கொண்டும் செந்த-[ன்](த்)
52 தந்த காசு கூசூஙாஙய-க்கு கொண்டபடி இன்நிலத்துக்கு ஒற்றிக்கு திருநானசம்பந்த-னுக்கு குடுத்த
53 காசு ஙா திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையானுக்கு குடுத்த காசு உா வெள்ளறைக் கவுசியன் திருச்சிற்றம்-
54 பலமுடையான் செந்தன்பக்கல் இவன் விலைகொண்ட பத்துச் செய் நிலம் இரண்டு மாவு[ம்]
55 விலைகொண்டு இவனுக்கு குடுத்த காசு ய ஆண்டார் வாய்மதெவர்க்கு இன்நிலத்தில் ஒற்றி-
56 க்குக் குடுத்த காசு ருகூருா இவன் மக[ள்] இ[ள]மைநாச்சிக்கு குடுத்த காசு உா என் கையில் கொண்ட
57 காசு கசூாசூயக ஆக காசு எசூஙாசூயகூ இவன் பின்பு தன் கைய்யில் கொண்ட காசு கசூகூாசூயரு ஆ-
58 க காசு கூசூங(ய)ாஙயச ம் இந்த வெள்ளறை திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் செந்தனும் இவன் மகன்
59 தில்லைநாயகனும் காசு கூசூஙாஙயங-க்கு கொண்டபடி இவனுக்கு அசலுக்கு வைத்த பின்னை-
60 யாழ்விப்பிள்ளைக்கும் செல்லப்பிள்ளைக்கும் குடுத்த காசு உசூளாஙயஅ இன்நிலத்துக்கு வரிக்காசு-
61 க்கு குடுத்த காசு ாய-ம் அமண்ணாசறுத்தானுக்கு குடுத்த காசு ாருய இன்நிலத்து ஒற்றிக்கு ஆளுடையானு-
62 க்கு குடுத்த காசு ஙா நங்கைச்சிக்கு ஒற்றிக்கு குடுத்த காசு ருா திருக்கிளஞ்செடிஉடை-யானுக்கு ஒ-
63 ற்றிக்கு குடுத்த காசு ா எருக்குஉடைச்சிக்கு ஒற்றிக்கு குடுத்த காசு கசூருாஅய இன்-நிலத்துக்கு ஒற்றி-
64 க்கு கொண்டானுக்கு காசு க திருவாரக . . . .
65 யார்க்கு ஒற்றி குடுத்தகாசு ாருய ஆக காசு [அ] சூாஙயக கைய்யில் கொணட காசு கசூஉாஉ-
66 ம் ஆக காசு கூசூஙாஙயங ஆக ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்து வாங்கி தில்லைவனமுடைய பரமெஸ்வரி ப-
67 ண்டாரத்து வாங்கி இப்படி குடுப்பித்து [கிர]யைச்செலவு குடுத்தொம் இக்காசு இருபத்தெ-
68 ண்ணாயிரமும் இப்படி குடுத்தொம் சியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையானுக்கு இ[வ்*]வனை-வொ-
69 ம்['] இப்பரிசு இ[வ்*]வனைவரும[ா*]க வென பணிக்க எழுதினெ[ன்*]இவ்வூர் கணக்கன் புலியூருடையான் பெற்று-
70 ன் தி[ல்*]லைநாயகனான தன்மபிரியனென் இ[வை] என் எழுத்து என்றும் இப்படி சம்ம-தித்து இக்கிரெ-
71 யச்செலவு குடுத்தென் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் ஸ்ரீபஞ்சாக்கி[ர*]தெவன் எழுத்தென்றும் இப்படி
72 . . . சம்மதி[த்*]து
73 . . . . ச் செலவுதர
74 . . . . ஸ்ரீபஞ்சாழ்ச-
75 . . . . . னெழுத் தெ-
76 . . . . திருக்கழிப்ப-
. . யிசைந-
. . சிற்றம்பலமு-
. என் எழுத்தெ-
. . யிருந்து கி-
. ள்ளறை கவுசி-
. . இப்படி சம்ம-
. . யிக்கிரெயச்
. . . க் கவுசியன் தி-

Chidambaram.

85 . . . . . னென் எழுத்-
86 . . . . . ரும் மராதார-
87 . . . . . ன் இவை என[1]

No. 716.

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ON THE SOUTH AND EAST WALLS OF THE BHAIRAVA SHRINE IN THE SAME TEMPLE.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] ஸகலபுவனசக்ரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீகொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவற்கு யாண்டு
பதி[னொ]ரு[வது]
2 சொழகொன் ஒலை[।*]தில்லைவ[ன]முடையபரமெஸ்வர கொயில் தானத்தார் கண்டு விடு
தந்ததாவ-
3 து[।*]இக்கொயில் பூஜிக்கு நம்பியார்க்குப் பூஜெப்பெற்றுக்கும் [னை]மச்சருவுக்கும்[இ]ள-
முளைத்தாளைக்கும [தி]-
4 ருப்பால்ப்பொனகத்துக்கும் ஆழ-
5 மான தினிமா . . மைக்கு . . [த]ரமெற நி-
6 . . . ல்ல . . ண்டு வட . . க்கு இக்ெ-
7 [காயிலி]லெ கல்வெட்டுவதாக வெணுமென்றும்
8 சொல்லிவரக்காட்டினார் இந்த வெளூர்கிழவர்
9 கூ[த்தா]ழ்வாரான தனியாழிகுடைக்குத் தரமெறநின்றான்பல்லவரயர் கவுணி[யன்]
10 சிவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான்பெரில் அன்னியநாமத்து விலைகொண்டு [வி]ட்ட
11 . . . . . க்கு நாளொன்றுக்கு நெல்லு பதக்குக்குச் சருவரிசி இருநாழிக்கும் இள-
12 முளைத்தாளைக்கு நெல்லுக் குறுணிக்கும் மிதுனிக்குடி நட்டன் திருந[ட்]டப்பெருமாள்-
பக்கல் காசு பதினாயிர-
13 த்துக்கு பத்தாவது துலாஞாயற்றுத் தியதி எழுனால் விலைகொண்ட பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர்
வடபிடாகை
14 மதுராந்தகப்பெரிளமைநாட்டு முட்டைலூறலான பராக்ரமசொழநல்லூரில் ஸ்ரீசுந்தர-
சொழவதிக[கு]
15 கிழக்கு வானவன்மாதெவிவாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு முதல்க் கண்ணாற்று மூன்றாஞ் சதி-
ரத்தும் இரண்டாங் கண்ணா-
16 ற்று மூன்றாஞ் சதிரத்தும் சாவியமென்று பெர் கூவப்பட்ட நிலத்தினுக்கு எல்லை உடை-
யார் திருச்சிற்றம்ப-
17 லமுடையா பலவரவை குணமெய்நங்கையார் நிலத்தினுக்கு கிழக்கும் இந்த தில்லைவன-
முடைய பரமெ-
18 ஸ்வரி திருநாமத்துக்காணி நிலத்துக்கு தெற்கும் செவ்வட்டைஅறுதிக்கு மெற்கும்
திருவதிகைமடப்-
19 புறத்துக்கு வடக்கும் நடுவுபட்ட கருத்தளவாக மிகுதிக்குறை வுள்ளடங்[க] வந்த விளை-
நிலம் அரையெ அரைமா-
20 க்காணிச் சின்னமும் இன்னமும் இவ்வூர் கிடாரங்கொண்டசொழ . . . .
கார[ட்ட]ஞ்செரியான செ-
21 ாழநல்லூர்ப்பாலின் சுந்தரசொழவதிக்குக் கிழக்கு இரா[ச*]ரா[ச*]ன்வாய்க்காலுக்கு
வடக்கு ஆறாங் கண்ணாற்று நாலாஞ் சதிரத்து குடிஇ-
22 ருப்பு நிலத்தினுக்கு எல்லை செவ்வட்டைஅறுதிக்குக் கிழக்கும் வானவன்மாதெவிவாய்க-
காலுக்குத் தெற்கும் வார்க்கியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் தி-
23 ருநட்டப்பெருமாளான சிவானந்தப்பிரமராயர் நிலத்தினுக்குடைய வா[க்]காலுக்கு
மெற்கும் பெரறியாதார் நிலத்துக்கு வடக்கும் நடு[வு]பட்ட கரு-
24 த்தளவாக [மிகுதி][க்*]குறைமை உள்ளடங்க வந்[த ெ]கால்லையுங் குளமும் உள்பட்ட
நிலம் கால் இதில நிலங்கலந்தபடி மூன்றுகூறிட்ட ஒருகூற்றால் நிலம் ஒரு-
25 மா வரையெ அரைக்காணிச் சின்னமும் ஆக இரண்டு கடைப்பாட்டாலும் கொல்லையும்
குளமும் விளைநிலமும் உளபட வந்த நிலம் அரையெ இ-
26 ரண்டுமாக் காணி[ச்] சின்னமும் இன்னமு[ம்தி]ருப்பால்ப்பொனகத்துககு எழாவது
ரிஷபஞாயற்றுத தியதி பத்தினால விலைகொணடு விட்ட

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[1] Further portion containing some signatures is lost.

Chidambaram.

27 மிதுனிக்குடி கவிசியன் நக்கன் சங்கரனை முதுகண்ணாக உடைய இவா மாதா . மிதுனிக்கு[டி*]க் கவிசியன் இளையதிருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையா-
28 ன் நக்கனை கிடாரங்கொண்டசொழப் பிரம்மராயர் ப்ராஹ்மணி முத்தாள் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையாள் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையா[ள்] ப[க்]கல் . . . பணி-
29 . . . .
30 [ண்]டசொழப்பெரிளமைநாட்டு [நடுவின்க்]கரையான ஜனநாதநல்லூரில்பால் தில்லை- . . . கவதிக்[கு]
31 கிழக்கு சொழகுலசுந்தரிவாய்க்காலுக்குத் தெற்கு முன்றாங் கண்ணாற்று இரண்டாஞ் சதிரத்தும் முன்றாஞ் சதிரத்தும்
32 இடைஎன்று பெர்கூவப்பட்ட நிலத்துக்கு எல்லை உழைச்சாணன் எடுத்தருளியஸ்ரீபாதம் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் . . [ஸ]-
33 கூத்தன் . . . க்கி நிலத்தில் . . . . .
34 க்கும் கிழ்மா . . [வ]ாய்க்காலுக்கு தெற்கும் சன்-
35 னடைக்கு [மெற்]கும் வாச்சியன் [தி]ருச்சிற்றம்பலமு[டை]-
36 யான் பாண்[டிய]னை அருமொழிப்ரஹ்மாராயர் நி[ல]-
37 னுக்கு வடக்கும் [நடுவு]பட்ட நூற்றிரு[ப]த்தெ[ட்டு]க் குழி கொண் .
38 [ட] தொருமாவாக அளந்துகொ[ள்*]ள வந்த நிலம் ஒன்றெ இரண்டுமா இதில
39 [விக்]கிரமசொழன் தெங்குதிரு[வி][தியி]ல் வடபக்கத்து செங்கனிவாயன் திருநந்தவனத்துஉள்ளு எ . -
40 [ந்த]ருளிஇருக்கும் திருஞானசம்பந்த விநாயகப்பிள்ளையார் பண்டார உட விட்டும் இப்பிள்ளையார்
41 கொயில் திருமாளிகைக்குள்ளு நிற்கும் தெங்குகள் செங்கனிவாயன்திருநந்தவனத்துக்கு வடபக்-
42 கம் பிள்ளை செங்கனிவாயரான சொழகொனார் தங் காசிட்டு கொண்டு இப்பிள்ளையார்க்கு குடுத்த
43 காசும் இட்டு திருநாமத்துக்காணியாக நிலங் கலந்தவாற்றால் இப்பிள்ளையார்க்கு குடுத்த
44 து . . காசொபாதி நிலம் அரையெ ஒருமாவும் நிக்கி இந்த தில்லைவனமுடைய பரமெஸ்வரி திரு-
45 வா[ப]ரணம் அறவிட்டுக் கொண்ட காசு ஆறாயிரத்தினால் காசொபாதி நிலம நான்மா வரைக்காணி
46 முந்திரிகைக் கிழரை நிக்கி இவர் திருப்பால்ப்பொனகத்துக்கு காசு எண்ணாயிரத்துக்குக் கொண்-
47 டு விட்ட நிலம் ஆறுமாக் காணி கிழரையும் ஆக காசு பதினெண்ணாயிரத்துக்குக் கொண்டுவிட்ட
48 நிலம் முக்காலெ மும்மா வரையின் கிழரையின் சின்னத்துக்கும் [க]ல்வெட்டக்கடவதாகச் சொன்ெ-
49 னாம்[।*] இப்படி செய்யப்பண்ணுவதெ[।*] இவை சொழகொன் எழு[த்]து என்றும் இவை வங்கராய . . ர-
50 க்கமுடையான் எழுத்து என்று இ[ப்படி] கல் வெட்டியது॥

No. 717.

(*A.R. No.* 401 *of* 1903).

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE SAME SHRINE.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீஉ சகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீ கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு
2 அ-வது கற்கடஞாயற்று தியதி பத்தினால் தனியூர் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் வடபிடாகை மதுராந்-
3 தகப்பெரிளமைநாட்டுப் பள்ளி[ப்*]படையான விக்கிரமசொ[ழ]நல்லூரில் விக்கிரமசொ[ழ*]ன் தெ-
4 ங்குதிருவிதியில் தென்பக்கத்து எழுந்தருளிஇருந்து பூஜை[ச] கொண்டருளுகிற நாயனார் வார-
5 ணவாசிமாதெவர் கொயில் ஆதிசண்டெஸ்வரதெவர் திருவ[ரு]ளால் இக்கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெ-

371

6 ஸ்வர[க்*]கண்காணிசெய்வார்களும் தெவர்கன்மி கொயில்க்க[ண]க்கரும் இ[வ்*]வனைவொம் பிள்- Chidambaram

7 ளை அரகுருடையார் பெருமாள்ப்பிள்ளையான சொழகொ[னு]க்கு நாங்கள் விலைப்பிரமாண-

8 த் இட்டுக் குடுத்தபரிசாவது[।*] விக்கிரமசொழன் தெங்குதிருவி[தியி]ல் தென்பக்கத்து எழுந்தருளிவி-

9 க்கிற பிடாரியார்க்கு ஸ்ரீ கொயிலும் திருமுற்றமுமாக விற்றுக்குடுத்த நிலம் விக்கிரம சொழநல்-

10 [லூ]ர்பால் ஸ்ரீ சுந்தரசொழவதிக்கு மெற்க்கு கண்டராதித்தவாய்க்காலுக்கு தெற்கு காலாங் கண்ணாற்று முன்-

11 [ருஞ்](ச)சதிரத்து விற்றுக்குடுக்கும் ஸ்ரீகொயிலும் திருமுற்றமுமான நிலத்துக் கெல்லை இன்னாயனார் திருநாமத்-

12 [து]க்காணியான நிலத்துக்கு கிழக்கு விக்கிரமசொழன் தெங்குதிருவிதிக்கு தெற்குப்பட்ட அம்பலனாதன்வாய்க்-

13 கால்செவ்வையாய் தெங்கு வைத்த திருவிதிக்குத் தெற்கும் இந்த வாரணவாசிநாயனார் மெலை

14 த்திருமடைவிளாகத்து[ம்] வாய்நிளத்துக்கு மெற்க்கும் இன்னாயனார் திருநாமத்துக்காணியான

15 நிலத்துக்கு வடக்கும் ஆக இசைந்த இன்னான்கெல்லையிலும் உட்பட்ட வந்த நிலங் குழி ஐம்பதினால்

16 நிலங் காணி அரைக்காணிக் கிழ்ழக்காலுக்கு விலைப்படி காசு ஆயிரம் [।*] இவ்விலை கல்வெட்டித்து வ [1]

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[1] The words கல்வெட்டித்து appear to have been attempted to be erased.

[2] The record is damaged after this.

APPENDIX VIII

South Indian Inscriptions, Volume XII

149 (A.R.E. 296 of 1913)
151 (A.R.E. 304 of 1913)
152 (A.R.E. 305 of 1913)
153 (A.R.E. 545 of 1921)
154 (A.R.E. 308 of 1913)
157 (A.R.E. 318 of 1913)
159 (A.R.E. 312 of 1913)
160 (A.R.E. 327 of 1913)
171 (A.R.E. 106 of 1934-35)
172 (A.R.E. 107 of 1934-35)
173 (A.R.E. 108 of 1934-35)
174 (A.R.E. 302 of 1913)
175 (A.R.E. 326 of 1913)
201 (A.R.E. 307 of 1913)
209 (A.R.E. 319 of 1913)
215 (A.R.E. 103 of 1934-35)
216 (A.R.E. 105 of 1934-35)
245 (A.R.E. 104 of 1934-35)
249 (A.R.E. 321 of 1913)
250 (A.R.E. 324 of 1913)
251 (A.R.E. 325 of 1913)
166 (A.R.E. 261 of 1913)
153 (A.R.E. 545 of 1921)
153 (A.R.E. 308 of 1903)
179 (A.R.E. 530 of 1920)
184 (A.R.E. 504 of 1926)
185 (A.R.E. 506 of 1926)
186 (A.R.E. 505 of 1926)
254 (A.R.E. 534 of 1920)
247 (A.R.E. 198 of 1905)
119 (A.R.E. 285 of 1921)

The above inscriptions which relate to the Nataraja temple are from Cidambaram (Tillai), Singarattoppu, Tirunaraiyur, Kattumannarkoyil, Omampuliyur, and Tripurantakam (Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh).

No. 149.

(*A.R. No.* 296 *of* 1913).

CHIDAMBARAM, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE THIRD PRĀKĀRA IN THE NAṬARĀJA TEMPLE.

This inscription gives an insight into the management of temple affairs. It is dated in the **6th year** of **Sakalabhuvanachakravartti Avaṉiyāḷappiṟandār** *alias* **Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva.** The temple at Chidambaram was at this time managed by a committee consisting of the following members and groups, viz., Jayatuṅgap-Pallavaraiyar, Tillaiambalap-Pallavaraiyar, *Māhēśvara-kaṇkāṇiśeyvār*, *Śrīkāryañśeyvār*, *Sāmudāyañcheyvār*, *Kōyilnāyakañcheyvār*, *Tirumāḷigaikkūṟuśeyvār* and the accountants.

It registers a grant of land made by Soṭṭai-Nāyaka *alias* Kumāra-Bhaṭṭa of Irāyūr residing in Poṉmēyndaśōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam for a flower garden called 'Tirunilai-Aḻagiyāḷ' for supplying flowers to the god and the goddess Tirukkāmakkōṭṭa-muḍaiya Periyanāchchiyār with an additional plot by purchase from Poṉṉāṇḍi, wife of Ulaichchāṇan Mādēvaṉ Tiruchchiṟṟambalamuḍaiyāṉ of Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr, as *tirunāmattukkāṇi*, for the maintenance of the person looking after this garden.

The village Poṉmēyndaśōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam must have been so named after the title of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II.[1] The inscription purports to be an order of Śōḷakōṉ.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ௨ ஸகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீ அவனியாளப்பிறந்தாரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்க
தெவற்கு யாண்டு ஆறாவது சொழகொன் ஓலை[|*] ஜயதுங்கப்பல்லவரையரும் தில்லையம்பலப்பல்ல
வரையரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வர-

2 க்கண்காணிசெய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ்செய்வார்களும் ஸாமுதாயஞ்செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ்
செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு. விடு தத[த]ாயது [|*]
கொயிலுக்கும் திருக்காமக் கொட்டமுடைய

3 பெரியநாச்சியார்க்கும் திறப்பாகச் சாத்தியருளத் திருப்பூமண்டபத்துக்கு முதலாகத் திருப்பள்ளித்
தாமம் அளக்க பொன்மெ[ய்*]ந்தசொழச்சருப்பெதிமங்கலத்து இராயூர்ச் சொட்டைநாயகரான ஸ்ரீ
குமாரபட்டன் திருநிலைஅழகியாள் திருநந்த-

4 வனமொன்றும் திருநாமத்தால்(*) செய்கிற திருநந்தவனத்துக்கு ஏண்டதரப்பாடியான திருச்சிற்றம்
பலமங்கலத்தும் இராஜதெவமங்கலத்தும் புதுக்கொள்ளிடஆற்றுக்கு வடகரைப்பட்ட நடுவில்கொட்
[டி]ல் இவன்காணியான கொல்லையில் ஊ-

5 ர்மாவிந்த கடமை குடிமை இவ்வூரில் இவன் காணியான நிலத்தில் எற்றி யிறுக்க கடவதாக
விட்ட கொல்லை குழி முன்னூற்று இருபதும் திருநந்தவனம் செய்ய ஒன்றெகால் ஆள்முதல்
கொண்டு நாள் ஒன்றுக்கு கொயிலுக்கு குறுணித் திருப்-

6 பள்ளித்தாமமும் திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய பெரியநாச்சியார் கொயிலுக்கு குறுணித் திருப்பள்ளித்
தாமமும் அளக்கவும் இவ்வாளுக்குக் கொற்றுக்கும் திருப்பாவாடைப்புறம் திருநாமத்துக்
காணியாகவும் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூரில் உலைச்சாணந்

7 மாதெவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் வராஹூணி பொன்னாண்டி பக்கல் மிதுனாக்ஞடிக்கு . . . .
தில்லைப்பெருமாள் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையானும் விரசொழவராஜராயர் பெரில் இவ்வூர்த் தெந்
பிடாகை புவனெகமாணிக்கவளநாட்டுப் பிரா . .
டான பாற்வதிநல்லூர்ப் பாலசுந்தரசொழவதிக்குக் கிழக்கு சொளெந்திரஸிம்ஹவாய்க்காலுக்குத்
தெற்கு முன்றுங் கண்ணாற்று நாலாஞ்சதிரத்து கொ[ந][க்]காளொன்றுபெருடை[ய*] நிலமாய்
விலை கொண்ட வார்ப்படி நிலம் முக்காலெ ஒருமாவரையில்

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[1] *Ep. Rep.* for 1927, p. 81.

9 இந்த திருநந்தவனக்குடிகளுக்கு கொற்றுக்கு உடலாக வடக்கடைய விட்ட நிலம் அரையும் நீக்கி நிலம் அறுமாவுரையும் திருப்பாவாடைப்புறத் திருநாமத்துக்காணியும் இல்லைநாயகன் பெரும்பவாடா ரத்துக்கு முதலாகப் பொனகப்பழனெல்லு அனைக்கவும இந்நில-

10 ம் முக்காலெ ஒரு மாவரைக்கும் தரப்படி மடக்கு முக்காணி முந்திரிகைக்கீழரையெ இரணடுமாவுக்கும் ஊர்மாவிந்த கடமை(ய்) குடிமை ஊரில்(க்)கழிக்க முலபருடையார் எழுதின நியோகமும் இந்த நிலமும் கொல்லையும் திருநாமத்துக்காணியாகத் தந்த பிரமாணமும் முலப்-

11 பிரமாணங்களும் திருநந்தவனக்குடிமை கொண்ட திட்டும் திருக்கை ஒட்டிப் பண்டாரத்து ஒடுக்கவும்[|*] இப்படிக்குத் திருமாளிகையில் கல் வெட்டுவதாகப் பண்ணுவதெ[|*] இ[வை] சொழகொன் எழுத்து என்றும் வந்த எவ[ற்*](த்)திட்டின்படி கல் வெட்டியது ௨ல

No. 150.

(*A.R. No.* 448 *of* 1921).

TIRUVENNAINALLŪR, TIRUKKOYILUR TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE SOUTH WALL OF THE MANDAPA IN FRONT OF THE CENTRAL SHRINE IN THE KRIPĀPURĪŚVARA TEMPLE.

This inscription, dated in the **6th year**, states that a bell, incense brazier, chain-lamp and a plate (for waving light) made by converting a small copper pot, were presented to the god Āṭkoṇḍadēva at Tiruveṇṇainallūr by **Tirumalaiy-Aḻagiyāṉ** *alias* **Viragaḷvirap-Pallavaraiyaṉ**,[1] son of Aṟamuḍaiyār, a *dēvaraḍiyār* of the temple.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] சகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீகெ-

2 காப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவற்கு யாண்டு ௬-வது

3 திருவெண்ணைநல்லூர் உடையார் ஆட்-

4 காண்டதெவற்கு இந்நாயநார் தெவரடிய-

5 ரில் அறமுடையார் மகந் திருமலையழகி-

6 யானான வீரகள்வீரப் பல்லவரைய நீட்ட தூப-

7 மணி நாக்கும் நாராசமும் உட்படப் பித்தளை இடை

8 சய-ம் தூபம் க-ழல் இடை மசு-ம் சுடர் க-ழல் இ-

9 டை யஅ-ம் வ[த்தி] சிறுச்செப்புப்பானை அழித்து

10 ச் செய்த திருவாலத்தித்தட்டம் க-ழ லிடை

11 மசு-ம் ஆக இ[வ்*]வுருக்கள் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்து ஒடுக்-

12 கித்து [||*]

No. 151.

(*A.R. No.* 304 *of* 1913).

CHIDAMBARAM, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE THIRD PRĀKĀRA IN THE NAṬARĀJA TEMPLE.

This inscription, dated in the **7th year**, contains an order of the officer **Sōḻakōṉ** issued to the authorities of the temple at Chidambaram, to engrave on their temple walls, the gift of a flower garden made after purchase by a *dēvaraḍiyār* named Piḷḷaiyār Siṟṟiḍai Arivai and one Iṟaṅgalmiṭṭa-piḷḷaiyār, for providing flowers for the goddess Tirukkāmakkōṭṭamuḍaiya-Periyanāchchiyār and for the maintenance of two servants looking after the garden.

It may be mentioned that the officers Jayatuṅga-Pallavaraiyar, Tillaiambala-Pallavaraiyar and Teṉṉavaṉ-Brahmamārāyaṉ[2] mentioned here also figure in No. 124 of 1888, a record of the 28th year of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkharadēva (A.D. 1296) from the same temple.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ௳ சகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீ அவனியாளப்பிறந்த[ா]ரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்க தெவற்கு யாண்டு எ-வது சொழகொன் ஓலை [|*] தென்னவன்ப்ரஹ்மமாராயரும்

2 ஜயதுங்கபல்லவரையரும் தில்லைஅம்பலபல்லவரையரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீ மாஹெஸ்வர கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும்

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[1] See No. 122 above and *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 348.

[2] They also figure in the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya (*A.R.* Nos. 293 and 297 of 1913). It may be mentioned here that 'Teṉṉavaṉ-Brahmārājaṉ' was a title conferred on Māṇikkavāchakar by the Pāṇḍya king. It is also possible that the other two names are titles.

79

3 ஸமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கோயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடு தந்ததாவது [|*] கோயிலுக்கு சிறப்பாகச் சாத்தியருள தேவரா-

4 டியாரில் பிள்ளையார் சிற்றிடைஅரிவை செய்விக்கிற திருந[ந்*]தவனத்துக்கு திருந[ந்*]தவன[இ*][த]றை யாக பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் பிடாகை கடவாச்சேரியில் உழைச்சாணன் திருநட்டப்பெருமான் சிவன

5 பக்கல் கவுணியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் விஜயக[ந்*] பெரில் விலைகொண்ட ஊர்ப்படி நிலம் ஒருமாவும் திருந[ந்*]தவனஞ் செய்யவும் திருநந்தவனம் செய்யும் ஆள் ஒன்றுக்கு திருந[ந்*]த வன[ப்*]புறமாக இவூர் பிடாகை சண்டெ-

6 ஸாரநல்லூரில் குலோத்துங்கசோழபிரமாராயன் ப்ராஹ்மணி பக்கல் கொண்ட சிவகாமசுந்தரி விளாகம் என்று பெர்உடைய ஊர்படி நில[ம்*] நாலுமாவும் இவூர் பிடாகை இளநாங்கூரில் தென்னவன் ப்ரஹ்மமாராயர் பக்கல் விலைகொ[ண்ட]

7 சிராவிளாகம் என்று பெர்உடைய நிலத்து ஊர்ப்படி நிலம் ஒரு மாவும் கொற்றுக்கு உடலாகவும திருக்காமக்கோட்டமுடைய பெரியநாச்சியார்க்குச் சாத்தியருள இறங்கல்மிட்டபிள்ளையார் செய் விக்கிற திருந[ந்*]தவனத்துக்கு இவூர் பிடாகை நடுவில்கரையில்

8 திருக்களிற்றுப்படித் தொண்டன் பக்கல் விலைகொண்ட குழி நூறும் திருந[ந்*]தவனஞ்செய்யவும் திருந [ந்*]தவனஞ்செயும் ஆள் ஒன்றுக்கு திருந[ந்*]தவன[ப்*]புறமாக இவூர் பிடாகை இளநாங்கூரில் தென்னவன் ப்ரஹ்மமாராயர் பக்கல் விலைகொண்ட சிராவிளாகம் என்று பெர்உடைய நிலத்து

9 ஊர்ப்படி நிலம் எழுமாவும் கொற்றுக்கு உடலாகவும் ஆக ஆள் இரண்டு ஆள் ஒன்றுக்கு நாள் ஒன்றுக்கு குறுணி நாநாழியாக வந்த திருப்பள்ளித்தாமம் திருப்பூமண்டபத்து முதலாக அளக் கவும் திருந[ந்*]தவனத்துக்கும் திருந[ந்*]தவனப்புறமாக கொற்றுக்கும் விலைகொண்ட நிலத் துக்கு

10 விலைகொண்ட சாதனங்களும் நிலங்களி[லு*]ம் பங்கு [வரி] ஒழிய பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் மூலபருடையார் எழுதின நியோகமும் திருக்கைஒட்டி பண்டாரத்து ஒடுக்கவும் [|*] இப்படிக்கு திருமாளிகையில் கல்வெட்ட[க்*]கடவதாக பண்ணுவதே[|*] இவை சோழகோன் எழுத்தென்று புகுந்த எவற் றிட்டுப்படி கல்-

11 வெட்டியது உ

No. 152.

(*A.R. No.* 305 *of* 1913).

ON THE SAME WALL.

The subjoined inscription, dated in the **7th year,** also registers an order of **Sōḷakōṉ** to engrave on the 'Vikramaśōḷan-tirumāligai' the deed of a gift of land made as *tirunā-mattukkāṇi* by a certain Tittikka Āduvāṉ, after purchase from Tiruchchirrambala-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ of Kārikuḍi, for providing five offerings to the image of Dakshiṇāmūrti in addition to three already in vogue so as to correspond with the number of services offered to Mūlasthānam-Uḍaiyār, the principal deity in the temple. The donor mentioned in this record made a further gift of land 10 years later (No. 201 below) for providing offerings to the same image.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] ஸகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீஅவனியாளப்பிறந்தாரான கோப்பெருஞ்சிங்க தேவற்கு யாண்டு

2 எ-வது சோழகோன் ஓலை [||*] தென்னவன்ப்ரஹ்மமாராயரும் ஜயதுங்கப்பல்லவரையரும் தில்லைஅம்ப லப்பல்லவரையரும் உ-

3 டையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார்கோயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹேச்வரக் கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் ஸமுதாயஞ் செய்-

4 வார்களும் கோயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடு தந்ததாவது [|*] உடையார் ஸ்ரீமூல-

5 ஞாசமுடையார் அமுது செய்தருளி வருகிற சந்தி எட்டும் இக்கொயில் டக்ஷிணாமூர்த்திதெவா் அமுது
செய்தருளவும் இதுக்கு முன்பு அமுது செ-

6 தருளி வருகிற [சந்தி] மூன்று நீக்கி எற்றமாக அமுதுசெய்தருளுகு சந்தி [ஐ]ஞ்சுக்கும் அப்பம் ஐஞ்
சுக்கும் வெண்டு நிவந்தத்துக்கு உடலாக கூ-

7 . . . உடையான் நித்திககூடுவான் திரு[நா]மத்துக்காணியாக காரிருண்டயான் திருச்சிற்றம்பல
மூவெந்தவெளான் பக்கல் கொண்டு

8 விட்ட ராஜாதிராஜவளநாட்டு செமங்கல[த்து] விளைநிலம் இருபத்துமுன்றெமுக்காலெ காணி[யும்]
வார்நத்தத்து இறையிலி மனைக-

9 ளும் உள்ப்பட திருநாமத்துக்காணியாக எழுதின ஸாயநங்கள் திருக்கைஒட்டிப் பண்[டாரத்து] ஒடுக்க
வும் [|*] இன்னிலம் தெ[வதான]

10 இறையிலியாக தெவர் தி[ரு*]முகம் எழுதினபடி [யாண்டு] எழாவது முதல் தெவதானமும் திரு
நாமத்துக்காணியும் ஆக கைய்க்கொண்டு பல-

11 பணிநிவந்தக்கார[ரு]க்கு ஜீவி[தமடைக்கவும் [|*] இப்படிக்கு விக்கிரமசொழன் திருமாளி[கையிலெ கல்
வெட்ட கடவதாக ப]-

12 [ண்] ணுவதெ[|*] இப்படி சொழகொன் [எழுத்து] என்று புகுந்த எவற்(த்)திட்டின்படி கல் வெட்டி
யது || உ

No. 158.

(*A.R. No.* 545 *of* 1921).

TIRUNĀRAIYŪR, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE SOUTH WALL OF THE SUNDARĒŚVARA SHRINE IN THE POLLĀPPIḶḶAIYĀR TEMPLE.

This inscription dated in the **7th year**, registers a sale of 60 *mā* of land in Mugaiyūr, hamlet of Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and in Vīrapperumāḷmaṅgalam, to the temple of Mūlattānam-Uḍaiyār in Tirunāraiyūr, an independent village in Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu 'on the northern bank,' by the temple of Tiruppulīśvaram-Uḍaiyār at Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr, an independent village in [Rājādhi]rāja-vaḷanāḍu, for one hundred and twenty thousand *kāśu*.

It may be noted that the amount is specified in multiples of thousands and that for the denomination of a 'lakh' 'one hundred thousand' is used here. The sale price works at 2,000 *kāśu* per *mā* of land.

The village Mugaiyūr may be identified with the village of the same name in the Chidambaram taluk. The village Tirunāraiyūr where this inscription is found is stated to have been a suburb of Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (*A. R.* No. 543 of 1921). Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and Vīrapperumāḷ-maṅgalam were probably other suburbs of Tirunāraiyūr.

The details of date correspond to A.D. 1249, October 19, Tuesday.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] சகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள்
2 ஸ்ரீ கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவர்க்கு யா-
3 ண்டு எழாவது துலாநாயற்று [௨௰௫]-
4 பூர்வபக்ஷத்து த்ருதிஸியும் செவ்வா-
5 ய்க்கிழமையும் பெற்ற உத்திர[ட்]டா-
6 தி . . . . . . [ராசாதி]ராசவளநாட்டு தனியூர்
7 பெ[ரும்பற்றப்புலி]யூர் உடையார் திருப்பு-
8 லி . . . . . .கொயில் ஆதிசண்டெசு-
9 வர் திருவருளால் இக்கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெசுவரக-

55 டவரதெவர் கன்மிகளொம் [|*] இந்நிலம் அறுபதுமாவும் விற்றுக்கு-
56 டுத்துக் கொள்வதான எம்மில் இசை(ய்)ந்த விலைப்பொருள் [அன்றூடு[1]] செல்லும் ந-
57 ல்காசு ராதுஉயிது இக்காசு நூறாயிரத்திருபதினாயிரமும் ஆவணக்களரிடெ-
58 ய காட்டெற்றி[க் கைச்செ]லவறக்கொண்டு இந்நிலத்துக்கு இறவெ [2]

No. 154.

(*A.R. No.* 308 *of* 1913).

CHIDAMBARAM, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE THIRD PRĀKĀRA OF THE NAṬARĀJA TEMPLE.

This inscription registers the order of **Sōḻakōṉ** issued in the **8th year** of the chief, granting 4 [*vēli*] and 6 *mā* of land in Kaḍavāychchēri *alias* Tillaināyakanallūr, a hamlet of Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr, with the new name Tiruvambalapperumāḷpuram for settling on it the *Sāliyar* (i.e.) the weaving class, stipulating that the latter should provide cloths for the *parisaṭṭam* of the god and goddess Tirukkāmakkōṭṭamuḍaiya-Periyanāchchiyār in the temple.

This inscription states that Sōḻakōṉ was also called Perumāḷ-Piḷḷai, that he belonged to Araśūr and that he was one of the *mudalis* (officers) of the chief.

The streets named after Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva and Rājākkaḷ-tambirāṉ are also mentioned in the record.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] ஸகலபுவனசக்ரவர்த்திகள் அவனிஆளப்பிறந்தாரான ஸ்ரீகொப்பெருஞ்சிங்க தெவற்கு யாண்டு எட்டாவது உ சொழகொன் ஓலை [|*] தென்னவன் ஸ்வரூபமாராயரும் ஜயதுங்கப பல்லவராயரும் தில்லைஅம்பலப்பல்லவராயரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்ற-

2 மபலமுடையார்கொயில ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வரக் கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் ஸாமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடு தந்ததாவது [|*] கொயிலுக்கும் திருக-

3 காமக்கொட்டமுடைய பெரியநாச்சியார்க்கும் சாத்தும் பரிசட்டத்துக்கும் வழக்கத்துக்கு உடு இடவும் திருவம்பலப்பெருமாள்புரமென்னும் சிவநாமத்தால் எற்றுகிற நகரத்துச் சாலியர்க்குக் குடிஇருப்[பு] நத்தமாகப் பெரும்பற்றபுலியூர்ப் பிடாகை கடவாய்-

4 ச்செரியான தில்லைநாயகநல்லூரில் சுந்தரசொழவதிக்கு மெற்கு சொழகுலசுந்தரிவாய்க்காலுக்குத் தெற்கு நாலாங்கண்ணாற்று முதல்(ச்)சதிரத்தும் இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்தும் அஞ்சாங்கண்ணாற்று முதற் சதிரத்தும் இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்தும் பல வரவையும் செண்டு-

5 வெளியும் ஸபெஹப்பொதுவுமான நிலத்து ராஜ[illegible]ன்கமுகு திருந[ந்]தவனஞ்செய்து முதலழித்தும் ஜீவிதமடைத்தும் ஸபெஹப்பொதுவாய்க்கிடந்த குலொத்துங்கசொழன் தெங்குதிருவிதியில் கல்லால செய்த மதகால கிழக்கு நொக்கி நீர்பாய்கிற வாய்-

6 க்காலுக்கு வட[க்]கும் இத்திருவிதியில்(க்) கிழ ஒரு(ச்) சிற[கி]ன் வாய்நிலவறுநிக்கும் கிழக்குப்பட்ட ஓடைக்கும் கிழக்கு கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கன் திருவீதி தெற[கி]லத்திருவீதித் தென்சிற[கில்] தெற்குப்பட்ட குளங்களுக்குத் தெறகும் சவனிஅகரமான திருச்சிற்றம்பலச்சருப்பெதிமங்கல-

7 த்து எல்லைக்கும் திருப்பாவாடைப்புறத்து மெனக்குழிக்கு மெற்கும் நடுவுபட்ட நூறுகுழிகொண்டதொரு மா[வாக] நிலம் நாலெ [ஆ]றுமா முக்காணி இன்நிலம் நாலெ ஆறுமா முக்காணியில் நடுவுடைய எழுந்தருளியிருக்கும் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வர விநாயகப்பிள்ளையார் ஸ்ரீ

8 கொயிலும் திருமுற்றமும் சிஉப்பிராமணர் குடிஇருப்பு நத்தமும் நிலம் முக்காணி நீக்கி நிலம் நாலெ ஆறுமாவில பலபணிநிமந்தக்காறர்க்கு ஜீவிதமடைத்த நிலமாய் மாறிக்கூட்டின . நிலம் ஒன்றெ நாலுமா முக்காணி அரைக்காணியும் முதலழிந்த கமுக திரு-

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[1] Engraved above the line.

[2] The inscription stops here.

9 நந்தவனத்தும் ஊமைப்பொதுவும் பலரும் குடிஇருப்பு நத்தமான நிலத்து ராஜாக்கள்தம்பிரான் திருவீதியில்த் தெற்கில்த் திருவீதியில் ஆளுடையபிள்ளையார் மனை இறைகொண்டு வருகிற மனைகளாலும் நீர்நிலையாலும் மாறிக்கூட்டின நிலம் முன்றெ ஒருமா-

10 வரையெ அரைக்காணியும் ஆக நிலம் நாலெ ஆறுமா எட்டாவது முதல் நகரத்துக்குக் குடியிருப்பு நத்தமாகக் காணியாகப் பெறவும் [|*] பலபணிநிமந்தக்காறர்க்கு ஜீவிதமாறிக்கூட்டின நிலத்துக்குத் தலைமாறு இவர்களுக்குச் சேர்வான இடங்களிலே ஜீவிதமடைத்துக்

11 குடுக்கவும் [|*] இப்படிக்குத் திருமாளிகையிலெ கல்வெட்டக்கடவதாகவும் பண்ணுவதென்று தெவர் முதலிகளில் அர[ரூ]ருடையார் பெருமாள்ப்பிள்ளையான சோழகோனுர் கோயிலுக்குச் சாத்துப்படி சட்டமும் வழக்கத்துக்கு உடு இடவும் எற்றினித்த சாலிகர்க்கு நகரமாகச்

12 செய்த குடிஇருப்பு நத்தத்துக்கு எழுதிப்புகுந்த திருக்கைஒட்டியில் ஒடுக்கின எவல்நீட்டுப்படி கல்வெட்டியது உ

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[1] A.R. No. 45 of 1903.

[2] [Peṟugai may be Peṟuganūr itself Ed.]

[3] No. 149 above.

5 திருத்தினைநகருடையாற்குத் திருநாமத்துக்காணியான உள்-

6 ளொண்டையில் ஜனநாதநல்லூர்க் கருத்தடக்கண்ணிய[ா]ர்

7 விளாகம் நிலம் ஈருஙூம் நல்லாலியான திருமாலிஸெரந்ன்ரு-

8 ள் விளாக[ம்*] நிலம் வஙூம் பாலனூரான பெரியநாச்சியார்விளாக[ம்] நி-

9 ல[ம்*] கஙூம் அகரம் பொன்மெய்ந்த சொழச்சருப்பெதிமங்கலத்துப்-

10 பிடாகை கொலந்துச்சிவபாதசெகரவிளாகங் கமுத நிலம் வம் வி-

11 ளைநிலம் வமாக நிலம் ருஙூ இந்நிலம் அருசெமுககாலுக்கும் உ-

12 . . . . கொயிற்செ . . . . ங்கொள்¹

No. 157.

(*A.R. No.* 318 *of* 1913).

CHIDAMBARAM, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE THIRD PRĀKĀRA IN THE NAṬARĀJA TEMPLE.

This record, also dated in the **9th year** of the chief, registers an order of **Śōḷakōṉ** making a gift of 27 and odd *mā* of land, by purchase from several individuals, for the maintenance of gardeners working in three different gardens, namely, one, in Koṟṟaṅguḍi *alias* Pavittiramāṇikkanallūr, hamlet of Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr, and the others called 'Avaṇiyāḷappiṟandāṉ-teṅgu-tirunandavaṇam' in the same village and 'Adiravisiāḍuvāṉ-tirunandavaṇam' at Maḍandayarmāṇikkanallūr. The gift is stated to have been made for the welfare of Kōpperuñjiṅga (*dēvar tirumēṉikku naṉṟāgu*). The lands purchased were situated in the *dēvadāna* villages of (given by) Tamiḻnāḍu-kātta-Pallavaraiyar.[2]

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[*] ... அவனிஆளப்பிறந்தாரான ஸ்ரீ கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு ஒன்பதாவது சொழகொன் ஓலை[|*]தென்னவன் ப்ரஹ்மாதிராஜரும் ஜயதுங்கப்பல்லவ[ரு]ம் திருச்சிற்றம்பலப்பல்லவர[யரு]ம் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயிற் ஸ்ரீமாஹெச்வ[ர*]க்காண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ்செ . . . .

2 யஞ் செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடு தந்ததாவது [|*] உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார்க்கும் திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய பெரியநாச்சியார்க்கும் தெவர் திருமெனிக்கு நன்றாக பெருமாள்[ப்]பிள்ளையான சொழகொன் செய்வித்த பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர்ப் பிடாகை கொற்றங்குடியான பவித்திரமா[ணிக்கநல்லூர்]

3 திருநந்தவனக்குடிகளுக்கும் இவ்வூரில் அவனிஆளப்பிறந்தான் தெங்கு திருநந்தவனக்குடிகளுக்கும் மடந்தயர்மாணிக்கநல்லூரில் அதிரவிசிஆடுவான் திருநந்தவனக்குடிகளுக்கு ஜீவிதம் அடைக்கத் தமிழ்நாடுகாத்தான் பல்லவரயர் தெவதானமான ஊர்களில் திருநாமத்துக்காணியாக ஒன்பதாவது விலைகொண்ட விருதராஜபயங்கரவளநாட்டுக் கீழ்க்கால்நாட்டு . . . . விரு . .

4 பாக்கமுடையான் தென்னவதரய[ன்] பக்கல் விலைகொண்ட விரநாராயணவதிக்குக் கிழக்கு செருடையாகணவாய்[க்*]காலுக்குத் தெற்கு ஐஞ்சாங்கண்ணாற்று முன்றாஞ்சதிரத்து ஒடை நிலம் அரைமாவும் ஆறாங்கண்ணாற்று முன்றாஞ்சதிரத்து நிலம் இரண்டு மாமுக்காணியும் எழாங்கண்ணாற்று முதல் சதிரத்து நிலம் முன்றுமாவும் முன்றாஞ்சதிரத்து நிலம் முக்காணியும் ஒன்பதாங்க[ண்*]ணாற்[று] . . .
திரத்து

5 நிலம் இரண்டு மாவும் பத்தாங்கண்ணாற்று முன்றாஞ்சதிரத்து நிலம் ஒரு மாவும் ஸ்ரீயாவதிக்குக் கிழக்கு முதல் கண்ணாற்று நாலாஞ்சதிரத்து நிலம் ஒருமாவும் இரண்டாங்கண்ணாற்று முன்றாஞ்சதிரத்து நிலம் ஒருமாவரையும் பிரதியங்கரையர் காணியாய் இவர் பக்கல் விலைகொண்ட விரநாராயணவதிக்குக் கிழக்கு இவ்வாய்க்காலு[க்கு தெற்]கு இரண்டாங்கண்ணாற்று மு . . . . . அரைமா-

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[1] The inscription is left incomplete and portions in the last line are also left unengraved.

[2] A.R. No. 480 of 1902 and No. 174 below. Cf. the title 'Tondaimaṇḍalam - kātta - Perumāḷ' conferred by the Chōḷa king on Pālarāvāyar, the brother of Śēkkiḻār for averting the horrors of a famine by sacrificing all his wealth in support of the people.

85

6 வும் நாலாங்கண்ணாற்று மூன்றாஞ்சதிரத்து நிலம் ஒரு மாவும் பத்தாங்கண்ணாற்று நாலாஞ்சதிரத்து நிலம் இரண்டு மாவும் ஸ்ரீதரவதிக்குக் கிழக்கு முதல் கண்ணாற்று இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்து நிலம் முக்காணியும் ஆக நிலம் பதிநாலுமா முக்காணியும் இவ்வூரில் மருதூருடையான் வாஸிசப்பெருமானும் சகுமுதூருடையான் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் உள்ளிட்டார் பக்கல் விலைகொண்ட . . . . [மா] இரண்-

7 பாஞ்சதிரத்து நிலம் மூன்றுமாவும் ஆக நிலம் பத்தொன்பது மா முக்காணியும் ஸ்ரீ வீரநாராயணச் சருப்பெதிமங்கலத்துப் பி . . . . சக்கரவத்திமங்கலத்துச் சிறுகாலூரில் ஆதிமங்கலவன் அனபாயச்செதியராயன் பக்கல் விலைகொண்ட ஸ்ரீயாரவதிக்கு தெற்கு சந்திரசெகரவாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு மூன்றாங்கண்ணாற்று இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்து . . . . நில[ம்] . . அரை [யெஅ]ரைக்காணி

8 முந்திரிகைக்கீழ் அரையும் நாலாங்கண்ணாற்று மூன்றாஞ்சதிரத்து மெற்கடைய நிலம் ஆறுமாவில் மெற்கடைய நிலம் காணிக்கீழ் அரையும் ஆக நிலம் இரண்டுமாவும் இவ்வூரில் இருபெருடையான் பக்கல் விலைகொண்ட ஸ்ரீயாரவதிக்குக் கிழக்கு சந்திரசெகரவாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு மூன்றாங் கண்ணாற்று இரண்டாஞ் சதிரத்து[க் கிழக்கடைய நிலம்] . . . .

9 முந்திரிகைக்கீழ் அரையெ இருமாவரையும் ஆற்றூர் நரசிங்கன் கருணாகரபட்டன் பக்கல் விலைகொண்ட மணலூர் வீரநாராயணவதிக்குக் கிழக்கு சந்திரசெகரவாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு ஒன்பதாங்கண்ணாற்று முதல் சதிரத்துக் கிழை ஆறுமாவில் தெற்கடைய நிலம் முக்காணி அரைக்காணி முந்திரிகையும் இவ்வூரில் இடை . . . .

10 வதிக்குக் கிழக்கு சந்திரசெகரவாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு ஒன்பதாங்கண்ணாற்று முதல் சதிரத்துக் கிழை ஆறுமாவில்க் கிழ்க்கடைய நிலம் இருமாவரையும் இதன் மெற்கு வடக்கடைய கிழ் . . . . றுமாவில் வடக்கடையக் கிழை ஆறுமா ஆ[க] தநி . . . . . நிலம் . . . . . ரையும் தென் வடக்கூக்க . . . . . . ய நிலம் அரைக்கா . . . . . கிழ்மு . . . .

11 ஆக நிலம் எழுமாவரைக்காணிக்கீழ் முக்காலெ ஒருமாவரையும் ஆமையூரான குலொத்துங்கசொழ மங்கலத்து கூவன்சம்பந்தனும் . . . . மானும் பக்கல் விலை கொண்ட [ராஜ வதிக்குக் கிழக்கும்] . . . . [ஒன்ப]தாங்கண்ணாற்று நாலாஞ்சதிரத்து ஒடைக்குக் கிழக்கு . . . .

12 திரத்து மெற்கடைய நில[ம்*] ஆறுமாவும் கிழ்க்கடைய நிலம் ஆறுமாவும் நாலாஞ்சதிரத்து மெலை ஆறுமாவில் வடக்கடைய நிலம் . . . . [மா]வரைக்காணி முந்திரிகைக் கிழரையும் . . . . க்குக் கிழக்கு இ . . . . வதிக்கு . . . . [முதல்]கண்ணாற்று மூன்றாஞ் சதிரத்து . . . . . . தெற்கு நிலம் நாலுமா முக்காணி அரைக்காணிக்கு கிழ்காலும் ஆக நிலம் . . . .

13 செரியான எதிரிலிசொழமங்கலத்து கொறுகொட்டி இராமதெவபட்டன் ப[க்க]ல் விலைகொண்ட பத்தாங்கண்ணாற்று மூன்றாஞ்சதிரத்து . . . . நிலம் நால்[மா]வரைெ . . . . ணியும் . . . . நிலம் முக்காணியும் இதன் மெற்கடைய நிலம் . . . . ரைக்காணியும் ஆக நிலம் ஒன்பதுமாவரை(ய்)யும் ஆக நிலம் [இருப]தெழுமா வரை . . . . க்கும் . . .

14 திருக்கை[யொட்டியிலெ ஒ]றிக்கவும் [|*] இப்படிக்கு திருமாளிகையில் கல்வெட்டவும் பண்ணுவதெ [|*] இப்படி செய்யப்பண்ணுவதெ [|*] இவை . . . . என்றும் புகுந்த எ . . . . படி கல் வெட்டியது [||*] இவை . . . . டெ . . . . . யான . . . .[1]

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[1] The inscription is damaged at the end.

No. 159.

(*A.R. No.* 312 *of* 1913).

CHIDAMBARAM, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE THIRD PRĀKĀRA IN THE NAṬARĀJA TEMPLE.

This inscription, dated in the **10th year,** records an order issued by **Śōḻakōṉ** for the welfare of his master. It pertains to an exchange of 140·7/8 *kuḻi* of land in Paḷḷippaḍai *alias* Vikramaśōḻanallūr in which was situated the temple of

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[1] The letter ꞷ is engraved below the line.

[2] Ends of lines 8 to 10 and the beginnings of lines 11 and 12 are built in.

[3] Lines 11 and 12 are found on the north wall.

Piḍāri Tiruchchiṟṟambala-Mākāḷi, for an equal extent of land (i.e., 141 *kuḻi*) purchased from the temple of Vāraṇavāsi-Mahādēva, according to the *sādhana* given by Pārasavaṉ Tiruchchiṟṟambalamuḍaiyāṉ *alias* Kanakasabhāpati-paṇḍitaṉ who had the *kāṇi*-right of the former temple. This land was made tax-free by order of the officer Śōḻakōṉ, for the welfare of Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva. The inscription reveals the existence of a committee called 'Nilavaravu-kūṭṭap-perumakkaḷ' which was probably in charge of land income. Some of the temple authorities mentioned here also figure in the time of Rājarāja III and Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya in a few records of the village[1]. The documents connected with this transaction were ordered to be preserved in the temple treasury.

The Piḍāri temple is stated to have been situated on the southern side of the 'Vikkiramaśōḻaṉ-teṅgu-tiruvīdi', along which the god (at Chidambaram) was taken in procession to the sea during festival days.

Vikkiramaśōḻanallūr is here called Paḷḷippaḍai, but in No. 275 of 1913 belonging to Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I dated in the 14th regnal year it bears the alternative name of Akkaṉ-Paḷḷippaḍai. From this it may perhaps be inferred that the remains of the elder sister (*akkaṉ*) of Vikrama-Chōḷa were interred here and that the village called after the king as 'Vikkiramaśōḻanallūr' was founded at this locality.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ஸகலபுவனசக்ரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீ அவனிஆளப்பிறந்தாரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவற்கு
யாண்டு பத்தாவது சொழகொன் ஒலை [|*] தென்னவன்ப்ரஹ்மாராயரும் ஜயதுங்கப்பல்லவரைய
ரும் தில்லைஅம்பலப்பல்லவரையரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வர
க்கண்காணி செய்வார்களும்

2 ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் ஸாமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளி
கைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடு தந்ததாவது [|*] நாயகர் திருக்கட
லாட்டு எழுந்தருளும் விக்கிரமசொழன் தெங்குத்திருவீதித் தென்[பக்கத்து] எழுந்தருளுவித்த
பிடாரி திருச்சிற்றம்பலமாகாளி ஸ்ரீகொயிலும் திருமுற்றமும் தி-

3 ருமடைவிளாகத்திலும் அகப்பட்ட பள்ளி[ப்*]படையான விக்கிரமசொழநல்லூரில் சந்தாசொழவதிக்குக்
கிழக்கு(க்) கண்டராதித்தவாய்க்காலுக்குத் தெற்கு முன்றாங்கண்ணாற்று முதற் சதிரத்திலும்
இவ்வதிக்கு மெற்கு இவ்வாய்க்காலுக்குத் தெற்கு முன்றாங்கண்ணாற்று முதற் சதிரத்திலும்
கூட்டின நிலம் நிலவரவு கூட்டப்பெருமக்களு-

4 ம் கணகாணிக்குக் கடவாரும் அளந்து கண்ட குழி நூற்றுநாற்பதெ முக்காலெ அரைக்காலுக்குத் தலை
மாறு [|*] இக்கட்டளையில் வாரணவாசி மஹாதெவர் கொயில்தானத்தார் பக்கல் இந்நாந் திருச்சிற்றம்
பலமாகாளி உடணாஹூரப்பெருவிலை கொண்ட இவ்வதிக்குக் கிழக்கு இவ்வாய்க்காலுக்குத் தெற்கு
முன்றாங்கண்ணாற்று முதற் சதிரத்து நி-

5 ந்த வாரணவாசி மஹாதெவர் திருக்குளத்துக்கும் திருநந்தவனத்துக்கும் திருமடைவிளாகத்து வானிள
வதிக்குக் கிழக்கும் இந்த விக்கிரமசொழன் தெங்குதிருவீதி எல்லைக்குத் தெற்கும் கூத்தாடு
நாயகன் திருவொடை மெலை எல்லைக்குலக்கு மெற்கும் இந்த வாரணவாசி மஹாதெவர் தெவ
தான விளைநிலத்துக்கு வடக்கும் நடுவுபட்ட

6 குழி நூற்றுநாற்பத்தொன்றும் பத்தாவது ஸிம்ஹநாயற்று ஒன்பதாந் தியதி முதல் இக்கொயிற்
காணியுடைய பாரசவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையானான கநகஸபாபதி பண்டிதன் எழுத்திட்டுத்
தந்த ஸாதனப்படியெ ப்ரதிக்ஷெத்ரமாகக் கைக்கொண்டு இதுவும் இன்னிலம் விலைகொண்ட
ப்ரமாணங்களும் இன்னிலம் ஸர்வமாநியந்த

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[1] *A.R.* Nos. 283, 285 and 293 of 1913.

88

7 கடமை குடிமை கழியப் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் மூலபருடையார் எழுதின நியோகமும் திருக்கை
ஒட்டிப் பண்டாரத்திலெ ஒடுக்கவும் [।*] இப்படிக்கு விக்கிரமசொழன் திருமாளிகைப் புறவாயில
வடக்கில் திருமாளிகையிலெ கல் வெட்டவும் பண்ணுவதெ[।*] இவை சொழகொன் எழுத்தென்று
புகுந்த எவற்றிட்டுப்படி கல் வெட்டியது [।*] இது தெவர்
8 திருமெனிக்கு நன்றாகப் பெருமாள்பிள்ளையான சொழகொனார் செய்வித்தது :—

No. 160.

(*A.R. No.* 327 *of* 1913).

ON THE EAST WALL OF THE MAHISHĀSURAMARDANĪ SHRINE IN THE SAME TEMPLE.

This inscription registers another order of **Sōḷakōṉ** issued to the authorities of the temple at Chidambaram, in the **10th year** of Peruñjiṅga to engrave on the walls of the temple the gifts of land made by four persons for offerings and a flower garden to the shrine of **Aṇḍābaraṇadēva** situated to the north of the entrance into the chamber of god Antappurap-Perumāḷ, in the shrine of Tirukkāmakkōṭṭamuḍaiya-Periyanāchchiyār in the temple. The lands presented were situated in Nallāli *alias* Vikramaśōḷanallūr, hamlet of Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr, Kōyilpūṇḍi *alias* Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇinallūr, Vaḍakkilkuḷam and Aḷakkuḍi, hamlet of Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷapaṭṭiṇam.

The shrine on which this record is engraved now contains an image of Mahishāsuramardanī, but in the time of Kōpperuñjiṅga it must have contained an image of Aṇḍābaraṇadēva.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ உ ஸகலபுவநசக்ரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ அவனிஆள-
2 ப்பிறந்தாரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு ப-
3 த்தாவது சொழகொன் ஓலெ [।*] தென்னவப்ரஹ்மமாராய-
4 (ர்)ரும் ஜயதுங்கப்பல்லவரையரும் தில்லை அம்பலப்பல்லவ-
5 ரையரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீமா-
6 ஹெஸ்வரக் கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும்
7 ஸமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களு-
8 ம் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு வி-
9 டு தந்ததாவது [।*] திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய பெரியநாச்சியா-
10 ர் கொயில் அந்தப்புரப்பெருமாள் திருவாசலுக்கு வடபக்க-
11 து எழுந்தருளிஇருக்கும் அண்டாபரணதெவர்க்குத் திருப்ப-
12 ண்ணிகாரப்புறமாகவும் சிறப்பாகத் திருத்தொள்மாலை செய்-
13 து சாத்த திருநந்தவனமும் திருநந்தவனஞ் செய்து இவர் தி-
14 ருப்பூமண்டபத்தில் திருப்பள்ளித்தாமம் அளப்பார்க்கு ஜீவ-
15 னத்துக்கும் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர்ப் பிடாகை நல்லாலியான
16 விக்கிரமசொழநல்லூரில் ஸ்ரீசுந்தரசொழவதிக்குக் கிழக்கு இ-
17 ராஜராஜவாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு ஆறுங்கண்ணாற்று இரண்டா-
18 ஞ் சதிரத்து சடையன கொண்டுவிட்ட விளைநிலமும் கொல்லையும்
19 வர்ப்படி நிலம் எழுமாவும் இங்கெ நிருநிமைக்குக் கொண்ட கு-
20 ழி நாற்பத்தைஞ்சு[ம்] கொயில்பூண்டியான க்ஷத்ரியசிகாமணிந-
21 ல்லூர்ப்பால் ஸ்ரீசுந்தரசொழவதிக்குக் கிழக்கு ராஜராஜவாய்க்-
22 காலுக்குத் தெற்கு நாலாங்கண்ணாற்று மூன்றாஞ் சதிரத்தும் நாலா-
23 ஞ் சதிரத்தும் அற்புதர் கொண்டு விட்ட குழி நூறும் வடக்கில
24 குளத்தில இருபது கூறிட்ட ஒருகூறாயுள்ள குளமும் இந்தக்கு-
25 ழவொபாதி நிருநிமையும் தெவதானம் ஜயங்கொண்டசொ-

26 ழபட்டினத்துப் பிடாகை அளக்குடியில் அம்பலவதிக்குக் கிழக்கு ஜ-
27 யங்கொண்ட சொழவாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு இரண்டாங்கண்ணாற்று
28 மூன்றாஞ் சதிரத்து சொம்முகன் அழகிய திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையா-
29 னும் விளாக்காழ்வானும் காசிட்டு இவர் திருநாமத்து விலைகொ-
30 ண்ட விளைநிலமும் கொல்லையும் குழி எழுநூற்றைம்ப-
31 தும் உள்பட இவ்வூர்ப்படிகள் நிலங்கள் விலைகொண்ட
32 ப்ரமாணங்களும இன்னிலங்களில் ஊர்மாவிய்ந்த கட-
33 மை குடிமை கழியப் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் மூலபருஷையார் எ-
34 ழுதின நியொகமும் ஜயங்கொண்டசொழபட்[டி]னத்தார் எ-
35 ழுதின நியொகமும் திருக்கைகொட்டிப் பண்டாரத்து ஒடுக்-
36 கி இந்த அண்டாபரணதெவர் கொயிலிலெ கல்வெட்-
37 டவும் பண்ணுவதெ [|°] இவை சொழகொன் எழுத்து என்-
38 று புகுந்த எவற்றிட்டுப்படி. கல்வெட்டியது உ

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No. 171.

(*A.R. No.* 106 *of* 1934–35).

CHIDAMBARAM, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE WEST WALL OF THE THIRD PRĀKĀRA (RIGHT OF ENTRANCE) OF THE NAṬARĀJA TEMPLE.

This inscription is dated in the **11th year** and records an order of the officer **Śōḷakōṉ** issued to the authorities of the temple at Chidambaram to engrave on their temple walls a gift of land made, after purchase, by **Irāvaḷar Kayilāyadēvar** residing in the *maṭha* called Vaḍakkil-maḍam at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai as 'Kayilāyadēvaṉ-tiruppāvāḍaip-puṟam' for flowers, and for providing offerings to the god on the asterism Pūśam in the month of Tai. A portion of the land presented was situated in Erukkāṭṭichchēri *alias* Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷanallūr in Kiḍāraṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-pēriḷamaināḍu, the eastern hamlet of Perumbaṟṟapuliyūr and was purchased in the name of Kavuṇiyaṉ Śivaṉ Tiruchchiṟṟambalamuḍaiyāṉ from Mādēvaṉ Śātti, the wife of Uḷaichchāṇaṉ Kūttaṉ Tiruchchiṟṟambalakkūttaṉ.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ஸகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீஅவனிஆளப்பிறந்தாரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவற்கு யாண்டு ௰௧-[வது] சொழகொன் ஓலை[।*] தென்னவன்ப்ரஹ்மராயரும் ஜயதுங்க-

2 ப்பல்லவரையரும் தில்லைஅம்பலப்பல்லவரையரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வர[க்] கண்காணிசெய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் ஸமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்-

3 களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் பண்டாரப்பொத்தகமுடையார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடு தந்ததாவது ௨ திருவண்ணாமலையில் வடக்கில் மட-

4 த்தில் இருக்கும் இராவளர் கயிலாயதெவர் பெரும்பற்றபுலியூர்க் கிழ்[பிட]ாகை கிடாரங்கொண்டசொழ பெர்இளமைநாட்டு எருக்காட்டிச்[செரி]யான ஜயங்கொண்டசொழநல்லூர்ப்பால்

5 உளைச்சாணன் கூத்தன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலக்கூத்தனை முதுகண்ணாகவுடைய இவன் ப்ராஹ்மணி மாதெவன்சாத்தி பக்கல் கவுணியன்சிவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் பெரில் விலைகொண்ட ஸ்ரீ

6 திருச்சிற்றம்பலவதிக்கு கிழக்கு ஸ்ரீராஜராஜவாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு மூன்றாங்கண்ணாற்று மூன்றாஞ் சதிரத்தும் இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்தும் இந்நிலத்திற்கு எல்லை [ஸா]மந்தவாய்க்காலுக்கு கிழக்கும் உடையார் திரு-

7 ச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் பலவாயலை நிலத்துக்கு தெற்க்கும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் திருப்பு திருமாதுவாலேர்க்கனில் கயிலாயதேவனை திருநந்தவனத்துக்கு மெற்க்கும் கொள்ளாள் நிலத்துக்கு வடக்கு-

8 [ாக] இவ்விசைந்த(த) இந்நான்கெல்லையிலும் உள்ப்பட்ட கருத்தனில் மிருதிருநாற உள்ளடங்க ளார்க்கொல்லையுங் குளமும் விளைநிலமும் உள்ப வந்த சொழாண்டியென்று பெர்கவ[ப]ட்ட விலை-

9 நிலம் காநும் கொல்லை[க்]குளத்தில் கிழ்கடைய செம்பாதியும் நிலம் [மூன்று]மா ஆக நிலம் எட்டு மாவும் முக்கண்ணாற்று முச்சதிரத்து உளைச்ச[ா]ணன் கூத்தன் நக்கனா பக்கல் கவுணியன் [சிவன்] திருச்சிற்றம்ப-

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[1] The inscription is built in at the end of the lines

10 முடையான் பெரில் விலைகொண்டு முன்றூங் கண்ணாற்று முதற்சதிரத்தும் இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்தும் சொழாண்டியென்று பெர்கூவப்பட்ட நிலம் காலும் கொல்லையும் குளத்தில் செம்பாதி உள்பட நிலம் முன்றுமா[வும்] ஆக நிலம் எட்டு[மா]-

11 [வும்] ஆக நிலம் முக்காலெ ஒருமாவும் சிவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையானும் மணலூ[ர் கிழவன்] கூறைக்கண்டன் கூத்தப்பெருமானும் முல்லைவாயிலுடையான் நஞ்சமுதுசெய்தானும் இவ்வாண்டு பசான்முதல் பயிற்செய்வார் க-

12 டமை கொண்டு சென்ன . . . . நெட்டு ளார்மாவிந்த கடமை குடிமை யிறுத்து ஏறை மிருதிக்கு வடவாறு இன்னிலத்தில் கொல்லையிலெ இரண்டுமா நிலம் திருநந்தவனஞ்செய்து திருப்பள்ளித் தாமம் ஆக்க ஒரு ஆளுக்கு நாள் முன்றுக்[கு°] குறுணி-

13 யால் வந்த திருப்பள்ளித்தாமம் கொயிற் திருப்பூமண்டபத்திலெ சித்திரை மாஸம் முதல் . . . . இந்த ஆளுக்கு கொற்றுக்கு நாள் முன்றுக்குக் குறுணி நாநாழியாக வந்த நெல்லு இடவும் திருத்தைப்பூசத் திருநாளிலெ திரு-

14 ப்பாவாடைச் சிறப்பாக அமுதுபடிக்கு ஊர் இளங்காலாலெ பதின்கல(ம)லுக்குப் பொலகப் பழவரிசியும் இருகல மணிப்பருப்பும் நாலுநிறை சற்கரையும் நூறு தெங்காயும் டத்துப் பாலாக்காயும் இச . . . . .

15 தொறும் இருநூறு வழுதிலைக்காயும் குலொத்துங்கசொழத்திருமடைப்பள்ளி பண்டாரத்திலெ முதலி டவும் கயிலாயதெவன் திருப்பாவாடைப்புறமென்று திருமாளிகையிலெ கல்வெட்டுவித்து ஸாதனம் திரு . . . .

16 . . . . ப்பாவாடைத் தி . . . . . . க அமுது செய்கை(ய்)யாலெ . . [பொதும்] இவ்வாண்டு பசான் முதல் நண் . . . . பன்னுவதெ டை சொழகொன் எழுத்தென் . . . . கல் வெட்டியது[॥°]

No. 172.

(*A.R. No.* 107 *of* 1934-35).

ON THE SAME WALL (LEFT OF ENTRANCE).

This is a damaged inscription dated in the **11th year**. It registers an order of **Sōlakōṉ** exempting from taxes certain lands presented, after purchase, in Pirāntakanallūr, the southern hamlet of Perumbarrappuliyūr as *tiruppāvāḍaippuram* by two ladies, for providing offerings to the goddess Tirukkāmakōṭṭamudaiya-Periyanāch-chiyār. The lands were left in charge of Tiruchchirrambalamudaiyāṉ of Paṇaiyūr who undertook to measure out annually 360 *kalam* of paddy to the temple.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ஸகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீஅவ[னிய]ாளப்பிறந்தாரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்க தெவற்கு யாண்டு ?க-வது சொழகொன் ஓலெ[।°] . . . . ஜயதுங்கப்பல்ல வரையரும

2 தில்லைஅம்பலம் . . . . டையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வர கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செ[ய்வார்களு]ம் சாமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும்

3 கொயில்நாயகஞ் செ[ய்வார்களும் தி]ருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடு தந்த தாவது[।°] திருக்காம[க்°]கொட்டமுடைய பெரியநாச்சி[யார்] . . . . ர் அடிய . . பிள்ளையாழ்வி ற்றிடை

4 அரிவையும் இறங்க . . . . சசியும திருப்பாவடைப்புறத் திருநாமத்துக்காணியாசப் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர்த் தென்பிடாகை புகலொகமாணிக்க . . நா . . . . லூரான ஸ்ரீபிராந்தகநல்லூரில்

5 அண்ணியநாமத்[தால்] . . . . . ண்டு இன்நிலத்தால் வந்த படங்குகளுக்கு திருவரங்குகளு மடவியளு[ச°]ணமும் மடஅரிசியும் உள்ளிட்ட கொயில் கு . . . . ய மடங்கு[டி]யில் உ } . . . . [த்தம்]

99

6 விரிவில் வருமிற . . . . மையும்' தேவையும் பதின்மூன்றுவது நான முதல் தவிர்து
இவ்வூரில் சிவநாமத்தால் இரு . . . . . த்துடனே கூட்டிகொள்ளக்கடவதாக . . . . . .
யார் எழுதின நி-

7 யொகப்படி நிலத்து . . . . லாவ[ன]ப்படி இ . . . . ஊரில் பல
[நிலங்களி]லும் . . . . கண்டவாச்சியன் சங்கரன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் பக்கல் விலை
கொண்ட பஞ்சவன்- .

8 மாதெவி வதிக்கு மெ . . . . ளந்திர சிங்கன் வ . . . . ஞ்சாங்
கண்ணாற்று முதல்சதிரத்தும் இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்தும் உழைச்சாணன் தெவன் திருநட்டமாடி
நிலத்துக்கு அத்திபுலியூர்ப்பிள்ளை-

9 [யார்] னிலத்துக்குக் கிழக்[கு மதுராந்த]கப்பேராற்றுக்குத் தெ . . . . ர்
நிலத்துக்கு மெற்கும் சம்மாதவாய்க்காலுக்குத் தெற்கும் பலவாவை . . . . டையார்
நிலத்துக்கு மெ[ம]ற்கும் வைசூர் ஒடைக்கு வடக்கும்

10 நடுவுள்பட்ட ஆண்டதி . . . . ருடைய நிலம் அரை . . . . யண . . . . வதி
வாய்ககாலாக . . . . [கண்]ணாற்று இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்தும் முன்றுஞ்சதிரத்தும்
. . . . . . ன் இளையகூத்தன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் நில-

11 த்துக்குக் கிழக்கும் . . . யாவ . . . . க்குத் தெற்கும் பலவாவை[க்]கும் . . . .
. . லத்துக்கு மெற்கு . . . சூர் ஒடைக்கு வடக்கும் நடுவுட்பட்ட வெலிப்பொ
. . . . . . ன்று பெருடைய நிலத்து[க்கு] மெற்கடைய நில-

12 . . . . மா நிக்கி நிலம் . . . . கவும் இந் . . . . று
நிலத்துக்குக் கிழக்கும் சியார்உடையானும் திருநட் . . . . க்குத் தெற்கும்
அளப்பன ஆள்க்கொண்டான் நிலத்துக்கு

13 மெற்கும் வைய்சூர் ஒடைக்கு வடக்கும் நடுவுள்ப்பட நக்கனென்று பெருடைய நிலம் [அ]ரையும் இக்க
. . . . திசை சத்து . . . . கிழக்கும் வாச்சியன் வெ
. . . . . . த்தன் திருச்சிற்றம்ப-

14 லமுடையான் நிலத்துக்குத் தெற்கும் வாச்சியன் . . . . திருநட்டப்பெருமான் நிலத்
துக்கு மெற்கும் வைய்சூர் ஒடைக்கு வடக்கு நடுவுட்ப்பட்ட நெற்குப்பை எ[ன்]று பெருடைய நிலமு
. . . . க்குளத்தி[லெ] . .

15 தவும் உட்பட நிலம் ஆறுமாவரையும் வாச்சியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் கனகஸபாபதி பக்கல்
விலைகொண்ட இவ்வூரில் இவ்[வா]ய்க்கால் ஐஞ்சாங்கண்ணாற்று முன்றுஞ்சதிரத்தும் ஆறாங்
கண்ணாற்று முதற்சதிரத்து-

16 ம் கிடா[ர*]ங்கொண்ட சொழப்பிரமாராயன் திருநட்டப்பெருமான் நிலத்துக்கு . . . . கரும்
பூர்ப்பிள்ளையான நிலத்துக்கு மெற்கும் வைய்சூர் ஒடைக்கு வடக்கு நடுவுட்பட்ட மாம்பட்டு எ[ன்று பெ]
பருடைய நிலம்

17 எட்டு மாவும் வாச்சியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமு . . . . ய்க்கால் முன்றுங்கண்ணாற்று
முன்றுஞ்சதி[ர*]த்து விற்கின்ரூர் உள்ளிட்டார் நிலத்துக்கு கிழக்கும் சி பராந்தக[ப்பெ]ராற்றுக்கு
[மெ]ற்கும் ஆதனு[ரு*]டை-

18 யா ரக[ர] நிலத்துக்கு மெற்க்கும் பெரியாதார் நிலத்துக்கு வடக்கும் நடுவுட்ப்பட்ட மெலைத்தொட்ட
மெனறு பெருடைய நிலம் நாலுமாவும் ஐஞ்சாங்கண்ணாற்று இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்து மெற்க
[டைய] நிலத்துக்குக் கிழக்கும்

19 கெம்பிரநம்பியார் உள்ளிட்டார் நிலத்துக்குத் தெற்கும் அத்தி . . . . விண்ண . . . . .
. . . த்தாரும் . . . .

20 எட்டு மாவும் ஆ. நிலம் முன்றெ இரண்டுமாவும் எழுதின . . . . இன
. . . . க்காணிக்கிழ . . . . மும்பாவ . .
நிலத்தால் மடக்கு நிலம் . . .

21 பெருநான்மாவரைக்கு மட்கிலும் விரிவிலும் கொள்ளும் கடமை குடிமையு[ந் தவிர்த்து ப]ருணைடியார் எழுதின நியொகமும் திருக்கைஒட்டிப் பண்டாரத்திலெ ஒடுக்கவும் இந்நிலத்துக்கு [வை]ரிணைகாலால

22 முன்னூற்று அறுபதின்கலப் பொனகப்பழநெல்லு எதிராமாண்டு முதல [ஆ]ண்டுதொறும் தில்லைநாயகன பெரும்பண்டாரத்திலெ பணையூருடையான் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் அள-

23 க்க கடவதாகவும் இப்படியெ திருமாளிகை[யிலெ கல்]வெட்டக்கடவதாகப் பண்ணுவதெ இவை சொழகொன் [எழு]த்தென்று புகுந்த சுவத்திட்டின்படி கல் [வெட்டியது] உ.

No. 173.

(*A. R. No.* 108 *of* 1934–35).

ON THE SAME WALL.

This inscription, also of the **11th year**, registers a gift of land in Mithunakkudi *alias* Dānavinōdanallūr, after purchase, for a flower garden to the temple with provision for the maintenance of gardeners thereon, by **Perumāḷ-Piḷḷai** *alias* **Śōḻakōṉ**, an officer of **Peruñjiṅga**, for the welfare of his master[1].

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] ஸகலபுவனச்சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ அவனிஆளப்பிறந்தாரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவற்க்கு யாண்டு ௰௧-வது சொழகொன் ஒலை [|*] தென்னவன்ப்ரஹ்மாராயரும் ஜயதுங்-

2 [கப்]பல்லவரையரும் தில்லைஅம்பலப்பல்லவரையரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வரக் கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும்

3 [சாமு]நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களு[ம்*] கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களு[ம்] திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடு தந்ததாவது [|*] தெவர் திருமெனிக்கு நன்றாகத் திருப்பூமண்டபத்-

4 துக்கு முதலாகத் திருப்பள்ளித்தாமம் எண்ண திருச்செங்கழுநீர் . . . . . . திருநடை செய்யப் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர்ப் பிடாகைகளில் அன்னியநாமத்து விலைகொண்ட இடாரங்கொண்-

5 . . . . பெரிளமைநாட்டு மிதுனக்குடியான தானவினோதநல்லூரில் திருச்சிற்றம்பலவதிக்குக் கிழக்கு கண்டராதித்தவாய்க்காலுக்கு தெற்கு மூன்றாங்கண்ணாற்று முதற்சதிரத்து விக்கிரம-

6 சொழன் . . . . க்குத் தெற்கும் நிவாவாற்றுக்கு வடக்கும் நடுவுள்ப்பட நாழிகைவட்டமென்று பெருடைய நிலமாய் சொழகொன் திருஉடை எண்ணூறும் பெரால் செய்த வரிப்படி

7 . . . . நான்மாவரையும் கங்கைகொண்டசொழபெர்இளமைநாட்டு அச்செரிச சாந்தங்குடியான மஹிபாலகுலகாலநல்லூர்பால் ஸ்ரீ சுந்தரசொழ[வதி]க்கு மெற்கு சொழகுலசுந்தரவாய்க்காலு[க்கு]

8 . . . . தெற்கு இஞ்சாங்க . . . . . . ஞ்சதிரத்து திருப்பதங்காட்டு மஹாதெவர் பக்கல் பரிவர்த்தனை பண்ணின குலொத்துங்கசொழன் திருத்தொப்புக்கு மீண்டுகொண்ட குழியால் நிலமாய் வெளி . . .

9 [வ]ல்லாளனைவென்ற . . . . படி நிலம் நாலுமாவும் ஆகத் திருவொடைகளால் நிலம் எண்மாவரை . . . [பிரிவு] நிலம் அரை . . . . . . அரைக்காணிக் கீழ் ஒரு மாவரையெ அரை-

10 [க்கா]ணி முந்திரிகைக்கீழ் . . . . ங்கழுநீர்ப் பயிர்செய்யவும் இது செய்யும் இடத்து திருதொண்டகளில் . . . . கரைசு ஆண்டா . . . .

11 . . . . . ல் கொளளவும் . . . . ஒன்றுக்கு நாள ஒன்றுக்கு இருநூற்றுவி வந்த திருப்பள்ளித்தாமம் திருப்பூமண்டபத்துக்கு முதல்கொ . . . . இவர்களுக்கு ஆ . . . .

12 முன்பு எரின ஆள் ஒஞ்சு உடனே கூட்டிக்கொண்டு [இவ]ர்களுக்கு பெ[ாற்று]க்காட்டலாக பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் [மெ]ல பிடா . . . . த்தால் விலைகொண்டு வாசலி[ல்*] இ[று]க்கு . . . . .

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[1] See Nos. 169 and 167 above.

13 க்கு . . . . . முலபருடையார் நியோகம் எழுதி எழுத்திட்ட நியோகமும் இன்னிலத்துக்கு
. . . . நீதும் புகுந்த சாதனப்படியெ க . . . . கங்கைகொண்ட
சொழப்பெரிளமைநா-

14 . . . . டியான . . . . நல்லூர் ஸ்ரீ . . . .
ருங்கண்ணாற்று நாலாஞ்சதி[ரத்து] . . . . . பொதுவாய்க்காலுக்கு கிழக்கும் பல்லவராய
நில-

15 த்துக்குத் தெற்கும் திருச்சிற்றம்பலவதிக்கு மெற்கும் கண்டராதித்தவாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கும் ஆக
[இந்நான்கெல்]லையுள் நடுவுபட்ட கடம்பூறல் என்று பெர்கூவ[ப்]பட்ட . . . . . படி ளார்ப்
படி நிலம் அரையெ யிரண்டுமாப் . . . . . .

16 இ[வ்] . . . . . ஐஞ்சாங்கண்ணாற்று முன்றுஞ்சதிரத்து உள்ளிட்ட. . . . .
க்கிழக்கும் மிதுநக்குடி கவுசியன பொ . . . . . சியதெவன் பிராமணி. . . . .
குத் தெற்கும்(த்) திருக்கொட்டிகுழி ஜொதெவர்-

17 க்கு . . . . வாய்காலுக்கு வடக்கும் நடுவுப்பட்ட குல . . . . கூவப்
பட்ட நிலம எ . . . . டியான க்ஷத்ரியசிகாமணி . . . . . . சந்தர
சொழவதிக்குக் கிழக்கும் ராஜராஜவாய் . . . . .

18 த்தெ . . . . நாலாங்[கண்ணாற்று] நாலாஞ்சதிரத்து பொன்னம்பலக்கூத்த . . . .
முடையான் நிலத் . . . . நிலத்து நீர்வாய்க்காலுக்குத் தெற்கும் மு . .

19 . . கு . . . . . ம் கண் . . . . . வாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கும் கண்ண[பிராட்டி]என்று பெர்
கூவப்பட்ட நிலம் இரண்டுமா [ஆகூர்] . . . . இரண்டுமா . . . .
. . ஒன்றெ எட்டு மா அரைக்காணிக்கிழ் . . .

20 . . . . . . காணிமுந்திரிகைக் கிழ் நாலுமாவும் இவர்களுக்குச் சொற்றுக்கு உடலாக பயிர்செய்
. . . . . ாடை . . . . சதுக்கும் தாங்கள் . . . . கும் . . . . . மாவிந்த
கடமை . . . . முலபருடையார் எழுதின நியோகமும் திரு[ப்]-

21 [பண்டா]ரத்திலெ ஒடுக்கவும் திருமாளிகையிலெ கல்வெட்டுவதாகப் பண்ணுவதெ இவை சொழ
கொன் எழுத்தென்று புகுந்த எவறத் திட்டப்[படி] கல் வெட்டியது உ

22 இது செய்வித்தார் தெவர்முதலிகளில் பெருமாள்(ப்)பிள்ளையான சொழகொனார் உ

No. 174.

(*A.R. No.* 302 *of* 1913).

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE THIRD PRĀKĀRA IN THE SAME (NAṬARĀJA) TEMPLE.

This inscription records an order of the same officer issued in the 12th year, to the authorities of the temple at Chidambaram, to engrave on the walls of their temple a grant of land in Vīranārāyaṇanallūr, hamlet of Ālampāḍi *alias* Kulōttuṅgasōḷa-nallūr made for forming a flower garden called 'Tuḍand-aḍimai-koṇḍāṉ' for the welfare of his master. Additional lands were also provided at Poṉmēndaperumāḷ-maṅgalam in Kuruñji-vaḷanāḍu, a subdivision of Rājādhirāja-vaḷanāḍu and a portion of the produce of these lands was given for the maintenance of two servants looking after the above garden.

Ālampāḍi may be identified with the village of the same name in the Chidambaram taluk.

In l. 20 the chief, evidently the elder Peruñjinga, is referred to as Nāyaṉār Alagiyasīyar *alias* Tamilnāḍu-kāttāṉ Pallavaraiyar (i.e., the Pallava who protected the Tamil country) which is also found in the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai inscription (No. 480 of 1902).

102

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ஸகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீ அவனியாளப்பிறந்தாரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்க தெவற்கு யாண்டு ௰௨-வது ௨

2 சொழகொன் உல [1°] தென்னவன்ப்ரம்மராயரும் ஜயதுங்கபல்லவரையரும் தில்லைஅம்பலப்பல [ல°]வரையரும் உடையார்

3 திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வரர் கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் ஸமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும்

4 கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் பண்டாரப்பொத்தகமுடையார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடு தந்ததாவ-

5 து [1°] இவ்விட்டுத் திருப்பூமண்டபத்துக்கு முதலாகத் திருப்பள்ளித்தாமம் அளக்கத் திருநந்தவனஞ் செய்ய நடு[வி]லிநாடான இரா[ஜ°]ரா[ஜ°]வளநாட்டு

6 வெள்ளாற்றுக்கு வடகரையில் ஆலம்பாடியான குலொத்துங்கசொழநல்லூர்ப் பிடாகை விரநாராயண நல்லூரில் விலைகொண்ட வான-

7 வன்மாதெவிவதிக்குக் கிழக்கும் மும்மடிசொழவாய்க்காலுக்குத் தெற்கு பத்தாங்கண்ணாற்று இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்து நிலம் ஐஞ்சு-

8 மாவும் பஞ்சவன்மாதெவிவதிக்கு கிழக்கும் இவ்வாய்க்காலு[க்கு தெற்கு முதற்]கண்ணாற்று இரண்டாஞ் சதிரத்து நிலம் ஐஞ்சு-

9 மாவும் ஆக நிலம் பத்துமாவும் அடந்தடிமைகொண்டான் என்ற திருநாமத்தால் திருநந்தவனமாகச் செய்து தி-

10 ருப்பள்ளித்தாமம் ஆக்க முதல்கொண்ட பெர் இரு . . . . . [பெர்] இருவர்க்கும் இலக்கைக்கும் கொற்றுக்கும் உடலாக

11 தெவதானம் ராஜராஜவளநாட்டு குறுக்கைவளநாட்டு . . . . ரான பொன்மெந்தெ[ப்]ருமாள் மங்கலத்து ஸ்ரீ குந்தவதிக்குமெ-

12 ற்கு இரா[ஜ°]ரா[ஜ]வாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கும் ஆறுங்கண்ணாற்று நாலாஞ்சதிரத்து ஊர்ப்படி தடி ஒந்றினால் நிலம் அரையும் பஞ்சவன்மாதெ-

13 விவதிக்கு மெற்கும் இவ்வாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கும் நாலாங்கண்ணாற்று நாலாஞ்சதிரத்து தடி ஒந்றினா(ா)ல் நிலம் கால் தடி ஒந்றிநால் நில-

14 ங் கால் தடி ஒந்றினால் நிலங் கால் தடி ஒந்றினால் நிலம் ஒருமா[மு]க்காணி தடி ஒந்றினால் நீ௨-சு சில தடி க-னால் நீ௨ப-ம்

15 தடி க-னால் நீ௨ யகூ தடி க-னால் நீ௨ வ வசூ தடி க-னால் நீ௨ உதச தடி க-னால் நீ௨சு தடி க-னால் நீ௨வ [ஆ]க நீ௨ உணஒ-ம் இவ்வதிக்கு மெற்கு இவ்வாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு

16 ஙங் கண்ணாற்று நாலாஞ்சதிரத்து தடி க-னால் நீ௨ வருஷ தடி [க]-னால் [நீ௨] ௨ தடி க-னால் நீ௨வ தடி க-னால் நீ௨வ தடி க-னால் நீ௨வி தடி க-னால் நீ௨சுய தடி க-னால் நீ௨ வ சில

17 ஆக நிலம் ஒன்றெமுக்காலெ மாகாணியும் உலொகமாதெவிவதிக்கு [மெற்கு] [இவ்]வாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு ஙங்கண்ணாற்று முதல் சதிரத்து தடி க-னால் நீ௨-வ-ம்.

18 தடி க-னால் நீ௨ வ தடி க-னால் நீ௨ வந்த ஆக நிலம் முக்கா[ணி] . . . . கு மெற்கு இவ்வாய்க் காலுக்கு வடக்கு சங்கண்ணாற்று இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்து தடி க-னால் நிலம்

19 நூவ ஆக நிலம் ஆறுவெலியினால் விரிவு நிலம் [எழுமரையெ] முந்திரிகைக் கீழரை[யெ இரண்டு°] ம[ா]வும் தெவதானம் வெண்ணையூர் நாட்டு திருநல்லூரில் பலர் பக்கலும்

20 நாயநார் அழகியசி(ய்)யரான தமிழ்நாடுகொத்தான் பல்லவரையர்[2] விலைகொண்டு புகுந்த நீ௨ ஐஞ்செ முக்காலெ இருமாவரையும் ஆக நீ௨ பதின்மூன்ற-

21 ரையெ ஒருமா முந்திரிகைக் கீழ் அரையெ இரண்டுமாவும் திருநாமத்துக்காணி உடனெ கூட்டி அடை மெல் வரிசை நிறுத்துப் படியாய் உள்ள

The letters த்தி are engraved as a group letter.

[2] Cf. also the title '*Śen - tamiḻ - vâḻappiṟanda Kâḍava*' found in the Vallûr record (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIII, p. 180).

22 நெல்லு இவர்[களு]க்கு ஜீவிதமாக அடைக்கவும் [|*] இந்நிமந்தத்துக்கு எழுதின வ்யவஸ்தைக்கு [யி]த்திருக்கைஓட்டி பண்டாரத்திலே ஒடுக்கி வ்யவஸ்தைப்படியெ

23 திருமாளிகை(ய்)யிலெ கல்வெட்டக்கடவதாகப் பண்ணுவதெ [|*] இவை சொழகொன் எழுத்தென்று புகுந்த எவற்றிட்டின்படி.

24 கல் வெட்டியது ஸ தெவர்திருமெனிக்கு நன்று[க*] இது செய்வித்தார் தெவர் முதலிகளில் பெரு மாட்பிள்ளையான சொழகொனுர் உ

No. 175.

(*A. R. No.* 326 *of* 1913).

IN THE SAME TEMPLE.

ON THE EAST WALL OF THE MAHISHĀSURAMARDANĪ SHRINE.

This inscription also registers an order of **Sōḷakōṉ**, issued in the **12th year** of Kōpperuñjiṅga to the authorities of the temple at Chidambaram, regarding a gift of land in Kumāramaṅgalam *alias* Tillaiaḻaganallūr situated in Kiḍāraṅkoṇḍaśōḻa-pēriḷamai-nāḍu and forming the eastern hamlet of Chidambaram. The gift was made for maintaining a flower garden and supplying garlands to the god **Aṇḍābaraṇadēva** set up to the north of the entrance into the shrine of Antappurap-Perumāḷ in the shrine of Tirukkāmakkōṭṭamuḍaiya-Periyanāchchiyār, by Varākkiyaṉ Dēvaṉ Tiruchchiṟṟambalamuḍaiyāṉ Sarvēśvaraṉ Uḍaiyapiḷḷai of Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ஸகலலொகசக்ரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ அவனி ஆளப்பிறந்தாரா-
2 ன கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு பன்னிரண்டாவது சொழ-
3 கொன் ஓலை [|*] தென்னவன்ப்ரஹ்மமாராயரும் ஜயதுங்கபல்லவராயரும்
4 தில்லைஅம்பலப்பல்லவராயரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார்
5 கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வரக்கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ்-
6 செய்வார்களும் ஸமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வா-
7 ர்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடை தந்த-
8 தாவது [|*] திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய பெரியநாச்சியார் கொயில் அந்தப்புரப்பெருமாள்
9 திருவாசல் வடபக்கத்து எழுந்தருளியிருக்கும் அண்டாபரணதெவர்க்கு பெரு-
10 ம்பற்றப்புலியூர் வார[க்]கியன்தெவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் ஸர்வெஸ்வர-
11 ன் உடையபிள்ளை திருப்பள்ளித்தாமத் திருநந்தவனமும் திருநந்தவனப்புறமுமாக
12 இவ்வூர்க் கிழ்பிடாகை கிடாரங்கொண்டசொழப் பெரிளமைநாட்டுக் குமார-
13 மங்கலமான தில்லை அழகநல்லூரில் ஸ்ரீஜனநாதவதிக்குக் கிழக்குச் சொழகு-
14 லாந்தகவாய்க்காலுக்குத் தெற்கு இரண்டாங்கண்ணாற்று மூன்றாஞ் சதிரத்து விளை-
15 நிலமும் வடதலையில் நத்தமும் தெந்தலையில் குளமுங் கரையும் உள்பட வட[வ]-
16 ாறு என்று பெருடைய நிலம் நாலுமாக்காணியும் இக்கண்ணாற்று இரண்டாஞ் சதிரத்-
17 து இடிக்கிழவும் சரிதலையுமான நாற்றங்கால் நிலங் காணியும் ஆக நிலம்
18 நான்மாவரைக்கு எழுதித் தந்த வ்யவஸ்தையும் இன்னிலத்தால் வந்த மடக்கு
19 அரைக்காணிக்கிழ் அரையெ ஒருமா முக்காணிக்கும் பன்னிரண்டாவது
20 முதல் பாப்பிலும் மடக்கிலும் சொர்வையிலும் வரிக்கொள்ளும் காசும் நெல்-
21 லும் அரிசி பயறும் உள்ளிட்ட தெவை குடிமை தவிரவும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்-
22 பலமுடையார் கொயிலுக்கு செ[ய்]தவரும் கொயில் குடிமைகளு மடவிளி திரு-
23 [வா]ங்கரும் தில்லைநாயகர் பெரும்பண்டாரத்துக்கு முதலாக அளக்கும் [வி]ர-
24 பொக நெல்லும் இறுக்கவும் மூலபருஷையார் எழுதின நியொகமும் திருக்கை
25 ஓட்டிப் பண்டாரத்தெ ஒடுக்கி இப்படிக்கு இவர் திருமாளிகையிலெ
26 கல்வெட்டவும் கடவதாகப் பண்ணுவதெ [|*] இவை சொழகொன் எழுத்து
27 என்று புகுந்த எவற்றிட்டுப்படி கல் வெட்டியது உ

No. 201.

(*A.R. No.* 307 *of* 1913).

CHIDAMBARAM, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE THIRD PRĀKĀRA OF THE NAṬARĀJA TEMPLE.

This record of the **17th year** refers to the gift of some land in Vaḍaśōmangalam in Tiruvindaḷūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Rājādhirāja-vaḷanāḍu which Tiṭṭikka-Āḍuvār of Kūḍal purchased from Tiruchchirrambala-Mūvēndavēḷār of Kārikuḍi for providing additional offerings during the five extra *sandis* to the god Dakshiṇāmūrti in the temple of Mūlasthānam-Udaiyār at Chidambaram for which provision had been made in another record from the same place (No. 152 above dated in the 7th year of the chief).

The inscription was ordered to be engraved on the wall called 'Vikramaśōlaṉ-tirumāḷigai' by the officer **Sōḻakōṉ**.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] ஸகலபுவனச்சக்ரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீகொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு [illegible]-வது சொழ
கோன் தலை [|*] தென்னவன்[ப்ரஹ்ம]ராயரும் ஜயதுங்கப்பல்லவரையரும் இளையபல்லவ
ரையரும்

2 உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வரக் கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீ காரியஞ்
செய்வார்களும் [ஸமுதாயஞ்] செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு
செய்வார்-

3 களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடு தந்த தாவது[|*] ஸ்ரீமூலஸ்தானமுடையார் அமுது செய்தருளும் சந்திகளும்
அப்பமும் இக்கோயில் தக்ஷிணாமூர்த்திதெவர் அமுது செய்தருளவும் இதுக்கு முன்பு அமுது செய்த
ருளிவருகிற சந்தி மூன்றும்

4 அதிக ஏற அமுதுசெய்தருள முதல்கொண்ட சந்தி ஐஞ்சுக்கு கூடலுடையான் திட்டிக்க ஆடு[வார் விலை]
கொண்டு திருநாமத்துக்காணியாக விட்டு கல்வெட்டின நிலத்துக்கு அமுது செய்தருள வருகிற

5 வெண்பொனகத்துக்கும் பருப்புப்பொனகத்துக்கும் அப்பத்துக்கும் மெலெற்றமாக பாலப்பொனக
மும் அ[ப்ப]மும் . . . [ண்டன]ப்பமும் வெச்சமுது பயறும் இளநீரும் செய்பாடும் அமுது
செய்தருளவெ-

6 ண்டும் நிவந்தத்துக்கு இவர் காரிகுடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுவெந்தவெளார் பக்கல் ராஜாதிரா
[வள]நாட்டு திருவிந்தளூர்நாட்டு வடசொமங்கலத்து விலைகொண்ட நிலம் பதினொலெமுக்கலெ
நாலுமா முக்-

7 காணியும் ஊர்நத்தத்து மனைகளுக்கும் விலைகொண்ட ஸாதனமும் மூலஸாதனமும் இந்நிலமும்
மனைகளும் திருநாமத்துக்காணியாகக் குடுத்தபடிக்கு ஸாதனமும் திருக்கைகொட்டிப் பட்டாத்த
ஒடுக்கமும்[|*] இந்நிலம்

8 தெவதான இறையிலியாகத் தெவர் திருமுகம் எழுதினபடியெ பதினெழாவது முத[illegible]
மும் திருநாமத்துக்காணியாகக் கைக்கொண்டு பலபணி நிவந்தக்காறர்க்கு ஜீவிதம் அடைக்க ம்[|*]
இப்படிக்கு

9 விக்கிரமசொழன் திருமாளிகையிலெ கல் வெட்டவும் சடவதாகப் பண்ணுவதெ [|*] இப்படி செய்யப்பண்
ணுவதெ[|*] இவை சொழகொன் எழுத்து என்றும் வந்த எவற் திட்டப்படி கல்வெட்டியது உ

5 திருப்புலிப்பவநாயநார்க்கு அவனிஆளப்பிறந்த கொப்பெரு[ஞ்]சிங்கதே-

6 வர் ¹வைத்த திருநந்தாவிளக்குக்கு விட்ட பசு முப்பத்திரண்டு இன்னூள முத-

7 ல் வைய்[க்*]கொண்டு இத்திருநந்தாவிளக்கு ஒன்று சந்த்ராதித்யவரை எரிக்-

8 க[க்*]கடவொம் இக்கொயிலில் நாற்பது வட்டத்து வெவஸ்சாதூணையொரும் [|*] இவ

9 [வி]த்தசமெல்லா ரக்ஷை :—

No. 209.

(*A. R. No.* 319 *of* 1913).

CHIDAMBARAM, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE THIRD PRĀKĀRA IN THE NAṬARĀJA TEMPLE.

This inscription dated in the 19th year of **Sakalabhuvanachakravarttin Avaniāḷappirandār** *alias* **Kōpperuñjinga**, records an order of **Śōḷakōn** issued to the authorities of the temple at Chidambaram to engrave on the walls of their temple, the tax-free gift of the garden called 'Vaḷḷiyaḍimaikoṇḍān' [4] at Vikramasingapuram belonging to the god Āḷudaiya-Nāyaṇār and the land granted for the maintenance of 10 servants looking after this garden, comprising in all 47¾ *mā* of land in extent.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ¹உட ஸகலபுவன[சக்ரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீ அவனி]ஆளப்பிறந்தாரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்க தெவற்கு யாண்டு பத்தொன்பதாவது சொழகோன் நில [|*] ²தென்னவன்வெழ்ச்சாவரும்

2 நுதுங்கப்பல்லவரையரும் குருகுலத்தரையரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீ மாஹெஸ்வரக் கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் ஸமுதாயஞ் செய்-

3 வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகை[க்கூறு செ]ய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும் [கா]ணவிடு தந்ததாவது [|*] ஆளுடையநா[யனு]க்கு வழியடிமைகொண்டான் என்னும் பெரால் விக்கிரமசிங்க-

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[1] Probably பசுஸ்ரீ.

[2] This space is left unengraved.

[3] The inscription stops here.

[4] Cf. the name *Tuḍaṇḍ-aḍimai-koṇḍāṉ* mentioned in No. 174 above.

4 புரத்து [இட்டு]ட்டுச்செய்வித்த திருத்தோப்பு நிலம் [ஏரு] . . . . [ழி]ந்திருத்தோப்புக்
கு[டிகள் கைமுத]ல் கொண்டு பயிர்செய்து வருகிற பெர் பத்தரை இலக்கைக்கும் கொற்றுக்கும்
பெர்

5 [மூன்றுக்கு நன்]செய் நிலம் இரண்டு மாவாக நிலம் இருபது மாவுக்கு இ[வ்வூர்]ப் படைப்பற்றிலெ
நன்செ[ய்] நிலத்திலெ பதினறு மாவும் நீக்கி நின்ற நிலம் நாலுமாவுக்குப் புன்செய் நிலத்தி-

6 லெ . . . . ண்டு மாவும் ஆக இத்திருத்தோப்பு [உ]ட்பட நிலம் அறுபத்தெழு மாவரையும்
பதினெட்டாவது முதல் தெவதான இறையிலியாகத் தருவர் இட்டருளினபடியெ

7 திருமாளிகையிலெ கல்வெட்டுவிக்க பண்ணுவதெ[| *] இவை சொ[ழ]கோ னெழுத்தென்று இட்டுப்
புகுந்த எவற் திட்டப்படி. கல் வெட்டியது உ

No. 215.

(*A.R. No.* 103 *of* 1934-35).

CHIDAMBARAM, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE SECOND PRĀKĀRA IN THE NAṬARĀJA TEMPLE.

This inscription is dated in the **19th year** and registers an order of **Sōḻakōṉ** issued to the authorities of the temple at Chidambaram to engrave on its walls a grant of 80 *mā* of land given for a flower-garden called 'Sokkachchīyaṉ-kamugu-tirunandavaṉam' in Bhūpālasundarasōḻanallūr situated in **Vēśālippāḍip-paṟṟu.** According to the original grant the extent of this garden was only 63 and odd *mā* of land, but when measured by the '*Sokkachchiyaṉ-kōl*', it showed an increase and actually measured 80 *mā*. The *kaḍamai* tax on the increased land now noticed was remitted up to the 18th year of the chief and the inscription was also ordered to be engraved on the same wall where the original gift of this garden was engraved[1] **in the 15th year of Periyadēvar** *i.e.*, Kōpperuñjiṅga I.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ 8—ஸகலபுவனசக்ரவர்த்திகள் அவனியாளப்பிறந்தாரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதேவர்க்கு
யாண்டு பத்தொன்பதாவது சொழகொன் ஓலை [|| *] தென்னவன்பிரமமாராயரும் ஜயதுங்கப்
பல்லவரயரும் குருகுலத்தரயரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார்

2 கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹேச்வரக் கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகார்யஞ் செய்வார்களும் ஸமுதாயஞ் செய்
வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும்
கண்டு. விடு தந்ததாவது [|*] கொயிலுக்கும் திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய பெரியநாச்சியாக்கும
வெசாலிப்பாடிப்பற்று பூபாலசுந்தரசொழநல்லூ(ர்)ரில் செய்வித்த சொக்க-

3 சியன் கமுகு தி[ரு*]நந்தவனம் நிலம் அறுபத்து மூன்றுமா முக்காணிக்கீழ் முக்காலும் சொக்கச்
சியன் கொலால் அளந்த இடத்து இத்திருநந்தவனத்து சுற்றுக்குழிலக் குட்பட்டது பதினறுமா
வரைக்காணி முந்திரிகைக் கீழ்க்கால் நிலம் அளவெற்ற மூண்டாகையாலெ இந்நிலத்துக்கு பதி
னெட்டாவதுவரையும் கடமையாகக் கூட்டின காசு தவிர்வதாகவும் இந்நிலம் உட்பட என்பது:

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[1] The reference is to *A. R.* No. 467 of 1912 issued in the reign of Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva (I) and published in *S I.I.*, Vol. VIII., No. 55. See also *Madras University Journal*, Vol. XIII, pp. 98-100.

4 மா நிலமும் திருநந்தவனமாவதாகவும் திருமாளிகையிலெ கல்லுவெட்டுவிப்பதாகத் தெவர்¹ திருமுகம் வந்தமையில் இத்திருமுகம் திருக்கைக்கொட்டிப் பண்டாரத்திலெ கொத்துக்கொண்டு திருமுகப்படியெ அளவெற்றமான நிலம் பதினாறு மாவரைக்காணி முந்திரிகைக் கீழ்அரையும் உட்பட எண்பது மா நிலமும் திருநந்[ந்*]தவன மாவதாக முன்பு பெரிய-

5 தெவர்க்குப் பதினெஞ்சாவது நாளில் இத்திருநந்தவனத்துக்குத் திருமாளிகையில் கல்வெட்டின இடத்திலெ கல்லு வெட்டுவிக்கவும் கடவதாகப் பண்ணுவதெ [|*]இவை சொழகொன் எழுத்து என்று எழுதிப் புகுந்த எவற்றிட்டுப்படி கல்லுவெட்டியது உ.

No. 216.

(*A.R. No.* 105 *of* 1934-35).

ON THE WEST WALL OF THE THIRD PRĀKĀRA IN THE SAME TEMPLE.

This damaged record dated in the **19th year**, registers an order of the officer **Śōḷakōṉ** exempting from taxes the lands given for the maintenance of four gardeners looking after the garden called ' Tiruchchiṟṟambalamuḍaiyāṉ-tirunandavanam ' which was formed by **Gaṅgōḷi Tiruchchiṟṟambalamuḍaiyār** *alias* **Uḍaiyār Īśvaraśivar** of Sāvarṇṇa-gōtra and belonging to the **Southern Rāḍhā** country in Uttarāpatha, for providing garlands to the god Uḍaiyār Tiruchchiṟṟambalamuḍaiyār and the goddess Tirukkāmakkōṭṭamuḍaiya-Periyanāchchiyār.

Rāḍhā country corresponds to a portion of the present Bengal province which was formerly divided into two divisions, the northern and the southern. The portion to the north of the river Ajayā, including a portion of the district of Murshidabad was known as Uttara-Rāḍhā and that to the south as Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā².

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ த்ரிபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் அவனிஆளப்பிறந்தாரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்க . . . . . ண்டு பத்[தொ]ன்பதாவது சொழகொன் ருலெ [|*] தென்னவன்பிரம்மாராயரும் ஜயங்கொ பல்லவராயரும் குருகுல[ர]ாயரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார்.

2 கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வர கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் சாமுதாயஞ் [செய்வார்களு]ம் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடு தந்ததாவது [|*] உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார்க்கும் திருக்காம-

3 க்கொட்டமுடைய பெரியநாச்சியார்க்கும் திருப்பூ[ம] . . . த்துக்கு முதலாகத் திருப்பள்ளித்தாம[த்து]க்கு உத்தராபதத்து தக்ஷிணாரடத்து ஸாவர்ண்ணகோத்ரத்து கங்கொலி திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையாரான உடையார் ஈஸ்வரஸிவர் செய்வித்த திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் திருநந்த-

4 வனத்துக்குத் திருப்பள்ளித்தாமம் ஆய்ந்து அளக்கிற பெர் நால்வர்க்கு இலக்கை . . . . ருதராஜபயங் . . . . தமிழெலாதியான விருதராஜபயங்கரச் சதுர்ப்பெதிமங்கலத்து . . . . . ஸ்கொண்டு . . . . தெவை வருமையில் இன்னிலத்து-

5 க்கு எந்[று]ருகப் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர்ப் பிடாகை புதுமாடப்பட்டான் மண . . காடாந்த . . . . டு மாமுக்காணியும் பாலனூரான அபிமானமெருநல்லூரில் வர்பட . . . ஒன்ப . . . . வெ இரண்டேமா முக்காணியும்

6 பத்தொன்பதாவது முதல் இவர்களுக்கு இலக்கைக்கு உடலாக விடவும் இந்நிலங்களுக்குத் திரு . . . . மடவரிசியும் கொள்ளவும் புறவுடலுக்குக் கண்டும் பரபுக்கார தெவை குடிமை ஊர்விநியொகமும் தவிரவும் இந்நி[ல*]ங்கள் விலைகொண்டு

7 சாதனங்கள் திருக்கைக்கொட்டிப் பண்டாரத்திலெ ஒடுக்கின(ப்)படிக்குத் திரு . . . . ணுவதெ [|*] இவை சொழகொன் னெழுத்து என்று இட்டுப் புகுந்த எவற்றிட்டுப்படியெ [கல்வெட்]டியது உ.

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[1] The words ' Dēvar ' and ' Periyadēvar ' are used in this inscription to distinguish the ruling chief (*i.e.*, Kōpperuñjiṅga II) from his predecessor. See also p. IX, fn. 9.

[2] Takkaṇalāḍam (*i.e.*) Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā was included among the conquests of the Chōḷa king Rājēndra-Chōḷa I [*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, p. 233.]

No. 245.

(*A.R. No.* 104 *of* 1934–35).

CHIDAMBARAM, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE WEST WALL OF THE SECOND PRĀKĀRA IN THE NAṬARĀJA TEMPLE.

This inscription, dated in the 36th year, registers an order of the officer **Vēṇāḍuḍaiyān** to the authorities of the temple at Chidambaram, to engrave an inscription on the 'Vikkiramaśōḷan-tirumāḷigai', close to the record pertaining to the Brahmans of Irumarabuntūyya-Perumāḷ-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a hamlet of Koṟṟaṅguḍi. The inscription now ordered to be engraved records grant of exemption from payment of taxes on 10½ *vēli* of land[1] purchased and presented by a certain Aḻagiya Tiruvaiyāṟuḍaiyār belonging to the 'Tirunāvukkaraśu-Teṉtirumaḍam' situated in the street 'Ambalanāyaka-peruntteruvu', to certain Brahmans whom he settled in the *agrahāra* called Tillaināyaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and for offerings to the image of the god Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-Vināyakappiḷḷaiyār set up by him at the *mugakkaṭṭaṇam* on the east side of the temple. The Brahmans had to recite the Vēdas on important occasions such as when the processional image was taken out in procession in car and during the sacred bath of the deity in the temple and also to chant benedictory verses when it halted in the garden 'Kulōttuṅgaśōḷan-*tiruttōppu*'.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ஐ ஸகலலொகச்சக்ரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீ அவனிஆளப்பிறந்தாரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவற்கு யாண்டு முப்பத்தாறாவது வெணாடுடையான் ஒலை [|*] தென்னவன்பிரம்மாராயரும் ஜயதுங்கப் பல்லவரையரும் தில்லைஅம்பலப்பல்லவரையரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வர கண்காணி செய்வார்களும்

2 ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் ஸாமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் பண்டாரப்பொத்தகமுடையார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடு தந்தாவது [|*]நாயகர் திருத்தெர்எழுந்தருளும்பொது திருப்புறக்குடையில் அத்யயனம் பண்ணி செவிக்கவும் நாயகர் குலொத்துங்கசொழன் திருத்தொப்பில் எறிஅருளினால் ஸ்வஸ்தி

3 சொல்லி செவிக்கவும் இத்திருத்தொப்பில் திருமஞ்சனம் பண்ணி அருளும்பொது அத்யயனம் பண்ணவும் ஸிவலிங்களுக்கு பிள்ளையார் சிவபாதசெகரன் சித்தைத்துணைப்பெருமாள் எதிரிலி சொழன் திருந[ந்*]தவனத்து திருப்பாலிகை வலஞ்செய்ய எழுந்தருளினால் ஸ்வஸ்த்யயனம் பண்ணவும் எதிரிலிசொழன் திருந[ந்*]தவனத்து மெல்பக்கத்து தில்லைநாயகச்சதுர்வெதி-

4 மங்கலம் என்னும் திருநாமத்தால் திருவையாறுடையார் வைத்த அகரத்து ப்ராஹ்மணர்க்குப் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர்ப் பிடாகைகளில் இவர் பல[ர்*] பக்கலிலும் விலைகொண்டு குடுத்த நிலமும் இந்த ப்ராஹ்மணர் பல[ர்*] பக்கலும் உதகமாக பெற்ற நிலமும் உள்ப்பட நிலம் ஒன்பதரையும் அம்பல நாயகப் பெருந்தெருவில் திருநாவுக்கரசு தென்திருமடத்து உடையார் அழகிய திருவை-

5 யாறுடையார் திருக்கொயில் கிழ்பக்கத்து முகக்கட்டணத்து எழுந்தருளி இருக்கும் குலொத்துங்க சொழ விநாயகப்பிள்ளையாரை ராசாக்கள்தம்பிரான் திருவீதியில் நாயகர் எழுந்தருளித் திருக்கண் சாத்தி அருளும் நா[ட்*]களி[ல்*] திருக்காட்சி செவிக்கவும் திருப்பண்ணிகாரம் அமுது செய்யவும் இலாகொண்டு விட்ட நிலம் அரையும் ஆக நிலம் பதிற்றுவெலியும் முலபருஷையார் எழுதின மறறா-

6 ஸபாஸ்ரீயொகப்படியெ கொயில் [குடிமை] திருவாசற்கு வி[நி]யொகம் பழவரிசி உள்ளிட்டன தவிர்வதாகவும் விக்கிரமசொழன் திருமாளிகையில் கொற்றங்குடி[யி*]ல் இருமரபுந்தூய்யபெருமாள் சதுர்வெதிமங்கலத்து [2]ப்ராஹ்மணர்க்கு கல்வெட்டின இடத்துக்கு அருகெ கல்வெட்டுவுமடைவதாகப் பண்ணுவிப்பதெ [|*] இவை வெணாடுடையான் எழுத்து என்று புகுந்த எவற்றிட்டின்படி கல்வெட்டியது உ-

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[1] The order of the *mūlaparishat* regarding this land is found in No. 455 of 1902 (*S. I. I.* Vol. VIII, No. 43), dated in the 36th year of Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva.

[2] See *S.I.I.* Vol. VIII, Nos. 47 and 48.

156

No. 249.

(*A. R. No.* 321 *of* 1913).

CHIDAMBARAM, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON A PILLAR AT THE WESTERN ENTRANCE INTO THE SECOND PRĀKĀRA OF THE NAṬARĀJA TEMPLE.

The present inscription states that the pillar (*tirunilaikāl*) on which it is engraved was the gift of **Perumāḷpiḷḷai** *alias* **Śōḷakōṉār**, an officer (*mudali*) of Avaniālappiṟandāṉ Kōpperuñjiṅga, on behalf of his master.

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[1] This line begins in the middle.

[2] The Telugu copy reads *phalai* for *nidhi*.

157

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*]
2 அவனி ஆளப்பி-
3 றந்தான் கொப்-
4 பெருஞ்சிங்கர்க்கா-
5 க இத்திருநிலைக-
6 ால் செய்வித்தார்
7 இவர் முதலிகளில்
8 பெருமாள்ப் பிள்-
9 ளையான சோழ-
10 கோனார் இவ.

No. 250.

(*A.R. No*. 324 *of* 1913).

IN THE SAME TEMPLE.

ON THE DOOR POST OF A NEW ENTRANCE CLOSE TO THE OUTER EAST GŌPURA OF THE SAME TEMPLE.

Same as No. 249 above.

No. 251.

(*A.R. No*. 325 *of* 1913).

IN THE SAME TEMPLE.

ON THE RIGHT DOOR JAMB IN THE MAIN ENTRANCE INTO THE SIVAKĀMI-AMMAṈ SHRINE.

Same as No. 249 above.

92

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] கொ[ப்*]பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவற்கு
2 [யா]ண்டு யக-வது உடையார் திருவண்-
3 ணாமலைஉடைய நாயனார் கொயில் தெ-
4 வகன்மி அரசன் திருத்தொண்டநம்பிக்கு
5 சண்ட திருத்தான்தொன்றிசுரமுடைய-
6 நாயனார் [கொயில் காணியு]டைய சிவப்பிரா
மணா-
7 ரொம் [|*] சந்திராதித்தவரை உபையஞ்செலு
த்-
8 துவொமாக கல்வெட்டி குடுத்தபடி [|*] இவர்
ப-
9 [க]ங்க நாயகனை கைக்கொண்[ட] தொண்டு
மரக-
10 [க]ாலால் நெல்லு அறு[1]பதிந்கலத்துக்கும்
ஆட்டை-
11 [க்கு] . . . [குத்]தரிசி பொலிசையாய
இந்நாயநார் தி-
12 ருநாளிர[ண்]டுக்கும் திருச்சாந்து சாத்திய-
13 ருளி திருமந்திரபொனகமாக அமுது செய்-
14 வித்து திரு[நா]ளால் மாகெசுரற்கு எட்டு[ண்ட்]-
15 டுக்கும் குடுத்து . . . .
ற்கு எந்-
16 று எடுத்து நாங்கள் விநியொகம் பண்ணி
17 இ [திரு]அமுதுக்கு வெண்ணெய் வெஞ்சனங்-
18 கள் பொங்குறுக்[கு*]கு வெண்டு விளையுமா-
19 ணொம்[|*] இது பந்மாமெசுர ரக்ஷை[||*]

No. 166.

(*A.R. No.* 261 *of* 1913).

ŚIṄGĀRATTŌPPU NEAR CHIDAMBARAM, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE SOUTH WALL OF THE BHĪMĒŚVARA TEMPLE.

This inscription dated in the **11th year,** records a sale of 9 *mā* of land called 'Kollampallam' in Iḷaṉāṅgūr *alias* Sundaraśōlapāṇḍyanallūr situated in Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-śōḻa-pēriḷamainādu and forming the western hamlet of Chidambaram, for 5,000 *kāśu* to the temple of Tirukkaḷāñchēḍi-Uḍaiyār at Paṇṇaṅguḍichchēri *alias* Parakēsarinallūr, a hamlet of the independent village Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr, by Ālachchaṉ Poṉṉambalak-kūttaṉ Nṛittarājan of the village. It may be noted that the rights and privileges pertaining to these lands including facilities for irrigation were conveyed to the purchaser in carefully worded documentary language so as to avoid disputes later.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ சுட சகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீ கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவற்கு யாண்டு யக-வது மெஷநாய
. . .
2 தியதி ரு-லத் தனியூர் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் ஆலச்சன் பொன்னம்பலகூத்த[ன் நரு]த்தராசநென் [|*]
இவ்வூர் [பிடா]-
3 கை பண்ணங்குடிச்செரி ஆன பரகெசரிநல்லூரில் எழுந்தருளிஇருக்கும் நாயனார் திருக்களாஞ்செடி உடை
[யார் கொயி]-
4 ல் ஆதிசண்டெஸ்வரர்தெவர் திருவருளால் இக்கொயில் ஸ்ரீ மாஹெஸ்வரகங்காணி செய்வார்களுக்கும்
சிக[ாரியஞ்]-
5 செய்வாற்கும் தெவர்கன்(ம்)மி கொயில்க்கணக்கரும் நானா நிலவிலைப்பிரமாணத்திட்டுக் குடுத்த பரி
சாவது [|*] [இன்னாய]-
6 னாற்கு திருநாமத்துக்காணிஆக இறறைனாரால் விற்றுக்குடுத்த நிலம் இவ்வூர் மெல்பிடாகை கங்கை
கொண்டசொ[ழ]-

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[1] The letters றுப in அறுபதிந் are engraved over an erasure.

5 ஸ்தாநமுடையார் அமுது செய்தருளி வருகிற சந்தி எட்டும் இக்கொயில் தக்ஷிணாமுத்திதெவர் அமுது செய்தருளவும் இதுக்கு முன்பு அமுது செ-

6 தருளி வருகிற [சந்தி] மூந்று நிக்கி எற்றமாக அமுதுசெய்தருளுஞ் சந்தி [ஐ]ஞ்சுக்கும் அப்பம் இஞ் சுக்கும் வெண்டு நிவந்தத்துக்கு உடலாக கூ-

7 . . . உடையான் தித்திக்கசூடுவான் திரு[நா]மத்துக்காணியாக காரிகுடையான் திருச்சிற்றம்பல மூவெந்தவெளான் பக்கல் கொண்டு

8 விட்ட ராஜாதிராஜவளநாட்டு செயங்கல[த்து] விளைநிலம் இருபத்துமுன்றெமுக்காலெ காணி[யும்] ஊர்நத்தத்து இறையிலி மனைக-

9 ளும் உள்ப்பட திருநாமத்துக்காணியாக எழுதின ஸாஸநங்கள் திருக்கைசூட்டிப் பண்[டாரத்து] ஒடுக்க வும் [।*] இன்னிலம் தெ[வதான]

10 இறையிலியாக தெவர் தி[ரு*]முகம் எழுதினபடி [யாண்டு] எழாவது முதல் தெவதானமும் திரு நாமத்துக்காணியும் ஆக கைய்க்கொண்டு பல-

11 பணிநிவந்தக்காற[ரு]க்கு ஜீவி[தமடைக்கவும் [।*] இப்படிக்கு விக்கிரமசொழன் திருமாளிகை[யிலெ கல் வெட்ட கடவதாக ப]-

12 [ண்]ணுவதெ[।*] இப்படி சொழகொன் [எழுத்து] என்று புகுந்த வெற்(த்)திட்டின்படி கல் வெட்டி யது ॥ உ

No. 158.

(*A.R. No.* 545 *of* 1921).

TIRUNĀRAIYŪR, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE SOUTH WALL OF THE SUNDARĒŚVARA SHRINE IN THE POLLĀPPIḶḶAIYĀR TEMPLE.

This inscription dated in the **7th year,** registers a sale of 60 *mā* of land in Mugaiyūr, hamlet of Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and in Vīrapperumāḷmaṅgalam, to the temple of Mūlattānam-Uḍaiyār in Tirunāraiyūr, an independent village in Virudarājabhayaṅkara-valanāḍu 'on the northern bank,' by the temple of Tiruppulīśvaram-Uḍaiyār at Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr, an independent village in [Rājādhi]rāja-vaḷanāḍu, for one hundred and twenty thousand *kāśu.*

It may be noted that the amount is specified in multiples of thousands and that for the denomination of a 'lakh' 'one hundred thousand' is used here. The sale price works at 2,000 *kāśu* per *mā* of land.

The village Mugaiyūr may be identified with the village of the same name in the Chidambaram taluk. The village Tirunāraiyūr where this inscription is found is stated to have been a suburb of Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (*A. R.* No. 543 of 1921). Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and Vīrapperumāḷ-maṅgalam were probably other suburbs of Tirunāraiyūr.

The details of date correspond to A.D. 1249, October 19, Tuesday.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [॥*] சகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள்
2 ஸ்ரீ கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவர்க்கு யா-
3 ண்டு எழாவது துலாநாயற்று [உ—௯]-
4 அபரபக்ஷத்து த்வாதசியும் செவ்வா-
5 ய்க்கிழமையும் பெற்ற உத்திர[ட்]டா-
6 தி . . . . . . [ராசாதி]ராசவளநாட்டு தனியூர்
7 பெ[ரும்பற்றப்புலி]யூர் உடையார் திருப்பு-
8 லி . . . . . . .கொயில் ஆதிசண்டெச-
9 வர் திருவருளால் இக்கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெச்வரக-

81

10 கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்-
11 களும் தெவர்கன்மி கொயில்க்கணக்கர் உள்ளிட்-
12 டாரொம் நில்விலைப்பிரமாண இ[சை*]வுதிட்டு [।*] வடகரை வி-
13 ருதராசபயங்கரவளநாட்டுத் தனியூர் திருநாரையூர் உடையார்
14 ஸ்ரீமூலத்தானமுடையார் கொயில் ஆதிசண்டெசுவரதெவர் திரு-
15 வருளால் இக்கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெசுவரக்கண்காணி செய்வார்க-
16 ளுக்கும் [ஸ்ரீ]காரியஞ்செய்வார்களுக்கும் தெவர்கன்(ம்)மிக் கொயில்(க்)-
17 கணக்கர் உள்ளிட்டார்[க்*]கும் நில்விலைப்பிரமாணத்திட்டுக் குடுத்-
18 த பரிசாவது [।*] முதலியார் காச்சாயன் ஆதித்தப்பட்டரா[ன] திருவை-
19 யாறுடையாரும் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் உலகுடையா-
20 ன்பட்டரும் பக்கல் ஸ்ரீவிரநாராயணச்சருப்பெதிமங்கலத்துப் பி-
21 டாகை முகை[யூ]ரில் திருநாமத்துக்காணியாக கொண்டு உடையொ-
22 மான நிலத்தில் விற்றுக்குடுத்த சந்திரசெகரவதிக்கு கிழக்கு [ராச]ாதிராசவாய்[க்*]-
23 காலுக்கு வடக்கு முதல்(க்)கண்ணாற்று முதல்சதிரத்து மெலை ஆறு-
24 மாவில் தெற்க்கடைய நிலம் இரண்டுமா அரைக்காணியும் இதன்
25 வடக்கு நிலம் முக்காணி அரைக்காணி முந்திரிகை நீக்கி இதன் வட-
26 க்கு நீடு ஆறுமாவில் நிலம் முக்காணி அரைக்காணி முந்திரிகையும் இதன் வ-
27 டக்கு நிலம் ஒரு மா நீக்கி இதன் வடக்கு நிலம் ஒரு மாவும் கீழை ஆறுமா-
29 வில் தெற்க்கடைய நிலம் நாலு மாவில் மெற்[க்]கடைய நிலம் காணியு-
29 ம் இதன் வடக்கு நிலம் இரண்டு மாவும் இரண்டா-
30 ங்கண்ணாற்று முதல் [சதிர]ம் நிலம் பன்னிரண்டு மாவு-
31 ம் இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்து வடக்கடைய நிலம் நாலு மா-
32 வில் கிழ்க்கடைய நிலம் . . . . முந்-
33 திரிகையும் மூன்றுஞ்சதிரத்து இ . . . ஆறுமா-
34 வில் வடைக்கடையப் பட்டப்பாழ் நிலம் காணியும்
35 [மூன்]றுங் கண்ணாற்று முதல் சதிரம் நிலம் பன்னிரண்[டு மா]
36 வடக்கு [நிலம்*] நாலு மாவில் தென்மெற்க்கடைய நிலம் ஒரு மா
37 நடுவில் நாலுமாவி[ல்][1] அகரம் குலொத்துங்கசொழச்சருப்பெதிமங்-
38 கலம் நிலம் ஒருமாமுக்காணி[க்*]கி[ழ்*] நிலம் ஒன்பது மாக்காணியும்
39 இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்து மெலை ஆறுமாவில் தெற்க்கடைய நிலம்
40 இரண்டுமா [நீக்கி] இதன் வடக்கு நிலம் ஒரு மாவும் இதன் வடக்கு [நி]-
41 [லம்] மூன்[றுமா] இதில் கிழ்க்கடை[ய] நிலம் காணி நீக்கி இதன் மெ[ற்]-
42 [கு] நிலம் இரண்டு மா முக்காணியும் நாலாங் கண்ணாற்று முதல்
43 சதிரத்து [தெற்க்க]டைய நிலம் நாலு மாவில் மெற்க்கடைய நிலம்
44 இரண்டுமாவும் ஐஞ்சாங்கண்ணாற்று இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்து நிலம்
45 பன்னிரண்டு மா இதில் வடமெற்க்கடைய நிலம் முக்காணி நீக்கி
46 நிலம் பதினொரு மாக் காணியில் கீழை ஆறுமாவில் அகரம் விரெ-
47 பருமான்மங்கலம் முக்காணியும் [மெலை] ஆறுமாவில் வட[க்*]கடைய
48 நிலம் இருமாவரையும் ஆக நிலம் மூன்று[மா]க்காணி நீக்கி நீக்கிநில-
49 ம் எட்டுமாவும் மூன்றுஞ் சதிரம் நிலம் [பன்]னிரண்டுமாவில் தென்[கி]-
50 ழ்க்கடைய நிலம் ஒரு மா நீக்கி நீக்கி பதினொரு மாவும் ஆறு-
51 ங்கண்ணாற்று முதல் சதிரத்து வட[க்*]கடைய நிலம் [ஆ]றுமாவு[ம் ஆ]-
52 க அறுபது மாவும் விற்றுக்குடுத்தொம் திருநாரையூர் உடை-
53 ய[ா*]ர் ஸ்ரீ மூலத்தானமுடையார் கொயில் ஆதிசண்டெசுவரதெவர்க-
54 ன்மிகளுக்கு உடையார் திருபபு(ல்)லிசுவரமுடையார் கொவில் [ஆதிசண்டெ]-

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[1] The letter ல் is engraved below the line.

55 டசவரதெவர் கன்மிகளொம் [||*] இந்நிலம் அறுபதுமாவும் விற்றுக்கு-

56 டுத்துக் கொள்வதான எம்மில் இசை(ய)ந்த [illegible] பொருள் [அன்று]¹ செல்லும் ந-

57 ல்காசு ராஜஉயித்த இக்காசு நூறுயிரத்திருபதினாயிரமும் ஆவணக்களரியெ-

58 ய காட்டெற்றி[க் கைச்செ]லவறக்கொண்டு இந்நிலத்துக்கு இதுவெ ²

No. 154.

(*A.R. No.* 308 *of* 1913).

CHIDAMBARAM, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE THIRD PRĀKĀRA OF THE NAṬARĀJA TEMPLE.

This inscription registers the order of **Śōḷakōṉ** issued in the **8th year** of the chief, granting 4 [*vēli*] and 6 *mā* of land in Kaḍavāychchēri *alias* Tillaināyakanallūr, a hamlet of Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr, with the new name Tiruvambalapperumāḷpuram for settling on it the *Śāliyar* (i.e.) the weaving class, stipulating that the latter should provide cloths for the *pariśaṭṭam* of the god and goddess Tirukkāmakkōṭṭamuḍaiya-Periyanāchchiyār in the temple.

This inscription states that Śōḷakōṉ was also called Perumāḷ Piḷḷai, that he belonged to Araśūr and that he was one of the *mudalis* (officers) of the chief.

The streets named after Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva and Rājakkaḷ-tambirāṉ are also mentioned in the record.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] ஸகலபுவனசக்ரவத்திகள் அவனிஆளப்பிறந்தாரான ஸ்ரீகொப்பெருஞ்சிங்க
தெவற்கு யாண்டு எட்டாவது ௳ சொழகொன் ஓலை [||*] தெவைவான ஸபாபதியாரும் ஸபாநாயக
பல்லவரயரும் தில்லைஅம்பலப்பல்லவரயரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்ற-

2 ம்பலமுடையார்கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வரக் கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும்
ஸாமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும்
கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடு தரத்தாவது [||*] கொயிலுக்கும் திரு-

3 காமக்கொட்டமுடைய பெரியநாச்சியார்க்கும் சாத்தும் பரிசட்டத்துக்கும் வழக்கத்துக்கு உடு இடவும்
திருவம்பலப்பெருமாள்புரமென்னும் சிவநாமத்தால் எற்றுற நகரத்துச் சாலியர்க்கும் குடியிருப்
[பு] நத்தமாகப் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர்ப் பிடாகை கடவாய்-

4 ச்செரியான தில்லைநாயகநல்லூரில் சுந்தரசொழவதிக்கு மெற்கு சொழகுலசுந்தரிவாய்க்காலுக்குத்
தெற்கு நாலாங்கண்ணாற்று முதல்(ச்)சதிரத்தும் இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்தும் அஞ்சாங்கண்ணாற்று முதற்
சதிரத்தும் இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்தும் பல வரவையும் செண்டு-

5 வெளியும் ஸபெஷப்பொதுவுமான நிலத்து ராஜஸ[illegible]ர்ஜ்ஜனகுருக்கு திருந[ந்]தவனஞ்செய்து மூத
லழித்தும் திரிசமடைத்தும் ஸபெஷப்பொதுவாய்க்கிடந்த குலொத்துங்கசொழன் தெருத்திருவிதி
யில் கல்லால் செய்த மதகால் கிழக்கு மநாகம் நீர்பாய்கிற வாய்-

6 க்காலுக்கு வட[க்]கும் இத்திருவிதியில்(க்) கிழமை ஒரு(ச்) சிற[றி]ன் வால்நிலவரந்தக்கும் கிழக்குப்பட்ட
சுடைக்கும் கிழக்கு கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கன் திருவிதி தெற[்கி]லத்துக்கும் நந்த தென்மெற[்கில்] [illegible]குப்பட்ட
குளங்களுக்குத் தெற்கும் சவளிஅகரமான திருச்சிற்றம்பலச்சதுர்வெதிமங்கல-

7 த்து எல்லைக்கும் திருப்பாவாடைப்புறத்து மெலைக்கு மெற்கும் [illegible] நூறு [illegible]கொண்டதொரு
மா[வாக] நிலம் நாலெ [ஆ]றுமா முக்காணி இந்நிலம் நாலெ ஆறுமா முக்காணியில் நிலவடைய
எழுந்தருளியிருக்கும் ஸ்ரீமாஹெஸ்வர விஜயப்பிள்ளையார் ஸ்ரீ

8 கொயிலும் திருமுற்றமும் சிவப்பிராமணர் குடியிருப்பு நத்தமும் நிலம் முக்காணி நீக்கி நிலம் நாலெ
ஆறுமாவில் பலபணிநிமந்தக்காறற்கு ஜீவிதமடைத்த நிலமாய் மாறிக்கூட்டின நிலம் ஒன்றெ
நாலுமா முக்காணி அரைக்காணியும் முதலழிந்த கமுகு ஜீரு-

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[1] Engraved above the line.

[2] The inscription stops here.

88

9 நந்தவனத்தும் வலைப்பொதுவும் பலரும் குடிஇருப்பு நத்தமான நிலத்து ராஜாக்கள்தம்பிரான் **திருவீதியில்த்** தெற்கில்த் திருவிதியில் ஆளுடையபிள்ளையார் மனை இறைகொண்டு வருகிற மனைகளாலும் நீர்நிலையாலும் மாறிக்கூட்டின நிலம் முன்றெ ஒருமா-

10 வரையெ அரைக்காணியும் ஆக நிலம் நாலெ ஆறுமா எட்டாவது முதல் நகரத்துக்குக் குடிமிருப்பு நத்தமாகக் காணியாகப் பெறவும் [|*] பலபணிநிமந்தக்காறர்க்கு ஜீவிதமாறிக்கூட்டின நிலத்துக்குத் தலைமாறு இவர்களுக்குச் சேர்வான இடங்களிலே ஜீவிதமடைத்துக்

11 குடிக்கவும் [|*] இப்படிக்குத் திருமாளிகையிலெ கல்வெட்டக்கடவதாகவும் பண்ணுவதென்று தேவர் முதலிகளில் அர[சூ]ருடையார் பெருமாள்ப்பிள்ளையான சோழகோனார் கோயிலுக்குச் சாத்துப்பரி சட்டமும் வழக்கத்துக்கு உடு இடவும் எற்றிவித்த சாலிகர்க்கு நகரமாகச்

12 செய்த குடிஇருப்பு நத்தத்துக்கு எழுதிப்புகுந்த திருக்கைஓட்டியில் ஒடுக்கின எவல்த்திட்டுப்படி கல்வெட்டியது உ

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[1] *A.R.* No. 45 of 1903. [2] [Perugai may be Peruganūr itself Ed.] [3] No. 149 above.

No. 179.

(*A.R. No.* 530 *of* 1920).

KAṬṬUMANNĀRKŌYIL, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE BASE OF THE SOUTH WALL OF THE CENTRAL SHRINE IN THE VĪRANĀRĀYAṆASVĀMIN TEMPLE.

This inscription, dated in the **13th year**, registers a sale of 60 *mā* of land in Vīranārāyaṇanallūr situated to the west of the river (?) Madhurāntaka-vaḍavāṟu for 45,000 *kāśu* to the temple of Dvārāpati (also called Tuvarāpati)-Emberumāṉ by Śrīḷaṅgō-Bhaṭṭaṉ *alias* Vikramaśōḻap-Piramādarāyaṉ (Brahmādhirājan) of Kirāñji, hamlet of Vīraśikhāmukhachchēri in Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, an independent village in Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu 'on the northern bank'.

The astronomical details point to A.D. 1255, July 30, Friday as the date of the record, but the *tithi* dvādaśī commenced only the next day.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] சகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீ கோப்-
2 பெரு[ஞ்]சிங்கதெவற்கு யாண்டு பதின்மூன்றாவது ஸிம்-
3 ஹநாயற்று அபரபக்ஷத்து த்வாதஸியும் வெள்ளிக்கிழமை-
4 யும் பெற்ற [illegible]த்து நாள் வடகரை விருதராஜபயங்-
5 கரவளநாட்டுத் தனியூர் ஸ்ரீவீரநாராயணச்சதுர்வெதி-
6 மங்கலத்து ஸ்ரீவீரஸிகாமுகச்செரிக் கிராஞ்சி சிரிளங்-
7 கொபட்டனான விக்கிரமசொழப் பிரமாதராயனென-
8 ன நிலவிலைப்பிரமாணம் இசைவுதிட்டு [|*] ஸ்ரீத்வராவதி எம-
9 பெருமானார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீசெனாபதி ஆழ்வார் ஸ்வாமிகளுக்கு
10 நான் நிலவிலைப்பிரமாணம் இசைவுதிட்டுக் குடுத்த பரிசாவது [|*] இ-
11 ற்றைநாளால் இன்னாயனார்க்குத் திருநாமத்துக்காணி-
12 யாக நான் விற்றுக்குடுத்த நிலமாவது [|*] மதுராந்தக-
13 வடவாற்றுக்கு மெல்கரைப்பட்ட வீரநாராயண-
14 நல்லூரில் எங்கள் மாதாக்கள் அபாவத்துக்கு எ[ங்க]-
15 ளுபாதியான நிலத்தும் நான் விற்றுக்குடுத்த அன-
16 ந்தநாராயண விளாகம் என்று பெர்கூவப்பட்ட நத்தம் உட்பட
17 மெ[ம]ற்கடைய நிலம உ௰உ-மா இந்நிலம் இருபத்திரண்டு மாவும் அடம்படிக்கண்டத்துத்-
18 தெற்கடைய நிலம் ௰௫-மா இந்நிலம் பதினஞ்சுமாவும் ஆற்றங்கரைக்கண்டம் தக-
19 ழிக்கண்டம் உட்பட நிலம் ௰௫-மா இந்நிலம் பதினைஞ்சுமாவும் வடக்கில் நத்தத்து மெ-
20 ற்கடைய நிலம் அ-மா இந்நிலம் எட்டுமாவும் ஆக நிலம் ௬௰-[மா] இந்நிலம் அறுபதுமாவும் வி-
21 ற்றுக்குடுத்தென் [|*] ஸ்ரீமத்துவராபதி எம்பெருமான்கொயில் ஸ்ரீசெனாபதி ஆழ்வார் ஸ்வாமிகளுக்கு [|*] கி-
22 [ரா]ஞ்சிச் சிரிளங்கொபட்டனான விக்கிரமசொழப்பிரமாதராயனென் [|*] இந்நிலம் அறுபதுமாவும் திரு-
23 நாமத்துக்காணியாக விற்றுக் குடுத்துக்கொள்வதான [எ]ம்மிலிசைந்த விலைப்பொருள் அன்றாடநற்-
24 காசு ௪௰௫௲ இக்காசு நாற்பத்தைஞ்சாயிரமும் ஆவணக்களியே காட்டேற்றிக் கைச்செலவறக்கொ-
25 ண்டு விற்று விலைப்பிரமாணஞ் செய்து குடுத்த இந்நிலத்துக்கு இதுவே விலையாவதாகவும் இதுவெ பொருள்
26 மாவறுதிப் பொருள்ச் செலவோலை யாவதாகவும் [|*] இதுவல்லது வெறு பொருள் மாவறுதிப் பொருள் செலவெ-
27 ாலை காட்டக்கடவதல்லா[த*]தாகவும் [|*] இப்படி இருகாலா[வ]தும் முக்காலாவதும் விலைக்கு விற்றுப் பொருளற-
28 [க்*]கொண்டு விற்றுக்குடுத்த இந்நிலத்துக்கு இவர்கள் வேணும் என்ற பொதெ பிரமாணம் பண்ணிக் குடுக்க-

167 :

29 க்கடவெனாகவும்[|*] குடுத்திலெனாகில் இந்நிலவிலைப்பிரமாண இசைவுதீட்டெ பிரமாணமாவ தாகவும் [|*] இந-

30 நிலங்களுக்கு முன்பிலாண்டுகளும் நீர்பாயும்படியெ பாயவும் வாரும்படியெ வாரவும் கடவதாகவும் [|*] இறை-

31 க்கும்படியெ இறைக்கவும் வழி இசங்கும்படிகளிலெ இசங்கவும் கடவர்களாகவும் [|*] இந்நிலத்து மெனொக்கி-

32 ன மரமும் கிழ்நொக்கின கிணறும் மற்றும் இந்நிலம் அறுபதுமாவில் எப்பெர்ப்பட்ட உரிமைகளும் மற்றும் வரு-

33 மானவரி இருந்தளவும் பொகமும் பொகவிருத்தியும் அகப்பட விற்றுக்குடுத்தென் [|*] ஸ்ரீமத்துவாரபதி

34 எம்பெருமான் கொயில ஸ்ரீசெனாபதி ஆழ்வார் கன்மிகளுக்கு [|*] கிராஞ்சிச சிரிளங்கொபட்டனை விக்கிரம சொழப்பிரமாராயனென்[|*] இவை யென் எழுத்து உ இப்படி அறிவென் கொடிஞாராமச்செரி இராயூர் எஜுமூர்த்திபட்டனென் [|*] இப்படி அறிவென் ஸ்ரீவிரசிகாமுகச்செரி-

35 க் களத்தூர் அழகியமணவாளபட்டனென்[|*] இப்படி அறிவென ஸ்ரீபுவனசூடாமணிச்செரித் திரு வெள்ளறைச் சபாபதிபட்டனென்[|*] இப்படி அறிவென ஸ்ரீகற்பகச்செரி பிரெமபுறத்து சிராமபட்டனென் [|*] இப்படி அறிவென் மருதூர் சங்கரநாராயணபட்டனென்[|*]

36 இப்படி அறிவென் நா[ர]ணமங்கலத்து விற்றிருந்தான் பட்டனென்[|*] இப்படி அறிவென் ஸ்ரீமூரசூடாமணிச்செரி இருஞ்சியூர்ச் சிராமபட்டனென் [|*] இப்படி அறிவென் கொறுகொட்டிச் சந்திரபூஷண பட்டனென் [|*] இப்படி அறிவென் ஸ்ரீவிரசிகாமுகச்செரி இரஸக்கை

37 திருவெண்காடு பட்டனென் [|*] இப்படி அறிவென் கொறுகொட்டித் தாமொதரபட்டனென் [|*] இப்படி அறிவென் உமியூர் மாதவபட்டனென் [|*] இப்படி அறிவென் உமியூர் திருவெண்காடு பட்டனென் [|*] இப்படி அறிவென் உமியூர் யஜ்ஞநாராயணபட்டனென் 1 உ

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[1] Some of the inscribed stones are misplaced in the middle.

[2] Milāḍu *alias* Jananātha-vaḷanāḍu roughly comprised the modern South Arcot and portion of the Salem districts A family of chieftains called *Malaiyamāns* with Tirukkōyilūr as their capital rose to power in this region and they came to prominence by rendering help to one or the other of the principal powers of South India. Ancient Tamil works like *Agar-ṉāṉūṟu*, *Puṟanāṉuṟu*, etc. and inscriptions from the time of Parāntaka I (*A. R.* No. 279 of 1902) onwards mention these chiefs. They had marriage connections with the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas, and they also claimed connection with the Chēdi family. It may be pointed out that the rulers of the distant Sumatra and Java were known as Śailēndras (Tam. *Malaiyamān*) in about the 9th century A.D.

[3] The letter க is engraved below the line.

No. 184.

(*A. R. No.* 504 *of* 1926).

ŌMĀMPULIYŪR, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ĀRCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE SOUTH WALL OF THE CENTRAL SHRINE IN THE PRAṆAVA-VYĀGHRAPURĪŚVARA TEMPLE.

In this inscription of the **14th year** is registered a gift of land as *tirunāmattukkāṇi* to the temple of Uḍaiyavaṉ Vaḍataḷiüḍaiya-Nāyaṉār by Tiruvalañjuḻi-Uḍaiyār Ichchipperṟarayar of Āḻiśupākkam, after purchase from a Brahman lady named Āḷappiṟandāḷ-Śāni, wife of Bālāśriyaṉ Tirumāliruñjōlai-Nambi and the daughter of Karuṇākara-Nambi of Perumarudūr in Ulagaḷandaśōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a brahmadēya in Mēṟkā-nāḍu, a subdivision of Viruda[rājabhayaṅkara]-vaḷanāḍu 'on the northern bank'. Ulagaḷandaśōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam may be identified with Ōmāmpuliyūr itself.

The date of the record, according to the astronomical details given, is A.D. 1257, March 18, Sunday.

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[1] See No. 261 below.

[2] *A.R.* No. 41 of 1893 ; *S.I.I.* Vol. IV, No. 854.

[3] The inscription is built in at the beginning.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ:உ சகல[புவனச்சக்]கரவத்திக[ள் ஸ்ரீ] கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு ௰௪-ஆவது மின
நாயற்று பூர்வபக்ஷத்து த்ரயோதசியும் நாயற்றுக்கிழமையும் பெற்ற ஸ்வா-

2 திநாள வடகரை விருத[ராஜபயங்]கரவளநாட்டு மெற்கானாட்டு ப்ரஹ்மதெயம் ஸ்ரீ உலகளந்தசொழச்ச
துர்வெதிமங்கலத்து பெருமருதூர் கருணாகரநம்பியை முதுகண்ணாக உடைய இவர்

3 மகள பாலாஸ்ரீயன் திருமாலிருஞ்சொலைநம்பி ப்ராஹ்மணி ஆளப்பிறந்தாள்சானி பக்கல் உடையார்
உடையவன் வடதளி உடைய நாயனார்க்கு திருநாமத்துக்காணி[யாக] அழிசு-

4 பாக்கமுடையார் திருவலஞ்சுழியுடை[யார்] இச்சி[ப்]பெற்றரயர் உடையார் திருநாமத்து விலை
கொண்டு குடுத்த திருச்சிற்றம்பலவதிக்கு மெற்கு ராஜெந்த்ரசொழவாய்க்க-

5 ாலுக்கு தெற்கு இரண்டாங்கண்ணாற்[று] முன்றுஞ்சதிரத்து வடக்கடைய நிலம் ஒருமாமுக்காணியும்
இத[ந்] நெனமெ[ர்க்கு]ச் சார்பட்டப்பாழ் நிலம் காணி முந்திரிகையும்

6 ஆக நிலம் இ[ரண்டுமா] முந்திரிகையும் இந்நிலத்துக்குடலாய் கிழ்கரையில் தெற்க்கடைய மனையில்
பாதியும் இச்சிப்பெற்றரயர் ஆதிசண்டெசுவரதெவர்

7 கன்மிகள் பெரால் கொண்டு குடுத்தார்[||*] ப்ரமாணம் எழுதினென் இவ்வூர் ஊர்கணக்கு மூவலூருடை-
யான் முன்னூற்றுப்பவப்பிரியன் எழுத்தென்றும் இவருக்கு மு-

8 துகணபட்டு விற்ற பெருமருதூர் கருணாகரநம்பி எழுத்து என்றும் அறிவுக்கு எழுத்திட்ட இப்படி
அறிவென் கொவிந்தன் சிவ்ல்லிபுத்தூர் நம்பி[||*] கவுணியன் ஸ்ரீக்ருஷ்ணபட்டர்[||*] பாலாஸ்ரீயன்

9 திருவெண்காடுபட்டர்[||*] பாலாஸ்ரீயன் தில்லைவாழந்தண நம்பி[||*] சிறுகொட்டையூர் ஸுப்ரஹ்மண்ய
பட்டஸொமயாஜியார் உ

No. 185.

(*A.R. No.* 506 *of* 1926).

ON THE SAME WALL.

This record, also dated in the 14th year, seems to be an incomplete copy of No. 186 following.

The details of date given here are not regular.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] ஸகலபுவனச்சக்கரவர்த்திகள்
2 ஸ்ரீ கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவற்கு யாண்டு ௰௪-வது
3 ரிஷபநாயற்று அபரபக்ஷத்து பஞ்சமியும் புதன்
4 கிழமையும் பெற்ற மூலத்து நாள விருதராஜபய-
5 ங்கரவளநாட்டு மெற்காநாட்டு ப்ரஹ்மதெ-
6 யம் ஸ்ரீஉலகளந்தசொழச்சதுர்வெதிமங்-
7 கலத்து உடையார் உடையவன் வடதளியுடை-
8 யார்கொயில் ஆதிசண்டெஸ்வரதெவர் கன்மிகளுக்கு இவ்-
9 வூர் வாதலன் அரசாழ்வான் ஆராவமுதாழ்வானென் [||*] இன்னய-
10 னார்க்கு பூஜைக்கும் திருப்பணிக்கும் உடலாக நாந [illegible]
11 ல் நிர்வார்த்துக் குடுத்த நிலம் மாகாணி அரைக்காணி [illegible] இந்நாய-
12 னார் திருவாபரணம் விற்று என் பக்கல் விலை கொண்ட நிலம் ஒருமாவரை-
13 க்காணி முந்திரிகையும ஆக நிலம் ஒரு மாவரை முந்திரிகை இந்நிலமாவ-
14 து நாந் [illegible] நம்பிக்கு தனிசுகுடுத்த கா-
15 [illegible] பெரில் தன நம்பி திருச்சிற்றம்பல-
16 . . . [1] இட பாதாய . . . [1] [illegible] பக்கமும் . . . [1] [2]

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[1] Left unengraved.

[2] The inscription is left incomplete.

111

No. 1[illegible].

(*A.R. No.* 505 *of* 1926).

ON THE SAME WALL.

In this damaged inscription, the chief's name is lost, but the **regnal year 14** is preserved. It registers three transactions, viz., (1) a gift of land by Arasāḷvāṉ Ārāvamudāḷvāṉ to the temple of [Uḍai]yavaṉ Vaḍataḷi-[Uḍaiyār] at Ulagaḷandasōla-[chaturvēdimaṅgalam] for offerings and worship ; (2) a purchase of some land from the same person by the *dēvakanmis* of the temple from money realised by the sale of temple jewels ; and (3) a gift of another bit of land which was received from a certain brahman to whom this person had given a loan. All these lands were now given for offerings and worship in the temple. Since this inscription appears to be identical with the previous one, the former may be attributed to Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [சகலபுவ]னச்சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீ . . . . தெவற்கு யாண்டு ௰௪-வது இ[ஷ]
. . . . புதன்கிழமையும் ெ . . . . . .

2 த்துநாள் விருத[ராஜபய]ங்கரவளநாட்டு . . . . ஸ்ரீ உலகளந்தசோழச் .
. . . . யவன் வடதளியுடை. . . . .

3 ல் ஆதிச[ண்டெஸ்வர]தெவகன்மிகளுக்கு . . . . சாழ்வான் ஆராவமுதாழ்வா
னென் [|*] இந்நாயனார்க்கு பூஜைக்கும் திருப்பணிக்கும் உடலாக நாந் திருப்ப-

4 டியில் [நீர்வார்த்துக்குடுத்த] . . . . 'நாயனார் திருவாபரணம் விற்று என்
பக்கல் விலைகொண்ட நிலம் ஒருமா வரைக்காணி முந்திரிகையும் ஆக நிலம் ஒருமாவரை

5 முந்திரிகையெ . . . . லகாலெ . . . . நடபிக்கு
தனிசு குடுத்த காசுக்கு தன் மகன் ஆமருவிநிரைமெய்த்தான் பெ[ரி]ல் தன் தம்பி திருச்சிற்றம்பல
நம்பி பக்கலும் பா-

6 ரதாயன வெண்ணைக்[கூ] . . . . ஆமருவிநிரைமெய்த்தான் என்[று]த் இர்வு
·இட்டு தந்த திருச்சிற்றம்ப[ல*]வதிக்கு மெற்கு இராசெந்திரசோழவாய்க்காலுக்கு தெற்கு

7 முதற்கண்ணாற்று நாலா[ந்து]ண்ட . . . . ங்கண்ணாற்று நாலாந்துண்டத்து
நிலம் முக்காணியும் ஆக நிலம் இருமாவரை முந்திரிகையும் இப்படிகளால் குடுத்-

8 தென் இந்த ஆராவமுதா[ழ்]வானென்[ன்][|*] . . . . எழுதினமைக்கும் இவ்வாராமு
. ழ்வான் வைணஜியானமக்கும் இவ்வூர் உலகளந்தசோழவின்னவர் எம்பெரும-

9 ஈன் திருமுற்றத்து காணியுடைய திருவுடையானில் மெள . . . . கூர்நம்பி எழுத்து
என்றும் இப்பிரமந் திரிவிட்டுக் குடுத்த காசுக்குப் ஆமருவிநிரைமெய்த்தான் எழுத்தென்றும் காசப்
பந் அடிசி-

10 யதிருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் பட்டன் எழுத்தென்றும் . . . இட்ட கவுணியன் சி ஞாஜுபட்டந் வெரு
மருதூர் கீருணகரநம்பி சிறுகொட்டையூர் சுப்பிரமண்ணியபட்டர் சோமயாஜியார்[1] | உ

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[1] Some of the inscribed stones are lost.

No. 258.

(*A.R. No.* 503 *of* 1926).

ŌMĀMPULIYŪR, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE WEST AND SOUTH WALLS OF THE CENTRAL SHRINE IN THE PRAṆAVA-VYĀGHRAPURĪŚVARA TEMPLE.

The date of this damaged inscription is lost. It gives an instance of how the temple came to the rescue of persons placed in financial difficulties. The record states that certain Brahmans of Ulagaḷandaśōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Mēṟkā-nāḍu, a subdivision of Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu 'on the northern bank', had stood surety for some tenants who went away without paying the dues on their lands. The duty of paying the arrears of dues devolved upon these persons, who when pressed for payment tried in vain to transfer the lands to others. Finally they requested the trustees of the temple, evidently at Ōmāmpuliyūr, to advance them money by taking at least a portion of the land as *tirunāmattukkāṇi*. The trustees thereupon sold some ornaments in the treasury which were perhaps not in use, and with the proceeds, assisted the Brahmans by buying the land for the temple.

In this inscription Ōmāmpuliyūr is called Ulagaḷandaśōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

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[1] For Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ, *see A.R.* Nos. 133 of 1900, 313 of 1902, 43 and 73 of 1903, 63 of 1919 and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIV, pp. 22 ff.

[2] The letter *u* is engraved below the line.

168

Text.

1 [ஸ்வஸ்தி] ஸ்ரீ ஸகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீகொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவற்கு யாண்டு . . . . .
. அபரபக்ஷத்து பஞ்சமியும் . . . . திநாள வடகரை விருதராஜப
[ய*]ங்க[ர*]வளநாட்-

2 டு மெறகாநாட்டு ப்ரஹ்மதெயம் ஸ்ரீஉலகளந்தசொழச்ச[துர்வெ]திமங்கலத்து கௌணி[ய] . . . .
. . கெ[illegible][ன*]சவாரணநம்[பி] . . . . காஸ்யபன் தில . .
. . . நம்பியும் கா-

3 ஸ்யபன் தெவநாயகன அகிலநாயகபட்டனும் இவனிவொம் புனை[விலை] ப்ரமாண இசைவுதீட்டு[*]
[illegible] . . . . யுடையார் கொயில் ஆதிசண்டெச[ர] . . . . : . . . . . விலை
யா[illegible] . . . . நிலை[illegible]று [பிறு]-

4 . . . . டையான சொழப்ரஹ்மாராய . . . . [குட]ந்தை [ஆ]ளவந்தான்
. . . . [ரி]ல் பயிர் எழுதி ஒவர் அறு . . . . . . கடமை இறுத்து பொந்த நிலத்துக்கு
எங்களை புனைபடுத்த கடமை நெராக இருந்தெ பொகையில் இப்பொரால் [சி]னைக்கு

5 . . . . ங்களையும் பதிநமுன்றுவது புனைப்பட அகிலநாயகபட்டனை . . .
. . . . [ப]பால் சினைக்கு [வெறு] பிறி . . . . ங்களை வித[மு]ம
பண[ணி] காசு தரவெணும்என்று சொல்லுகையில் நாங்களும பல இடங்களிலும கொளவாரை

6 ஆரா[ந்த]டுத்து புனைவிலைகொள்வாரை ஒருத்தரையும் காணாமை[யாலெ] இந்நாய[னா கொயி]லில
தா[னத்தார்] பக்கலெ வந்து தாக்க . . . ங்களை மிறுக்கப்பண்ண நின்றார்களென்றும் இப
பெரில் நிலத்திலெ சிறுது நிலம் திருநாமத்து-

7 க்காணியாகக் கொண்டு காசு தரவெணுமென்றும் நாங்கள் வெண்டிக்கொண்டமையில் [தான]த்தா
ரை ஸ்ரீப[ண்டார]த்து உடை[ம]யிருப்பதில் [இந்நா]யனார் சாத்தி யெழுந்தருளியிருக்கிற திருவாபர
ணம் சிறுது உண்டு இந்தை விற்றெயாகிலும் நாயனாற்கு திருநா-

8 மத்துக்காணியாக சிறுது நிலங் கொள்ளவெணுமென்றும் உண்டு உங்களுக்கு மிறுக்காமிருக்கு . .
ல இத திருவாபரணத்தை விற்றெயாகிலும் இந்நிலங் கொளளுகிறெமென்று இவர்கள சொல்லு
கையில

9 [இவ]களுக்கு புனைவிலையா[க விற்]றுக் குடுத்த நிலமாவ[து இ]வ்வூர் பவித்திரமாணிக்கவதிக்குக்
கிழக்கு சொனாடன் வாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு முதற்க[ண்ணாறு]ற்று முதற[சதிர]த்து மனையும் பட்டப்
பாழும் . . . . .

10 . . . . . காணியாளர்க்காணிக் கிழமையும் ஒருமாவரை முந்திரிகையும் இந்நிலத்து மெனொக்கி
ய[illegible]ம் கீழ்நொக்கிய கிணறும் உட்பட எப்பெற்பட்ட உரிமைகளும் அகப்ப(ட்)ட புனைவிலையாக
விற்றுக் குடுத்தொம் ஆ[திசண்டெஸ்வரெ]-

11 . . . . . . வ்வனைவொம் இப்பிரமாணங்கள எழுதின இவ்வூர் கணக்கு முவலூருடையான்
மு[illegible]ற்றுவபிரியன் எழுத்தென்றும் இவ்வூர் [க]ணக்கு செற்றுடையான பாம்பிரியன் [கண]
க்கு அவ்வி[illegible]ஜநடைய

12 . . . . . . சிகாஷபட்டன [வெ]ப்பொறி பட்டன எழுத்து என்றும் இப்படிக்கு இவை கடிகை
[illegible] எழுத்து என்றும [illegible] . . . . [1] . . . .
. . . [1] லெ . . . [1] நயிநம . . . . [1]

13 [illegible] அகிலநாயகபட்டன எழுத்து என
றும அ[illegible] காஸ்யபன சி[illegible] -[2]

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[1] Left unengraved. End of lines 9-12 are not fully engraved.

[2] The inscription is left unfinished.

17 டிக்கு இவை க . . . . எழுத்து[|*] இப்படிக்கு இவை கோயில்க்கணக்கு
திருநின்றவூருடையான எழுத்து[|*] இப்படிக்கு இவை தெவர்கன்மி முடிவழங்குசொழபட்டன்
எழுத்து[|*] இப்படி . . . . . .

18 வாகன்மி தில . . . . ன் எழுத்து[|*] இ . . . . வசி
மாவெழுந்தகண்காணி கொயிற்கணக்கு மாம்பாத்தடையான் எழுத்து[|*] இப்படிக்கு இவை ஸ்ரீகாரி

No. 254.

(*A.R. No.* 534 *of* 1920).

KĀṬṬUMANNĀRKŌYIL, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE CENTRAL SHRINE IN THE VĪRANĀRĀYAṆASVĀMIN TEMPLE.

This damaged inscription registers the *kaḍaiyīḍu* granted by the officer (*mudaliyār*) **Ilāḍattaraiyar** under the following circumstances: Owing to some offence of . . . . . Brahmārāyan, his lands measuring 34 *mā* in extent were ordered to be sold in the 15th year and 295th day of the rule of the chief. According to the decision of the officer mentioned above to sell those lands to temples which had surplus money left, the temple of Tuvarāpati Emberumān purchased them for 20,000 *kāśu* from the amount provided for buying ornaments to the god Mannanār. On the representation of the trustees of the temple that the planting of boundary stones and the engraving of this transaction on temple walls had not yet been carried out, Ilāḍattaraiyar now issued a *kaḍaiyīḍu* for completing the procedure. The document is signed by the accountant Ālattuḍaiyān and Umiyūr Tiruveṇkāḍu-Bhaṭṭan.

Text.[1]

1 ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ||== ஸகலபுவநச[க்ர]-
2 க்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீகொ-
3 . . . . . ங்கதெவற்கு . . .
4 . . . து நாள் கூயிரு-னால் ஸ்ரீ[விர]-
5 நாராயணச்சருப்பெதிமங்க-
6 லம் கற்கடகநாயறு முதல் ம ராமகா-
7 . . . . . நூற்றிருபது பெருமா-
8 ள் எழுத்து நம்மூர் ஸ்ரீமத்துவாராபதி எம்பெ-
9 ருமான் கொயிலத் தானத்தார் கண்டு மு . .
10 . . . பதினைஞ்சாவது நாள் [உாகூயிரு] இரு[னா*]ல் இர-
11 . . . . [ஹ்மாராயன்] லெ குற்றஞ்-
12 . . . . ன்று தெவற்கு விண்ணபபஞ்செய்-
13 . . . . . இவனைப்பிணைத்துத் தண்[ட]லி[ல்]
14 . . . ளைய்மதென்றும் இவன் காணியா . .
15 . [ம விற்று]ச் சிலகாசு தண்டமாக மு[தல்]-
16 லிடுவியாதென்றும் திருவுள்ளமாய் தண்டமாக நிச-
17 சயித்த காசு ஊரிலெ கூட்டித் தண்டித்தெரித்து ந-
18 [illegible]
19 லெ இவன் காணியான நிலங்கள் கொள்ளவல்ல-
20 ாற்கும் தெவகாஸ்தானங்களில் உடல் மிகுதி உள்ள கொ-
21 யிலுகளுக்கு விற்றதென்றும் முதலியார் இலா-
22 டத்தரையர்க்கு ஊ[ர் கூடி] இறுத்து நிச்சயித்தகாசில்
23 மன்னனார்க்கு பெரு[மா]னொரும் பதினைந்து காசு

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[1] The inscription is damaged and some of the inscribed slabs are misplaced.

SECTION II.

Later Pallava Chiefs.

KOPPERUNJINGADEVA I.

No. 119.

(*A.R. No.* 285 *of* 1921).

Āttūr, Chingleput Taluk and District.

On the north and west walls of the Muktīśvara temple.

This record is dated in the **5th year** of **Sakalabhuvanachchakravartin Kōpperuñjiṅgadeva** and it records the gift of the village **Āttūr** *alias* **Rājarājanallūr** in Āṟṟūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Ūṟṟukkāṭṭūk-kōṭṭam in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōla-

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· No. 123 below.

57

maṇḍalam, by **Aḻagiyaśīyan Avaniāḷappirandān Kāḍavan Kōpperuñjiṅgan,** for constructing, as a gōpura with 7 storeys, the southern entrance called '*Sokkachchīyan-tirunilai*' of the temple of Tiruchchirrambalam-Udaiyār at Perumbarrappuliyūr (i.e., Chidambaram). The Pāṇḍya emblems of a pair of fish and goad found in relief on the jambs and beams of this gōpura indicate that the construction must have been started in the reign of a Pāṇḍya king. It is stated that this inscription, besides being engraved at Āṟṟūr, was also ordered to be recorded in the temple of Tiruvēgamba-muḍaiya-Nāyaṉār, probably Ēkāmranātha at Conjeeveram. A copy of the record is found at Chidambaram wherein [1] the engraving of the present inscription at Āttūr is also referred to. The document is attested by Kōpperuñjiṅga, Kurukularājan and Villavarājan.

The wording in this inscription where the chief himself figures as donor is peculiar. This form, though not uncommon, is not often met with in inscriptions.

From the surname Aḻagiyaśīyan and the probable reference to this gōpura of seven storeys in a record [2] of the 24th year of Rājarāja III, i.e., A.D. 1240, the present inscription has to be assigned to Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva I[3].

Text

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ: [||*] ஸகலபுவநசக்ரவர்த்தி கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு ௫வது தனியூர் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார்க்கு அழகியசீயன் அவனியாளப் பிறந்தான் காடவன் கொப்பெருஞ்-

2 சிங்கனென் [|*] இவ்வுடையார் கொயில்த் தெற்கில்த் திருவாசல் சொக்கச்சீயன் திருநிலை எழுகொபுர மாகச் செய்யத் திருப்பணிக்கு உடலாக பூர்வதெசமும் சொழமண்டலத்து ஊற்றுக்காட்டுக்கொட்டத்து ஆற்றூர் ... ஆற்றூரான ராஜராஜநல்லூர்க்கு எல்லை [|*]

3 ஈஞ்சலாற்றுக் கீழ்ச்சரைக்கு மெற்க்கும் செய்யாறு நீரொடுகாலுக்கு வடக்கும் வில்லியன்பாக்கத்து எல்லைக்குக் கிழக்கும் சாத்தனம்பாக்கத்தும் கொங்காணி எல்லைக்கும் தெற்க்கும் நடுவுபட்ட தரப்படி நிலம் முன்னூற்றறுபத்து நால்வெலி இதில் உள்ளூர்த்-

4 தெவர்கள் தெவதானங்களும் திருவிளையாட்டங்களும் பிடாரிபட்டி துக்கைபட்டி பள்ளிச்சந்தம் உள்ப்பட நிலம் நாற்பத்தாறு வெலியும் அகரம் ஸ்ரீராஜவிச்சாதிர சதுர்வெதிமங்கலம் நிலம் பன்னிரு வெலியும் செட்டப்பிரான்பட்டருக்கும் மாடமானை வரதராசபட்டருக்-

5 கும் வாங்கிப்புறத்து அருகைபட்டருக்கும் ஸர்வமாநி நிலம் ஒரு வெலியும் கடிகையார் இறையிலி நிலம் முக்காலெகாலும் ஆக நிலம் அறுபத்திரண்டெகால் நீக்கி நீக்கு[நிலம்*] நிலம் முன்னூற்றிரண்டெ முக்காலும் கொல்லைப் புன்செயும் காசாயங்களும் வெட்டி பாடிகாவலும் அரிப்பாடிகாவலும் உள்ப்பட

6 நெல்லாயங்களும் காசாயங்களும் இவ்வூர்த் தெவர்கள் தெவதானம் அகரங்கள் உள்ப்பட்ட இறையிலிகளுக்கு முன்பு கொண்டுவரும் ஆயங்களுள்ப்பட அனைத்தாயங்களும் உள்ப்பட தெவதான இறையிலியாக அஞ்சாவது ஆடிமாஸமுதல் சந்த்ராதித்யவரை செல்வதாக இட்டொம் [|*] உடையார் திருவெகம்பமுடைய

7 நாயனார் கொயிலிலும் ஆற்றூரில் திருமுத்தீஸ்வரமுடையார் கொயிலிலும் கல்லும்வெட்டி நாற்பால் எல்லையிலும் திருச்சூலஸ்தாபனமும் பண்ணி கொயில்(ப்) பண்டாரத்தார்க்கு எறக்கடவ குடிமை பொக்கறுப்பார்களாகச் சொன்னொம் [|*] இப்படிச் செய்வித்த [|*] இவை கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்க னெழுத்து

8 என்றும் இவை குருகுலராஜ னெழுத்து என்றும்

9 இவை வில்லவராஜ னெழுத்து என்றுமிவந்த திரு-

10 முகப்படி கல் வெட்டியது

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[1] *A. R.* No. 463 of 1902.

[2] *A.R.* No. 1 of 1936-37.

[3] [It is interesting to note that among the boundaries is mentioned the tax-free land of a *ghaṭikā*.—Ed].

No. 246.

(*A.R. No.* 191 *of* 1904)

TIRUVAKKARAI, VILLUPURAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE SOUTH BASE OF THE 1000-PILLAR MANDAPA INSIDE THE SECOND PRĀKĀRA OF THE CHANDRAMAULĪŚVARA TEMPLE.

The present inscription which is **not dated** gives the surnames **Kāḍavan Avaṉiyāḷappiṟandāṉ, Sarvajña, Khaḍgamalla**[1] and **Kṛipāṇamalla** to Kōpperuñjiṅga II. It records that the chief constructed a sluice, with a feeder channel, to the tank at Oḻugarai. In the Sanskrit version appended to the epigraph the channel is stated to have been named 'Tribhuvananṛipanātha.' The village Oḻugarai is in French India about 2 miles from Pondicherry. It was also known as Kulōttuṅgaśōḻanallūr (*A.R.* No. 175 of 1904), evidently after Kulōttuṅga-Chōḻa I.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [|*] சகலபுவனச்சக்கரவத்தி காடவன் அவ[னி]யாளப்பிறந்தான் கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கன் ஸர்வஜ்ஞ கட்கமல்லன் ஒழுகரை

2 ஏரிக்கு மதகுஞ்செய்வித்து இவ்வெரிக்கு திரிபுவனகாலுங் கல்லுவித்தபடி [|*] [illegible]

3 [illegible] [|*] [illegible] க்ருபாணமல்ல: || [illegible]

4 [illegible] [|*] [illegible] [||*]

No. 247.

(*A.R. No.* 198 *of* 1905).

TRIPURĀNTAKAM, MARKAPUR TALUK, KURNOOL DISTRICT.

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE KITCHEN IN THE TRIPURĀNTAKĒŚVARA TEMPLE.

This is a Grantha inscription praising the greatness of **Mahārājasiṁha**, i.e. **Kōpperuñjiṅga** (II), son of Jīyamahīpati by his wife Śīlavatī. Jīyamahīpati is the same as the Tamil Śiyaṉ in the name Aḻagiya-Śiyaṉ. No donation to the local temple is recorded in this inscription, but its eulogistic character is emphasised by engraving a Nāgarī[2] and Telugu[3] version of it in the same temple. The chief is called an ornament of the Kāṭhaka race, *Avanyavanasaṁbhavaḥ, Sarvajña, Khaḍgamalla, Niśśaṅkamalla*[4] etc. He claims to have 'destroyed the pride of the Karṇāṭa king' and to have been a 'Sun to the lotus tank of the Chōḻa family'. He was a devotee at the feet of the god at Chidambaram, where he built the **eastern gōpura**[5] resembling Mount Mēru from the riches obtained by the conquest of his enemies and called it after his own name. The decorations on the four sides of this gōpura are said to have been made with the booty acquired by subduing the four quarters and from riches used in his *tulārōhaṇa*-ceremony. The inscription also refers to the gifts made by the chief to the temples, among others, at Drākshārāma, Ēkāmra (Conjeeveram), Vīraṭṭāṇam, Śvētajambu (Jambukēsvaram), Madura and Kāḷahasti. His inscriptions are not, however, found in the last mentioned three places; but they are found at Tirupati close to Kāḷahasti wherein he is styled 'Kāñchi-Nāyaka.'

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[1] See also No. 120 above and Nos. 73 of 1889 and 198 of 1905. Cf. also the title 'Vāḷvalli pperumāḷ' given in the Tiruvannāmalai record (*A. R.* No. 480 of 1902).

[2] *A. R.* No. 202 of 1905.

[3] *A. R.* No. 197 of 1905.

[4] Nissankapratāpa was the title of the Hoysaḷa kings Ballāḷa II (*A. R.* Nos. 123 and 126 of 1913), Vīra-Narasiṁha (No. 116 of 1913) and Sōmēśvara (No. 519 of 1912) with the latter two of whom Kōpperuñjiṅga came into conflict. The title Niśśaṅkamalla is also found in a record from Tiruvannāmalai (*A. R.* No. 480 of 1902). It is, however, not clear whether it has any reference to the contemporary ruler of Ceylon with the same name. But it may be mentioned that Parākrama-Bāhu, king of Īḻam sided with Kōpperuñjiṅga I in the latter's attempt to imprison the Chōḻa monarch (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 168).

[5] The south, west and north gopuras here were built by Kopperuñjiṅgadēva I, Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I and Kṛishṇadēvarāya respectively.

[6] The mention of Madura indicates Kōpperuñjiṅgas friendly relationship with the Pāṇḍyas.

His Drākshārāma inscription is dated in Saka 1184 (A.D. 1262) and since his gift at this place is referred to in the present record, the latter has to be placed after that date, if not at a later time in the very same year.

Two important statements made in this inscription establish Kōpperuñjinga's relationship with the Chōḷas and the Pāndyas. He claims to have elevated in the south a Chōḷa prince 'who was shuddering with fear' (l. 9). The Chōḷa prince referred to was evidently Rājēndra-Chōḷa III who must have received assistance from the Kāḍava chief, probably against Rājarāja III. He also calls himself a *sūtradhāra* in the installation (*sthāpanā*) of the Pāṇḍyarāya. This suggests that Kōpperuñjinga should have proceeded to the north as an advance-guard of the Pāṇḍya ruler Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

Text.

1 [illegible] ||[1*] [illegible]

2 [illegible]

3 [illegible]

4 [illegible] ||[2*] [illegible]

5 [illegible][1] ||[3*] [illegible][2] [illegible]

6 [illegible] ||[4*] [illegible]

7 [illegible] ||[5*] [illegible]

8 [illegible]

9 [illegible] ||[6*] [illegible]

10 [illegible] ||[7*] [illegible]

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[1] An additional verse is given here in the Telugu version of this inscription. It reads :—

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ||

[2] The Telugu copy reads [illegible].

[3] The same copy reads [illegible].

[4] Do. [illegible] here.

[5] Do. [illegible].

[6] See No. 246 above.

11 [1] [illegible]

12 [illegible] || [illegible] [illegible]

13 [illegible] || [illegible] [illegible]

14 [illegible] [|*] [illegible] || [illegible] [illegible]

15 [illegible] [|*] [illegible] || [illegible] [illegible]

16 [illegible] [|*] [illegible]

17 [illegible] || [illegible] [|*] [illegible]

18 [illegible] || [illegible] śrī śrī [||*]

No. 249.

(*A. R. No.* 321 *of* 1913).

CHIDAMBARAM, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON A PILLAR AT THE WESTERN ENTRANCE INTO THE SECOND PRĀKĀRA OF THE NAṬARĀJA TEMPLE.

The present inscription states that the pillar (*tirunilaikāl*) on which it is engraved was the gift of **Perumāḷpiḷḷai** *alias* **Sōḷakōṉār**, an officer (*mudali*) of Avaṉiāḷappiṟandāṉ Kōpperuñjiṅga, on behalf of his master.

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[1] This line begins in the middle.

[2] The Telugu copy reads *phalai* for *nidhé.*

No. 159.

(*A.R. No.* 312 *of* 1913).

CHIDAMBARAM, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE THIRD PRĀKĀRA IN THE NAṬARĀJA TEMPLE.

This inscription, dated in the **10th year**, records an order issued by **Sōḻakōṉ** for the welfare of his master. It pertains to an exchange of 140-7/8 *kuḻi* of land in Paḷḷippaḍai *alias* Vikramaśōḻanallūr in which was situated the temple of

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[1] The letter ஏ is engraved below the line.

[2] Ends of lines 8 to 10 and the beginnings of lines 11 and 12 are built in.

[3] Lines 11 and 12 are found on the north wall.

Piḍāri Tiruchchirrambala-Mākāḷi, for an equal extent of land (i.e., 141 *kuḻi*) purchased from the temple of Vāraṇavāśi-Mahādēva, according to the *sādhana* given by Pāraśavan Tiruchchirrambalamuḍaiyān *alias* Kanakasabhāpati-paṇḍitan who had the *kāṇi*-right of the former temple. This land was made tax-free by order of the officer **Śōḻakōn**, for the welfare of Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva. The inscription reveals the existence of a committee called 'Nilavaravu-kūṭṭap-perumakkaḷ' which was probably in charge of land income. Some of the temple authorities mentioned here also figure in the time of Rājarāja III and Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya in a few records of the village[1]. The documents connected with this transaction were ordered to be preserved in the temple treasury.

The Piḍāri temple is stated to have been situated on the southern side of the 'Vikkiramaśōḻan-teṅgu-tiruvīdi', along which the god (at Chidambaram) was taken in procession to the sea during festival days.

Vikkiramaśōḻanallūr is here called Paḷḷippaḍai, but in No. 275 of 1913 belonging to Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I dated in the 14th regnal year it bears the alternative name of Akkan-Paḷḷippaḍai. From this it may perhaps be inferred that the remains of the elder sister (*akkan*) of Vikrama-Chōḻa were interred here and that the village called after the king as 'Vikkiramaśōḻanallūr' was founded at this locality.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[॥*] ஸகலபுவன சக்ரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ அவனிஆளப்பிறந்தாரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவற்கு யாண்டு பத்தாவது சொழகொன் ஒலை [॥*] தென்னவன்ப்ரஹ்மாதிராயரும் ஜயதுங்கப்பல்லவரையரும் தில்லைஅம்பலப்பல்லவரையரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹேஸ்வரக்கண்காணி செய்வார்களும்

2 ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் ஸாமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடு தந்ததாவது [॥*] நாயகர் திருக்கடலாடு எழுந்தருளும் விக்கிரமசொழன் தெங்குதிருவீதித் தென்[பக்கத்து] எழுந்தருளிவித்த பிடாரி திருச்சிற்றம்பலமாகாளி ஸ்ரீகொயிலும் திருமுற்றமும் தி-

3 ருமடைவிளாகத்திலும் அகப்பட்ட பள்ளி[ப்*]படையான விக்கிரமசொழநல்லூரில் சந்த்ரசொழவதிக்குக் கிழக்கு(க்) கண்டராதித்தவாய்க்காலுக்குத் தெற்கு முனாறுங்கண்ணாற்று முதற் சதிரத்திலும் இவ்வதிக்கு மெற்கு இவ்வாய்க்காலுக்குத் தெற்கு முனாறுங்கண்ணாற்று முதற் சதிரத்திலும் கூட்டின நிலம் நிலவரவு கூட்டப்பெருமக்களு-

4 ம் கணகாணிக்குக் கடவாரும் அளந்து கண்ட குழி நூற்றுநாற்பதெ முக்காலெ அரைக்காலுக்குத் தலைமாறு [॥*] இக்கட்டளையில் வாரணவாசி மஹாதெவர் கொயில்தானத்தார் பக்கல் இந்தத் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமாகாளி வடுணஸ்வாப்பெருவிலை கொண்ட இவ்வதிக்குக் கிழக்கு இவ்வாய்க்காலுக்குத் தெற்கு முனாறுங்கண்ணாற்று முதற் சதிரத்து இ-

5 ந்த வாரணவாஸி மஹாதெவர் திருக்குளத்துக்கும் திருநந்தவனத்துக்கும் திருமடைவிளாகத்து வாசிகை வதிக்குக் கிழக்கும் இந்த விக்கிரமசொழன் தெங்குதிருவீதி எல்லைக்குத் தெற்கும் கூத்தாடு நாயகன் திருவொடை மெலை எல்லைக்குலேக்கு மெற்கும் இந்த வாரணவாசி மஹாதெவர் தேவதான விலைநிலத்துக்கு வடக்கும் நடுவுபட்ட

6 குழி நூற்றுநாற்பத்தொன்றும் பத்தாவது ஸிம்ஹநாயற்று பூர்வபக்ஷத்து நியதி முதல் இக்கொயிற் காணிஉடைய பாரசவன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையானான கநகஸபாபதி பண்டிதனை எழுதுவித்துத் தந்த ஸாதனப்படியெ வ்ரதிக்ஷேத்ராமாகக் கைக்கொண்டு இதுவும் இந்நிலம் விலைகொண்ட ப்ரமாணங்களும் இந்நிலம் ஸர்வமானியந்த

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[1] *A.R.* Nos. 283, 285 and 293 of 1913.

7 கடமை குடிமை கழியப் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர் மூலபருடையார் எழுதின நியோகமும் திருச்
ஓட்டிப் பண்டாரத்திலெ ஒடுக்கவும் [|*] இப்படிக்கு விக்கிரமசொழன் திருமாளிகைப் புறவாயில்
வடக்கில திருமாளிகையிலெ கல் வெட்டவும் பண்ணுவதெ[|*] இவை சொழகொன் எழுத்தென்று
புகுந்த எவறத்திட்டுப்படி கல் வெட்டியது [|*] இது தெவர்

8 திருமெனிக்கு நன்றாகப் பெருமாள்பிள்ளையான சொழகொனார் செய்வித்தது :—

No. 160.

(*A.R. No.* 327 *of* 1913).

ON THE EAST WALL OF THE MAHISHĀSURAMARDANĪ SHRINE IN THE SAME TEMPLE.

This inscription registers another order of **Sōḻakōṉ** issued to the authorities of the temple at Chidambaram, in the **10th year** of Peruñjiṅga to engrave on the walls of the temple the gifts of land made by four persons for offerings and a flower garden to the shrine of **Aṇḍābaraṇadēva** situated to the north of the entrance into the chamber of god Antappurap-Perumāḷ, in the shrine of Tirukkāmakkōṭṭamuḍaiya-Periyanāchchiyār in the temple. The lands presented were situated in Nallāḷi *alias* Vikramaśōḻanallūr, hamlet of Perumbarrappuliyūr, Kōyilpūṇḍi *alias* Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇinallūr, Vaḍakkilkuḷam and Aḻakkuḍi, hamlet of Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḻapaṭṭiṇam.

The shrine on which this record is engraved now contains an image of Mahishāsuramardanī, but in the time of Kōpperuñjiṅga it must have contained an image of Aṇḍābaraṇadēva.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [|*] ஸகலபுவநசக்ரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீ அவனிஆள-
2 ப்பிறந்தாரான கொப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு ப-
3 த்தாவது சொழகொன் ஓலை [|*] தென்னவன்ப்ரஹ்மமாராய-
4 (ர்)ரும் ஜயதுங்கப்பல்லவராயரும் தில்லை அம்பலப்பல்லவ-
5 ரையரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கொயில் ஸ்ரீமா-
6 ஹெச்வர கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும்
7 ஸமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கொயில்நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களு-
8 ம் திருமாளிகைக்கூறு செய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு வி-
9 டு தந்தநாவது [|*] திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய பெரியநாச்சியா-
10 ர் கொயில் அந்தப்புரப்பெருமாள் திருவாசலுக்கு வடபக்கத்-
11 து எழுந்தருளியிருக்கும் அண்டாபரணதெவர்க்குத் திருப்ப-
12 ள்ளிகாரப்புறமாகவும் சிறப்பாகத் திருத்தொள்மாலை செய்-
13 து சாத்த திருநந்தவனமும் திருநந்தவனஞ் செய்து இவர் தி-
14 ருப்பூமண்டபத்தெ திருப்பள்ளித்தாமம் அளப்பார்க்கு ஜீவ-
15 னத்துக்கும் பெரும்பற்றப்புலியூர்ப் பிடாகை நல்லாளியான
16 விக்கிரமசொழநல்லூரில் ஸ்ரீசுந்தரசொழவதிக்குக் கிழக்கு இ-
17 ராஜராஜவாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு ஆறாங்கண்ணாற்று இரண்டா-
18 ஞ் சதிரத்து சடையன கொண்டுவிட்ட விளைநிலமும் கொல்லையும்
19 ளைப்படி நிலம் எழுமாவும் இவர்கெ திருமெனிக்குக் கொண்ட கு-
20 ழி நாற்பத்தைஞ்சு[ம்] கொயில்பூண்டியான க்ஷத்ரியசிகாமணிந-
21 ல்லூரான ஸ்ரீசுந்தரசொழவதிக்குக் கிழக்கு ராஜராஜவாய்க்-
22 காலுக்கு வடக்கு நாலாங்கண்ணாற்று மூன்றாஞ் சதிரத்தும் நா-
23 ஞ் சதிரத்தும் அறுபதா கொண்ட குழி நூறும் வடக்கில்
24 குளத்தில் இருபது கூறிட்ட ஒருகூறுமான குளமும் இந்தக்கு-
25 ளவொபாதி திருநிமையும் தெவதானம் ஜயங்கொண்டசொ- - - - - - —

APPENDIX IX

Texts of Three Inscriptions of Pallava Chief Kopperunjinga

Not copied by A.S.I.

i) Cidambaram, third prakara, west wall,
ii) Cidambaram, second prakara, east wall, and
iii) Cidambaram, third prakara, north wall,
and
iv) Text of the Draksharama Record of Kopperunjinga (Saka 1184 = A.D. 1262) (S.I.I., IV, 1342, 1342 A, 1342 B; 419, 419 A and 419 C of 1893)

(Source: "Kopperunjinga" by S.R. Balasubrahmanyam pp. 86, 87, 88, 89, 90 and 96, 97)

86

Text of a few uncopied Inscriptions.

CIDAMBARAM—UNCOPIED—THIRD PRAKARA—WEST WALL

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ[ஸகலபுவனச் சக்கரவர்த்திகள்] ஸ்ரீ[அவனியாளப் பிறந்தாரான] கோப்பெருஞ் சிங்கதேவற்கு யாண்டு ஐந்தாவது ... ...

சோழகோன் ஓலை

2. தென்னவன் ப்ரஹ்மமாராயனும் ஜயதுங்கப் பல்லவரையனும் தில்லை அம்பலப்பல்லவரையனும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கோயில் ஸ்ரீமாஹேச்வரக் [கண்]

3. காணிசெய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்களும் ஸாமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கோயில் நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக் கூறு செய்வார்களும் கோயில்[கணக்கரும்]

4. ஜயங்கொண்ட சோழமண்டலத்து ஊற்று[க்காட்டுக்]கோட்டத்து பாலையூர் நாட்டு பாலையூரான ராஜேந்திர சோழநல்லூர்[உடைச்சா]னான் பொன்னம்பலக்கூத்தனது ... ... குருகுல

5. நாயன் கோயிலுக்கும் திருகாமக்கோட்ட முடையபெரி(ய) நாச்சியார் கோயிலுக்கும் சிறப்பாக திருப்பள்ளித்தாமம் அளக்க [கோயிலுக்கு] ஆள் அரையும் திருக்காமக்கோட்டமு[டைய]

6. நாச்சியார் கோயிலுக்கு ஆள் அரையும் ஆக ஆள் ஒன்றுக்கு கோற்றுக்கு நிலமாகவும் திருநந்தவனத்துறைக்கும் வடகரை ராஜாதிராச வளநாட்டு தனியூர்பெரும்பற்றப் புலியூர்........ட

7. ......பேர் இளமைநாட்டுக் கண்ணங்குடியான மண்ணைகொண்ட சோழநல்லூர்ப்பால் பஞ்சவன் மாதேவிவதிக்கு மேற்கும் கண்டராதித்தன் வாய்க்காலுக்குத் தெற்கும் நாலாங்

8. கண்ணாற்று......சதிரத்து நடுவிற்ப்புலமென்று பேர்கூவப்பட்ட நிலத்துக்கு எல்லை வாச்சியன் திருந... ...ம் பலமுடையான் நிலத்துக்குக் கிழக்கும் நிலா... ... ...

9. ஆற்றுக்கு [தெற்கும்] நீர் அறுதிக்குமேற்கும் ஐயாறன் வாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கும் ஆக இவ்விசைந்த இன்னான்கெ......உடைச்சாணன் பட்டன் சோமையாசி திருச்சிற்ற ... ...

10. [ம்ப]லமுடையான் தேவாதி தேவன்பக்கல் வாச்சியன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் திருவரை ... ... சன் காசு பதின்மூ[வா]யிரத்து ... ... க்கும் விலைகொண்ட ஊர் படிநிலம் நான்மாவரை

11. … … வடக்குப்பிடாகை கிடாரங்கொண்ட சோ
ழப்பேர் இளமைநாட்டுந … … கரைபான ஜநநாத நல்லூர்ப்
பால்[திருச்சிற்றம்பலவதிக்குக்] கிழக்கு உத்தமசோழ வாய்க்காலுக்
குத்தெற்கு

12. … … கண்ணாற்று இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்து … ....
குழி … … கொ … … பேர் கூவப்பட்ட நிலத்துக்குச்
சிறுவழிக்குக் கிழக்கும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பல முடையார் திரு

13. … … மேற்கும் பிறக்கின … … ....
கோல்லைக்கு … .. க்கும் ஆக இசைந்த இன்னங்கெல்லையும்
நடுவுபட்ட தொற்பட்டைபாரதாயன் சோமன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடை;

14. … … … யான்பேரில் இரண்டாபிரத்து இரு
[ஆற்றுக்]கு விலைகொண் … … லைகுழி … …
நார…இருநூ … .... திருநந்தவனச் சேய்துதிரு

15. ப்பள்ளித் தர்மம் அளக்கவும் விளைநிலம் நான்மாவரையும்
சோற்றுக்கு [முத] லாகவும் இன்னிலத்துக்கு விலை … …
… … … … சாதனங்க … … டுக்கி
இப்

1 படிக்கு திருமாளிகையிலே கல்வெட்டப்பண்ணுதே உ இ
.. … … … எழுத்தெ … … … …
… … … … படிகல்

CIDAMBARAM—UNCOPIED—SECOND PRAKARA —EAST WALL

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீஸகலபுவனச் சக்கரவர்த்திகள் அவனியாளப்
பிறந்தாரான ஸ்ரீ கோப்பெருஞ்சிங்கதேவற்கு யாண்டேட்டாவது. சோழ
கோன் ஓலை தென்னவன் பிரஹ்மமாராயரும் ஜயதுங்கப்பல்லவரயரும்
தில்லை அம்பலப்ப

2. ல்லவரயரும் உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார் கோ
யில் ஸ்ரீமாஹேசுவரக் கண்காணி செய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்வார்
களும் சாமுதாயஞ் செய்வார்களும் கோயில் நாயகஞ்செய்வார்களும்
திருமாளிகைக் கூறு செய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடு

3. தந்ததாவது கோயிலுக்கும் திருகாமக்கோட்டமுடைய பெ
ரிய நாச்சியார்க்கும் சாத்தி அருளத்திரு பூமண்டபத்துக்கு முதலாகத்
திருப்பளித்தாமமளக்கப் பெரும்பெற்றப் புலியூர் பிடாகை மணலூ
ரான கங்கைகொண்ட சோழ நல்லூரில் செய்வித்த

4. சோழகோன் திருநந்தவனத்துக்குத் திருநந்தவனத்தறைக்குட
லாகப்பொன் பெருமாள் திருநந்தவனத்துடன் கூடின மகளங்
க்நாரன் தி சவனக்குடிகளுக்கு இவ்வூரில் பலவாலையான் நில
த்து ஜீவிதமா பறிக் கூடின நி

5. வல் அரையே இருமாவரையின் கீழ்முக்காலும் திருக்களா
ற்செடியுடையார் கோயில் வடபக்கத்து எழுந்தருளி இருக்கும் வி
(க்னே)சுவரதேவர் கோயில் ஸ்தானத்தார் பக்கல் விலைகொண்ட ஊர்ப்
படி நிலம் அரைமாவின் கீழ் ஒன்பது மாக்காணி

6. அரைக்காணியினால் விரிவுநிலம் எழுமாவரையே அரைக்
காணி முந்திரிகைக் கீழரையும் உமைச்சாணன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடை
யானுக்கு மன்னி தேவன் பக்கல்விலைகொண்ட ஊர்ப்படிநிலம் அரை
மாவின் கீழ் முக்காலினால் விரிவுநிலம் அரைமா

7. வரைக்காணி முந்திரிகைக்காலும் நாவலுடையான் திருநந்த
வனமாகக்கொண்ட நிலமாய்க் கூடின நிலம் இரண்டு மாக்காணியும்
ஆக நிலம் ஒன் மூன்றுமாவரைக் காணி முந்திரிகைக் கீழரையும்
திருநந்தவனமாகச் செய்யவும் இதிருநந்தவன

8. த்துக்கு விலைகொண்ட ஸாதனமும் குடிக்காணியில் விலை
கொண்ட நிலத்துக்கு மடங்குவரி கழிக்க மூலபருஷையார் எழுதின
நியோகமும் இத்திருநந்தவனஞ் செய்கிற திருநந்தவனக்குடிகளுக்குக்
குடியிருப்பு நத்தமாக பரகேசரிநல்லூர் மாசிலாமணியாண்டா

9. ரகரம் தில்லைவாழந்தணச் சருப்பேதி மங்கலத்துப்பலர் பக்
கலும் விலைகொண்டு உடைய தென்சிறகிலும் மேல்சிறகிலும் மனை
கோல் முப்பதேமுக்காலே இரண்டு மாவினால் குழி இருநூற்றெழுபத்
தேழரையே மூன்றுமாவும் விலைகொண்ட ஸா

10. தனமும் திருக்கை ஒட்டிப்பண்டாரத்தே ஒடுக்கவும் இப்
படிக்குத் திருமாளிகையிலே கல்வெட்டவும் கடவதாகப்பண்ணுவித்தே

CIDAMBARAM—UNCOPIED—THIRD PRĀKĀRA—
—NORTH WALL

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ; உ ஸகலபுவன சக்கரவர்த்திகள்

ஸ்ரீ[அவனியாளப்] பிறந்தாரான கோப்பெருஞ் சிங்கதேவர்க்கு யாண்
டுபடு (12)வது சோழகோன் ஓலைதென்னவன் ப்ரம ...... தில்லை அம்
பலப்ப ... ...

2. கோயில் நாயகஞ் செய்வார்களும் திருமாளிகைக் கூறுசெய்வார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடுச்சதாவது உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார்க்கு சாத்தி அருள [விருதராஜபயங்]கர வளநாட்டு ஸ்ரீ ... ...த சுத்த மலிநல்லூர்

3. நல்ல ஆக்கிப்பறித்து திருப்பூமண்டபத்தக்கு முதலாக ஆளக்கத் திருநந்தவனக் குடிகளில் முதல்கொண்ட பேர் பத்துக்கும் நாயகப் பேர்[ஒன்றுக்கும்] இலக்கைக்கும் கோற்றுக்கும்......பெண் சக்கரவத்தி மங்கல ... ... ஆதிமங்கலவன் தேவ ...

4. முஞ்சுத்த விலைகொண்ட விருதராஜ ... ... ஸ்ரீ வீரநாராயணச் சருப்பேதி மங்கலத்து வேறுபிறிந்த உடை[யார் திருச்சிற்றம்பல]முடையார் தேவதானம் பெண் சக்கரவத்திமங்கலத்து ... சந்திரசேகர வாய்க்கா

5. இரண்டுமா முக்காணி இதில் தெற்கடைந்த ஒரு ... ... அரைமாவும் பத்தாங் கண்ணாற்று இரண்டாஞ் [சதிரத்து] ... ... ஆறுமாவில் தெற்கடைய நிலம் இருமா வரையில் மேற்கு இதன்மெற் ... ... இதன் வடக்கும் ஒருமா

6. மும்மாவரையும் இம்மங்கலத்து சிறுகாமூரில் மூன்றாங்கண்ணாற்று மூன்றாஞ்சதிரத்துக் கீழை ஆறுமாவில் தெற்கடைய கிழக்கடைய ... ... ககீழரையும் இதின்.

7. நீக்கி நிலம் காணி முந்திரிகைக் கீழரையும் ஆக நிலம் ஒருமா முந்திரிகை .... வரை முந்திரிகையும் பெண் சக்கரவத்திமங்கலத்து நாராயணன் ஜாதவெ ....

8. வடக்கு பத்தாங் கண்ணாற்று இரண்டாஞ்சதிரத்து மேலை ஆறுமாவில் தெற் ... ... மாவில் கிழக்கடைய நிலம் ஒருமாவும் புள்ளமங்கலத்து

9. வ[வீ]திக்குக்.கிழக்கு ... ... வாய்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு ... ... தெற்கடைய நில எட்டுமாவில் கிழக்கடைய நிலம்...

10. முக்காணியும் ஆக ... ... ஸ்ரீ பராந்தகசோழன் மங்கலத்து [தி]ருச் சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் பக்கல் காசு எண்ணாயிரத்துத் தொளாயிரத்[து] தெழுபதுக்கு பெண்சக்கரவத்திமங்கலம் சிறு

11. ... ... ரையின் ... ... முந்திரிகைக் கீழ் முக்காலும் புள்ளமங்கலத்துத் திருவன் ... ... டாயிரத்துக்கு பெண்சக்கரவத்தி மங்கலம் மன்னூர் ஸ்ரீவீரநாராயண

12. இதன் ... ... யிரத்துக்கு பெண்சக்கரவத்தி மங்கல

13. ங்கல மன்னார் ஸ்ரீவீரநாராயண வதிக்கு கிழக்கு ... ... முதல் கன்னாற்று ... ... தெற்கடைய பக்கல் சக

14. ொஞ் சதிரத்து மேலை ஆறடாவில் வடக்கடைய ... நீக்கி நிலம் ஒருமா வரையின் கீழ் ... ... முக்காணி முந்திரிகைக் கிழுவையும் விட்டுக்கொண்டு திருக்கை ஒட்டி ... ...

15. இவை சோழகோன் எழுத்து என்னும் புகுந்த எவர் திட்டின்படி கல் வெட்டியது இது தேவர் திருமேனிக்கு நன்றாகச் செய்வித்தார் பெருமாட் பிள்ளையான சோழ கோனர்.

96

THE DRĀKSĀRĀMA RECORD OF KŌPPERUNJIṄGA (ŚAKA 1184)

419, 419-A and 419-C of 1893.

S.I.I. IV (in Telugu Script).

419 OF 1893

श्री स्वस्ति सकलभुवनचक्रवर्ति यवन्यवनोद्भव महाराजसिंहः ।

कर्णाटेश्वर वाहिनीचय......हातोद्धतस्सर्वोर्वी शतया चरत्यनुदिशं च्छोढोपि यद्विक्रमैः सोयं.......काठकपार्थिवान्वयरविस्सर्वानवत्यन्वहं ।

सौवर्णं मकरांकतोरणमहा.......यद्बुदं षाम्स्तिति विवेककंद्धर बलान्नाट्यास्येवेदांबुधिः गंभीरसु.........

मनोदिशावितरसंस्सवर्थिरत्नप्रसूः ।

प्रादात्काकति भूपतेस्स......भूभोगदक्षापतिर्दाक्षारामनिवासिने भगवते भीमाय हैमं प्रभं ।

1342. (419-A) of 1893.

१. ......दिशं प्राप्ते दक्षिणां दिनकरे सः । कर्नाटाधिपभवन्यवनोद्भवं सुरगिरिनिभं हैमं भीमेश्वराय वरासनं । आदाय प्रत्यग्रः कनक(क)(लि)तः कल्पविटपिसन्तुंगस्कन्दे जग......

२. दवनजात् क्षीतिभुजा सुतेन त्रैलोक्यविदितयेशसः काकतिपतेरयं भीमेशो त्रिपदवति चूडेय(म्मह)सेदाक्षारामाभिरामाय विरूपाक्षाय तेजसे...... खण्डवर्तिसौवर्णनदान्मकरतो......

३. ......भीमनाथाय रो. काटक......कनकांदोलमवन्यवनसम्भवः ॥ मण्डि(तं) हैमदंडेन सुवाक्यव्यजनोत्तमं । अकरोत् भीमनाथाय श्रीकाटकमहोत्सवः । (वि)रामा...

४. ण । मासे चा......वौशने वादादाचंद्रतारं ......जात......

५. ....दत्तवित्त.......क

97

S.I.I. IV 1342-B (419-C.) OF 1893

१. स्वस्ति (...) श्री सकल भुवन चक्रवर्तिना काटककुलतिलकेन कर्नाट (भूप) मानमर्दि(ना) चोरकुलारिकुल कानन विदलन मत्तकुंजरेण……… पांड्यमंडलस्थापनासूत्रधारेण पंडित जनोपकरणी भूत सांम्राज्य संपदा स……

२. रससाहित्यसागरसांयात्रिकेण भरतार्णवपारीण……(विति) तकीर्तिना क (के) ति पतेः (पा) दारविंदमधुकरायमानमानसेन परममादेश्वरेण महाराजसिंहवरनामधेयेन श्रीमद्वन्यवनसंभवेन राज्ञा (भ)

३. गवते भीमनाथाय दत्तेपु सिंहासन मकरतोरण क(ल्प) (री) (दण्ड) कनकान्दोलन………न दात्तिरिकाह्लादि…(न्)र्म्मया लिखितान्यमूनि पद्यानि गणपतिमहाराजस्याज्ञां प्रवर्तियता परां सुचरितानि

APPENDIX X

Reproduction of Inscriptions from South Indian Inscriptions, Volume IV

(relating to Nataraja Temple at Cidambaram)

S.I.I., IV, 618 (A.R.E. 170 of 1892)
S.I.I., IV, 619 (A.R.E. 171 of 1892)
S.I.I., IV, 620 (A.R.E. 172 of 1892)
S.I.I., IV, 621 (A.R.E. 173 of 1892)
S.I.I., IV, 622 (A.R.E. 174 of 1892)
S.I.I., IV, 623 (A.R.E. 175 of 1892)
S.I.I., IV, 624 (A.R.E. 176 of 1892)
S.I.I., IV, 626 (A.R.E. 178 of 1892)
S.I.I., IV, 627 (A.R.E. 179 of 1892)
S.I.I., IV, 628 (A.R.E. 180 of 1892)
S.I.I., IV, 629 (A.R.E. 181 of 1892)
S.I.I., IV, 630 (A.R.E. 182 of 1892)
S.I.I., IV, 631 (A.R.E. 183 of 1892)
S.I.I., IV, 632 (A.R.E. 184 of 1892)
S.I.I., IV, 625 (A.R.E. 177 of 1892)

No. 618.

(*A.R. No.* 170 *of* 1892).

RIGHT OF ENTRANCE TO THE EAST GOPURA OF THE NATARAJA TEMPLE AT CHIDAMBARAM, CHIDAMBARAM TALUK, SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ : உ காரெற்ற தண்டலைக் காவிரிநாடனைக் கா னுலவுந் தெரெற்றிவிட்ட செ-
2 ழுந்தமிழ்த் தென்னவன் சென்றெதிர்ந்து தாரெற்றவெம்படை யாரியர் தண்டுப[ட]-
3 த் தனியெ பொரெற்றுநின்ற பெருவார்த்தை பின்னும் புதுவார்த்தையெ உ
4 பண்பட்ட[மெ]ன்மொழிப்பைந்தொடி கொங்கையர்க்கவை[மெ]ற் கண்பட்ட-
5 முத்தவடங் கண்டு காக்கிலன் காடவர்கொனெண்பட்ட செனை யெதிர்பட்-
6 டொழுக வெழுந்த புண்ணிர் விண்ப[ட்ட]லையப் படை தொட்ட சுந்தர-
7 மினவனெ [||*]

No. 619.

(*A.R. No.* 171 *of* 1892).

IN THE SAME PLACE.

1 வட்டவெண்குடை மன்னர்தம் பு[க]ல் கொண்டு மாமுடிகொண்டு பொர்-
2 மாறுகொண்டெழு பொசளன் தடைகொண்டு வா[ணன் வன]ம் புகத் தொட்ட
3 வெம்படைவிரன் வெற்றி புனைந்த சுந்தரமாறன் முன் சூழிவிட்ட
4 தெலிங்கர் செனை துணித்து வென்ற களத்துமெல் விட்ட வெம்பரி
5 பட்டபொதெழு சொரிவாரியை யொக்குநெர் மெல் மிதந்த நிண-
6 ப் பெருந்திரள் வெண்ணுரைத்திரளொக்கு முன் பட்ட வெங்கரியங்-
7 தவிரர் படிந்த மாமுகிலொக்கும் விழ்பருமணிக்குடை யங்குவங்-
8 தெழு பருதிமண்டலமொக்குமெ உ

No. 620.

(*A.R. No.* 172 *of* 1892).

IN THE SAME PLACE.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] இனவ . . க[ம்]புரிவெண்பி-
2 றைக்கொட்டிகல் வெங்கடுங்கட்
3 சினம[த*]த்த வெங்[க]ரிச் சுந்தரத்தென்-
4 னவன் தில்லை மன்றில் வனசத்திரு-
5 வுடன் செஞ்சொற் திருவை மணந்-
6 ததொக்கும் கனகத்தலையுடன் முத்-
7 தத்தலையிற் கலந்ததுவெ உ

No. 621.

(*A.R. No.* 173 *of* 1892).

IN THE SAME PLACE.

1 ஓதஞ் சகரர்யாண்[டொ]ரொருபத்தெட்டில்
2 மெலாதி முலகாளி லாணிதனில் சொதி-
3 தளங்கில மெல் சொழன் சொழகுலவல்லி
4 களங்கமற வைத்தான் கரு உ
5 வண்ணந் திகழுங் கொடி[யா]ட மன்னுஞ்
6 சொழகுலவல்லி கண்ணுந் தலைமையுடையா-
7 ரை நாமார் புகழப் பாமாலை யெண்ணும்படியில்
8 புகழானர் யென்றெயன்றெ யென்னுடைய கண்ணும்
9 பழனக்கழுமலமுங் கலந்தார்த் திருவமலந்தாரெல்
10 திருமலைத்தாளுமுடையா[ன்] உ

No. 622.

(*A.R. No.* 174 *of* 1892).

LEFT OF ENTRANCE TO THE NORTH GOPURA OF THE SAME TEMPLE.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] இந்த மஹாராஜ ரா-
ஜா-
2 திராஜ ராஜபரமேஶ்வர ஸ்ரீ-
3 வீரப்ரதாப ஸ்ரீக்ருஷ்ணதேவமஹா-
4 ராயரு யாத்ரை ஆக ஸிம்ஹாத்ரி-
5 ரை பொட்டுனூர்க்கு எழுந்தரு-
6 [ளி] ஜயஸ்தம்பம் நாட்டி திரும்பி
7 பொன்னம்பலத்துக்[கு] எழுந்த-
8 ரு[ளி] பொன்னம்பலநாதனையு-
9 ம் செவித்து வடக்குக்கொபுரம் கட்-
10 டுவித்த ஸெவை உ

No. 623.

(*A.R. No.* 175 *of* 1892).

IN THE SAME PLACE.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி [||*] ஸ்ரீமேதிநீ மஹாராஜ
2 ராஜாதிராஜேந ராஜபர-
3 மேஶ்வரேண ஸ்ரீவீரப்ரதாப-
4 ஸ்ரீ க்ருஷ்ணதேவமஹாராயேண
5 க்ருதம் உ

No. 624.

(*A.R. No.* 176 *of* 1892).

RIGHT OF THE WEST ENTRANCE TO THE SECOND PRAKARA OF THE SAME TEMPLE.

1 ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ:—ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸமஸ்தஜகதாதார ஸோமகுல . . . . வஸுந்தராதிப . . . ஜ-
வம்ஶதிலக்ஷ்மீநிவாஸ ஸங்கீதஸாஹித்ய ஸர்வஜ்ஞ . . . . . கலாகௌஶல-
2 விஶாரத[ர்]ந்ந ராஜவித்யாவர கா . ககநிகபடாக . . . . தும்ப-
ஸ்தம்ப வி . . . . . . ஶ்ரீமதாலயவிநாஶகாரண காஞ்சீபுரவர . . .
. . . பதிஹரிணஶா-
3 ர்தூல ஸௌஜந்யபுரவிரவிகவீராபிஷேக ப்ரதாப . . . . [ஸ்ரீ]மத்வஹ மஹா . . .
ராஜாதிராஜபரமேஶ்வர:—தொண்டை . . . . . . லே தென்னவன்
4 ப்ரஹ்மராயரும் ஜயதுங்கப் பல்லவரையர் . . . . ர்கு வித்தகை . . .
உடையார் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையார்ெ . . . . ஸ்ரீமாஹெஶ்வர-
5 க்கண்காணிசெய்வார்களும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ்செ[ய்]வார்களும் ஸாமுதாயஞ்செய்வார்களும்
கொயில்நாயகஞ்செய்வார்களும் திருமா[ளி]கை[க்]கூறுசெய்வார்களும் பண்டாரப்-
6 பொத்தகமுடையார்களும் கணக்கரும் கண்டு விடுதெந்ததாவது சுந்தரபாண்டியன்திரு-
நிலை யெழுகொபுரச்சன்னதியில் சொக்கச்சியன்குறளில் கிழ்பக்கத்துக் கி-
7 ழைமடஸ்தானமாகத் திருநொக்கழகியான்திருமடமென்னும் பெரால் செய்வித்த மட-
த்துக்கு மடஸ்வமாக நாயகரும் நாச்சியாரும் எழுந்தருளும் நாள் தி-
8 ருப்புற்குடையில் ஸ்நபனம்பண்ணிச செவிக்கவும் எதிரிலிசொழன்திருநந்தவனத்-
துக்கு மெற்கும் தெற்கும் சுந்தரபாண்டியச்சருப்பெதிமங்கலத்-
9 தா[டி]ன கொ பெருமாள் திருமெனிக்கு நன்றுக நா[ள் வை]த்த உஷா . . . . .
நாட்டு வெண்ணையூர்நாட்டு இராச[1]

No. 625.

(*A.R. No,* 177 *of* 1892).

ON THE SAME PLACE.

1 ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ:—உபயகுலகொரலககண்டெப்ரத்யக்ஷாவதார உலோல[ஸ்]ரொ: . . . .
. . . . . .
2 மஹேஶ[தி]: — நந்கொடீரஸெகஸ்ய ஸுந்தர ஸ்தீரஸெகஸ்ய நெரொஸ்ரீம ப்ரதெ
ஸாம்ராஜ்ய . . . . .
3 பத்நீ: பராக்ரம ஸம:—[க*] லுஸீஹயா ஸாம்ராஜ்ய லெஹெஸ்மா: கயம் ரா
. . . [ஸ]ஸ்ததேவாய[|*] [ஸ்ரீ]மத்ஸுந்-

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[1] The inscription is incomplete.

4 [illegible] [ಉ*] [illegible]

5 . . . [illegible] [|*] [illegible]

6 [illegible]

7 [illegible] [|*] [illegible]

8 [illegible] . . [illegible] [*] [illegible] . . . . . [illegible]

9 . . . [illegible] [|*] [illegible]
. . . . [illegible] . . . . [||*]

No. 626.

(*A.R. No.* 178 *of* 1892).

ON THE SOUTH WALL OF THE SECOND PRAKARA OF THE SAME TEMPLE.

1 [illegible][1] [illegible]

2 [illegible]

3 [illegible]

No. 627.

(*A.R. No.* 179 *of* 1892).

ON THE SAME WALL.

1 [illegible]

2 [illegible] [|*] [illegible]

3 [illegible] [|*] [illegible]

4 [illegible] [|*] [illegible]

No. 628.

(*A.R. No.* 180 *of* 1892).

ON THE SAME WALL.

1 [illegible]

2 [illegible]

3 [illegible] || [illegible]

4 [illegible]

5 [illegible]

6 [illegible]

---

[1] Read [illegible].

No. 629.

(*A.R. No.* 181 *of* 1892).

ON THE SAME WALL.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸாம்ராஜ்யஸ்ய ஷாஹெ வத்ஸர-
2 த்தீந்த்ர: || பாராராஜவய-மெகண்டபுரமஹாரண்டீர-
3 ஜெ || ராஜஸர்வஜ்ஞஸிம்ஹஸ்ய க-மா: கநகஶை-
4 த்தெகெ: [|*] ஸமஸ்தார வ-[ர]த்நஹாடீஹஸ்தவதெ: [||*]

No. 630.

(*A.R. No.* 182 *of* 1892).

ON THE SAME WALL.

1 ஸ்வஸ்திஶ்ரீ:— ஶகராஜ்யாஹோரி காலகக்ரம: ப்ராஞ்சம்ஸி காஞ்சீபதில்லீந்த்ரவாதி க்ஷத-
லெஸெ[க்ஷி]கொ மணவ-
2 திவ்யேந்த்ராவி யெநாஹதெ || ஸ்வெணெல்லாஸாம்ராஜ்யஸம்பத்திஸரஸாவாஸாம்ராஜ்ய
ப்ரதிஷ்டாமாஸ்ஸம்ஹொதேஹ்யஸஹாவ-
3 தொரஸிஸஹாஸரஸ்தாரவிஸ்தாரிணீஷு || பக்யா: த்ஸலமகம் பஶஸா ஹரெதிய யாவெஜ்ஜா நூதவாஞ்சு-
த்ரஹொஸாஹிஷ்ய:
4 ப்ராயஸ்வாமாஜெணீதகமுக்ஷஹாராஜஸ்வாம் ராஜஸர்வஜ்ஞ ப்ரணகாஹவக்ஷி || விப்ர. . . .

No. 631.

(*A.R. No.* 183 *of* 1892).

ON THE WEST WALL OF THE SAME PRAKARA.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஶ்ரீ:—ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸமஸ்தஜகதாதார ஸோமகுலதிலக ஸிம்ஹாஸநாரோஹண கொரட-
வம்ஶதிலகோத்பவ ஶகாதீஸமநந்தீகீயராஜ ஸொநகமுகெஶெதகமிஶ கண்டப-
ராஜவித்ராவண காலககவிகண்டவாகம விஷயாவித்யாத்ரயவித்யாந வீரமஹொதா-
விவிநதாவஸ்ஹந காஞ்சீபுரவராதீஶ்வர மணவதிஹரிணஸார்த்தூல தெல்லுராவ-
ரவிரவிகவீரஹிதெக ப்ரணகராஜப்ரதிஷ்டாபக ஹேரா-
2 ஜாதிராஜ பரமேஶ்வர || திரிபுவனச்சக்ரவத்தி ஸ்ரீஸகலசக்ரவாஜ்யதெவர் உடையார்
திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையநயனார் கொயில் கண்காணி கரணத்தார்க்கு இக்கொயில்
எழுந்தருளி இருந்து வமெஜெகொண்டருளும் உடையார் ஸ்ரீமூலஸ்தானமுடையார்
திருமுன்பு ஸ்ரீராத்ரீ கல்யாணம்பண்ண ஸ்ரீபலி எழுந்தருளினால் திருமுன்பு நின்று
நமக்கு சு[பி]வாத்யம் பண்ணுவார்களாக ராஜாதிராஜவளநாட்-
3 . . . . கொண்ட நிலம் இரண்ட [1] . . . .

No. 632.

(*A.R. No.* 184 *of* 1892).

RIGHT OF THE WEST ENTRANCE TO THE SAME PRAKARA.

1 . . . . . ஸ்ஸம்பத் ஹோமிநாமேலிமமாம் ஸாரஷ பிஸஷிக்ஷிகெஸம் . . . .
2 . . . ராஸாம்ராஜ்யதெவ ஜமதி வ்ராகொஸ்யநமோமமெணெ . . வந[ஷ] ஶய. .
. . . . . . லெஷ்யஶெ . . . .
3 . . . . . . த்ரணதீமவ: . . ஶகாம்கநமேலகடம்ஸ்நாடீவி [பாபாராஜஹேயா]-
ஞதி . . . . உதி வதமாமமஹாம-
4 . . . மணெ ஹவத: கயதிவ ராஜஸர்வஜ்ஞ காவஜஸ . . . .

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[1] The inscription is incomplete.

APPENDIX XI

The Prasasti of Vikrama Cola,
claiming, among other achievements,
the Gilding of the Terk-koyil (the Chariot temple, i.e. the Nrtta Sabha)
Extract from S.I.I., V, 458 (A.R.E. 165 of 1894)

No. 458.

(A.R. No. 165 of 1894).

ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE APATSAHAYESVARA SHRINE AT ALANGUDI,
PAPANASAM TALUK, SAME DISTRICT.

1 ஸ்வ[ஸ்தி] ஸ்ரீ [||*] [பூம]ா[லை] மிடைந்து பொன்[மாலை திக]ழ்தரப் பாமாலை மலிந்த [ப]ரும[ணி]த் திரள்புயத் திருநிலமடந்தையொடும் ஜெயமக ளிருப்ப கலைவரை மார்வ மலரதெரிவைப் பெற்றுத் திரு[ம]க ளொருதனி யிருப்பக் கலைமகள் சொற்றிறம் புணர்ந் கற்பபி[ன]ளாகி [வி]ருப்பொ[டு] நாவகத் திருப்பத் திசைதொறுங் கீர்த்தியொடு செங்கோல் நடப்ப அகிலமுவகமு[ம்] கவிப்பதோர் புகழ்மதிபோல வெண்கு[டை] மீமிசை நிற்பபக் கருங்[க*]லி யொளிந்து வன்பிலத்திடைக் கிடப்பக் குளத்திடைத் தெலிங்க விமன் விலங்[க]ல்மிசை யேற[வுங்] கலிங்க[பூ]மியைக் (க)கனை எரி

2 ப[ரு]கவும் [ஐ]ம்படை[ப்] பருவத்து வெம்[படை] தாங்கி வேங்கைமண்ட[ல]த் தாங்கி[னி]திருந்து வடதிசை யடிப்படுத்தருளித் தெ[ன்]திசைத் [த]ருமமழை வ[ழு]வான முழைப்ப வேதமு[ம்] மெய்மை[யு]ம் ஆசியுகமபொற் தலைத்தலை சிறப்ப வந்தருளி வெலைக்கரும் பொற்புலி யாணை பார்[த்*]திவர் சூட நிறைமணி[ம]குட மு[டி]த[லை*]மயிற் சூடி மன்னுயிர்க்கெல்லாம் மின்னுயிர்த் தாய்[போ]ற் த[ண்ண]ளி பரப்பி தனித்த[னி] பர[ந்]து மண்முழுதுங் களிப்ப மநுநெறி வளர்[த்]து தன் கோயி[ல்]க் கொற்றவ[ாயிற்பு]றத்து [ம]ணிநா வொடுங்-

3 க முரசுக[ள்] முழங்க விஜயமும் புகழும் மெல்மெ லொங்க ஊ[ழி]ஊழி இம்மாநி[ல]ங் காக்கத் திருமணிப் பொற்றொட்டெழுது[ப]த்தாண்டு வருமுறை மு[ன்னெ]ந மன்னவர் சும[ந்து]ள்ளிறை நிரை[த்]துச் சொரிந்த செம்பொற் குவையாற் தன் குலநாயகன் தாண்டவம் புரியுஞ் செ[ம்]பொனம்பலஞ் சூழ் [தி]ருமாளிகையுங் கோபுரவாயிற் கூட சாளர[மும்] உலகுவலங்கொண்ட வொளிவிள[ங்*]கு நெமிக் குலவரை யுதயக்குன்[ற][மொ]டு நின்றெனப் பசும்பொன்மெ[ய்*]ந்து பலிவளர்ப் பீடமு[ம்] விசும்[பொ]ளி தழைப்ப [வி]ளங்கு[பொன்]மெய்ந்து இருநி-

4 [வ ந]ழைப்ப இ[மை]யவர் . களிப்ப பெரியதிருநாள் பெரும்பெயர் விழவெடு[மு]யர்புரட்டாதி யுத்திரட்டாதியி ல[ம்ப]லநிறைந்த வற்புதக்கூத்தர் இன்பர்வாழ்வெழுந்தருளுதற்க்குத் திரு[த்]தேர்க்கோயில் செம்பொன் மெய்ந்து பருதிரள் முத்தின் பயில்வடம் பரப்பி நிறைம[ணி] மாளிகை நெடுந்திருவீதி தன திருவளர் பெயராற் செய்து சமைத்தருளிப் பைஞ்பொற்க் குழித்த பரிகல முதலாற் செம்பொற்க் கற்பகத்தொடு பரிச்சின்னமும் அளவில[ா]தன வொளிபெற வ[மை*]த்துப் பத்தர் மாண்[பி]ற் சித்திரைத்திங்க ளத்தம் [பெ]-

5 [ற்ற ஆதித்]தவாரத்துத் திருவளர்[மதியின்] நாயொ[டும்]ப்பக்கத்[து] இன்நக பலவு மிகுந்து ச[மை]த்தருளித் தன் னொருகுடை நிழற் தலமுழுது ம[கி]ழப்பச் செழியர் வெ[ஞ்]சுரம் புக சொலர் கடல்புக அழிதரு சிங்கள ரஞ்சி நெஞ்சலமர(ர) க[ங்]கர் நி[றை]யிடக் க[ன்]னடர் வென்றிடக் ம[க]ரங்க ரொதுங்கக கொங்கணர் சாய [ம]ற்றெ[த்*]திசை ம[ன்]னரு ம[ன்]தமக் காணைத் திருமலர்ச் செவடி யுரி-

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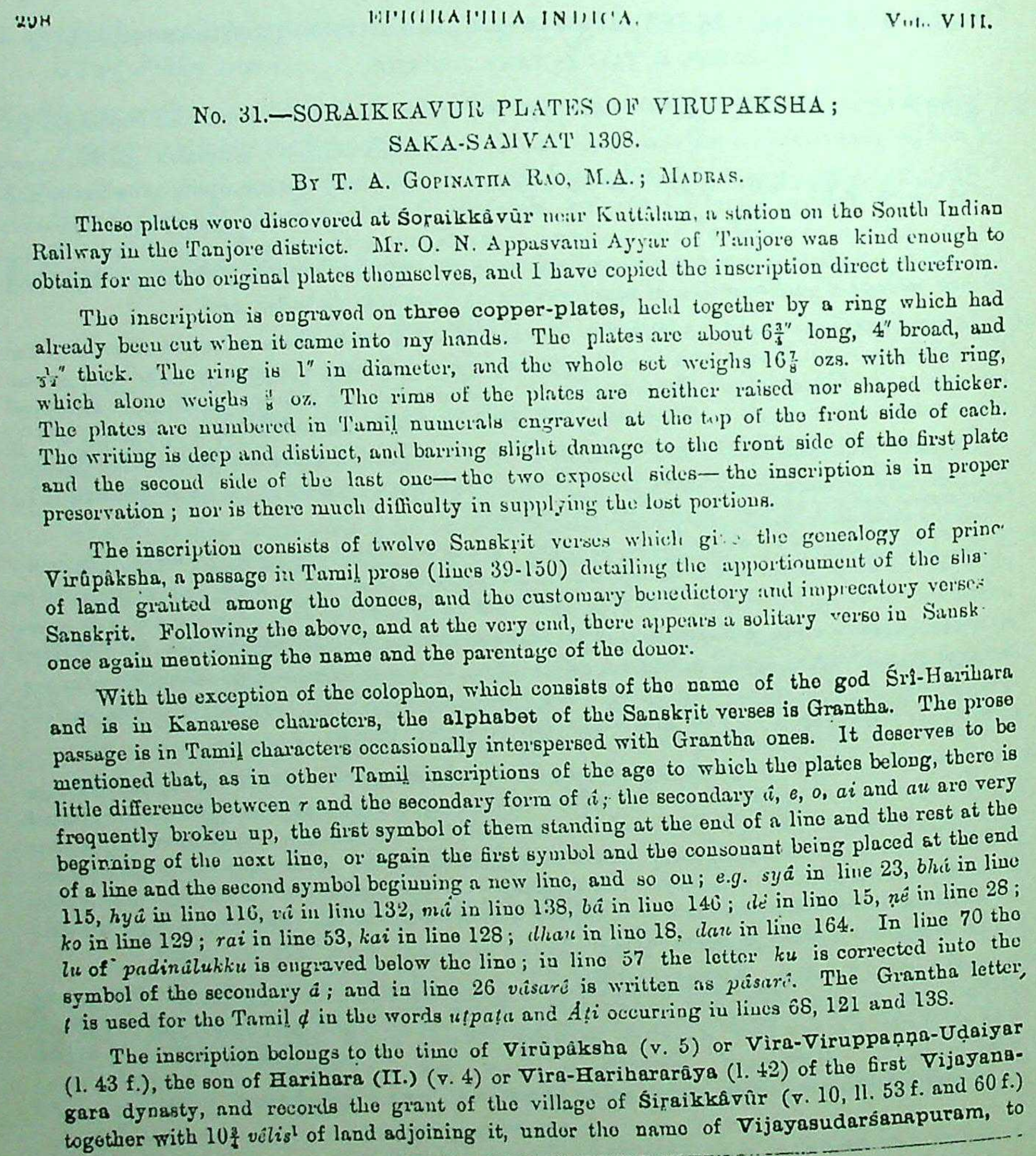
[1] The syllables வணக்களியெய் கைச் செல are faintly seen with which the gap may be filled up.
[2] The gap may be restored thus :—ப்பிரமாணஞ் செய்தருடு.
[3] The syllables lost here are தெவர்கன்மி with which the gap may be filled up.

APPENDIX XII

Copper Plate Grant of Vijayanagar ruler Virupaksha discovered at Soraikkavur (near Kuttalam) in Thanjavur district

Saka: 1308 Expired (= A.D. 1387)

(Reproduction from Epigraphia Indica, Volume VIII, pp. 298-301)
refers to re-gilding of the Golden Hall of Cidambaram
(Courtesy : N. Sethuraman)



No. 31.—SORAIKKAVUR PLATES OF VIRUPAKSHA; SAKA-SAMVAT 1308.

By T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A.; Madras.

These plates were discovered at **Śoṛaikkâvûr** near Kuttâlam, a station on the South Indian Railway in the Tanjore district. Mr. O. N. Appasvami Ayyar of Tanjore was kind enough to obtain for me the original plates themselves, and I have copied the inscription direct therefrom.

The inscription is engraved on **three copper-plates**, held together by a ring which had already been cut when it came into my hands. The plates are about 6¾" long, 4" broad, and 1/32" thick. The ring is 1" in diameter, and the whole set weighs 16⅞ ozs. with the ring, which alone weighs ⅞ oz. The rims of the plates are neither raised nor shaped thicker. The plates are numbered in Tamiḻ numerals engraved at the top of the front side of each. The writing is deep and distinct, and barring slight damage to the front side of the first plate and the second side of the last one—the two exposed sides—the inscription is in proper preservation; nor is there much difficulty in supplying the lost portions.

The inscription consists of twelve Sanskṛit verses which gi[illegible] the genealogy of princ Virûpâksha, a passage in Tamiḻ prose (lines 39-150) detailing the apportionment of the sha of land granted among the donees, and the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses Sansk Sanskṛit. Following the above, and at the very end, there appears a solitary verse in once again mentioning the name and the parentage of the donor.

With the exception of the colophon, which consists of the name of the god **Śrî-Harihara** and is in Kanarese characters, the **alphabet** of the Sanskṛit verses is Grantha. The prose passage is in Tamiḻ characters occasionally interspersed with Grantha ones. It deserves to be mentioned that, as in other Tamiḻ inscriptions of the age to which the plates belong, there is little difference between *r* and the secondary form of *â*; the secondary *â*, *e*, *o*, *ai* and *au* are very frequently broken up, the first symbol of them standing at the end of a line and the rest at the beginning of the next line, or again the first symbol and the consonant being placed at the end of a line and the second symbol beginning a new line, and so on; *e.g.* *syâ* in line 23, *bhâ* in line 115, *hyâ* in line 116, *vâ* in line 132, *mâ* in line 138, *bâ* in line 146; *dê* in line 15, *ṇê* in line 28; *ko* in line 129; *rai* in line 53, *kai* in line 128; *dhau* in line 18, *dau* in line 164. In line 70 the *lu* of *padinâlukku* is engraved below the line; in line 57 the letter *ku* is corrected into the symbol of the secondary *â*; and in line 26 *vâsarê* is written as *pâsarê*. The Grantha letter, *ṭ* is used for the Tamiḻ *ḍ* in the words *utpaṭa* and *Âṭi* occurring in lines 68, 121 and 138.

The inscription belongs to the time of **Virûpâksha** (v. 5) or **Vira-Viruppaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar** (l. 43 f.), the son of **Harihara (II.)** (v. 4) or **Vira-Harihararâya** (l. 42) of the first **Vijayanagara** dynasty, and records the grant of the village of **Śiṛaikkâvûr** (v. 10, ll. 53 f. and 60 f.) together with 10¾ *vêlis*[1] of land adjoining it, under the name of **Vijayasudarśanapuram**, to fourteen Brâhmaṇas of various *gôtras.* This is the second copper-plate grant hitherto published of Virûpâksha, the son of Harihara II. of the first Vijayanagara dynasty. It is dated in **Śaka 1308, the Kshaya-saṁvatsara,**— *i.e.* two years later than his Âlampûṇḍi grant.[1] Professor Kielhorn very kindly contributes the following remarks on the date (v. 8 f. and ll. 45-49) :—

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[1] In the Tamiḻ portion this is given as 10⅜ *vêlis* (ll. 52 f and 67 f.).

"The date, for Śaka-saṁvat 1308 expired, which was the year Kshaya, regularly corresponds to **Wednesday, the 20th March A.D. 1387.** On this day the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of Phâlguna and the *karaṇa* **Nâga** ended 7 h. 35 m., the *nakshatra* was **Rêvatî** for 19 h. 3 m., and the *yôga* **Vaidhṛiti** *from* 6 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise. The day was the 25th day of the solar month **Paṅguni** (Chaitra)."

Both the Âlampûṇḍi and Śoṟaikkâvûr grants resemble each other so far as the historical details contained in them are concerned. As in the earlier grant, the present record begins with **Saṁgama,** the reputed founder of the dynasty, and continues the succession down to Virûpâksha, the donor of this grant. Herein again **Kâmâkshî,** the wife of Saṁgama, and **Mallâdêvî,** the wife of Harihara II., are referred to. While in the Âlampûṇḍi grant Mallâdêvî is spoken of simply as belonging to 'the family of **Râmadêva,**' in the present record she is described as his 'grand-daughter' (son's daughter) in the beginning (v. 5) ; but the verse at the end (17), which occurs also in the Sanskrit drama *Nârâyaṇîvilâsa* by Virûpâksha,[2] makes Mallâdêvî the *daughter* of king Râma. In a supplementary note on the Âlampûṇḍi grant,[3] Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya expressed the opinion that Mallâdêvî may have been the daughter of the Yâdava king Râmachandra. Adverting to this Mr. R. Sewell writes as follows :[4]—

"The plate in question asserts that Mallâdêvî belonged to 'the race of Râmadêva,' while the drama (*Nârâyaṇîvilâsa*) explicitly declares her to have been the daughter of king Râma, calling Virûpâksha the 'daughter's son of king Râma ;' and from this Mr. Venkayya deduces that the lady in question was the daughter of king Râmachandra of the family of the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri. But I think it far more likely that the plate is correct and the drama incorrect. Râmachandra reigned from A.D. 1271 to 1309. his death occurring in the latter year. The reign of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara began, probably, in 1379 A.D. and lasted till the end of 1399, when he died. It seems quite impossible that he could have married a daughter of king Râmachandra, and therefore I think we must assume that his wife Mallâdêvî, or Mallâmbikâ, though she may have been 'of the race of,' was not the daughter of, king Râma,— if Râma was identical with Râmachandra of Dêvagiri."

The present plates add a further relationship, *viz.* that Virupâksha was the son of the son's daughter (*pautrî*) of Râmadêva. If we think with Mr. Sewell that the drama is perhaps wrong,[5] we may conclude that **Virûpâksha was the great-grandson of king Râmachandra.**

In the present record Virûpâksha seems to make the grant as a provincial governor, perhaps with the consent of his father ; for the Saka year 1308 falls in the reign of **Harihara II.**[6] From an inscription belonging to the Shimoga district we learn that Harihara died in the month Bhâdrapada of the year Târaṇa (Śaka 1326).[1] The same fact is repeated in an inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa.[2] Another record from the Shimoga district states that in the month **Kârttika** of Śaka 1026 (evidently a mistake for Śaka 1326), Târaṇa, **Bukka II.** was on the throne.[3] This date is only a couple of months or so removed from the date of Harihara's death, and naturally it might be concluded that Bukka immediately succeeded his father on the throne. That he was still reigning in Śaka 1328, is evidenced by an inscription of the Êkâmranâtha temple at Conjeeveram.[4] It is dated in the year Vyaya and purports to have been issued in the reign of Bukka II. Again we learn that the coronation of Dêvarâya I. took place in Śaka 1328, in the month Kârttika of the year Vyaya.[5] Evidently therefore Bukka's reign must have come to a close at this time. But it must also be noted that in the month Mârgaśira of the year Târaṇa, Śaka 1327, **Virûpâksha** is represented as ruling in Vijayanagara.[6] This reign overlaps that of Bukka II. Under these circumstances it is not easy to explain how Virûpâksha could have reigned in the same period, except on the supposition that either Virûpâksha was acting as a regent, or that he seized the throne from his brother Bukka II., ruled for a short time, and was dethroned by the partisans of Bukka II. This latter may have been in his turn ousted from the government by Dêvarâya I. Hence we might conclude that after the death of Harihara II. there was a rapid succession of kings one after another, thus :— Bukka II., Virûpâksha, Bukka II. once again, and Dêvarâya I. Virûpâksha seems, therefore, to have been a ruling king, though only for a short time.

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[1] Above, Vol. III. p. 224 ff.

[2] *Report on Sanskṛit and Tamiḻ Manuscripts* by the late M. Seshagiri Sastri, No. I. p. 90.

[3] Above, Vol. V., Add. and Corr., p. v.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIV. p. 19.

[5] [I would suggest another solution of the puzzle. Râmachandra of Dêvagiri (the Râmadêva of verse 5) may have had an (otherwise unknown) son named Râmabhûpati (verse 17), who was the father of Mallâdevî, the mother of Virûpâksha.—E.H.]

[6] In the Tiruvîḻimiḻalai temple there are two inscriptions dated Śaka 1305 and 1307, which belong to the reign of Harihara II., and in which his son Virûpâksha is mentioned as ruling the country. The first inscription records a grant of land by the headmen of the village, and the second states that a certain Munaiyadaraiyan made a gift of land for a flower-garden. Tiruvîḻimiḻalai is only a mile distant from Tiruppâmburam mentioned in our record.

Besides calling Virûpâksha the lord of the **Tuṇḍira, Chôḷa** and **Pâṇḍya** countries (v. 6), the record under consideration gives more details of his deeds than the Âlampûṇḍi grant. He boasts of having weighed himself against gold in the presence of the god Râmanâtha (at **Râmêśvaram**). He is said to have made gifts of a thousand cows and is described as the establisher of the Brâhmaṇical faith (*vêda-mârga*, v. 7).[7] He is stated to have gilded (the *vimâna* of the temple at) **Śrirangam** and the 'Golden Hall' (at **Chidambaram**), which latter act has been looked upon as highly meritorious ever since the days of the earliest Chôḷas.

As regards the donees, it might be remarked that most of them bear Vaishṇava names; and some of them have family names which are distinctly those of a few well-known Śrîvaishṇava *Âchârya-purushas*.[8]

Of the places which are mentioned in this record, **Śiṟaikkâvûr**, the village granted, is the same as the modern **Śoṟaikkâvûr** where the plates were found, and is 4 miles from the Kuttâlam Railway Station. **Tiruppâmpuram** (v. 10, ll. 49 f. and 65) is now known as Tiruppâmbâpuram and is about 9 miles west of the Nannilam station, also in the Tanjore district. I am unable to identify Eḻumuṟi in **Eḻumuṟi-paṟṟu** (ll. 60 and 64), which is literally translated into Sanskṛit as **Saptakhaṇḍa-nivṛit**[9] (v. 9), while **Uyyakkoṇḍa-vaḷanâḍu** (ll. 59 and 63 f.), a district of **Ćhôḷa-maṇḍalam** (l. 58 f.), is Sanskṛitized as **Ujjîvana** (v. 9).

The inscription mentions a large number of fiscal terms (ll. 122-146), most of which have remained to the present day unexplained.

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[1] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Tîrthahaḷḷi tâluka, No. 129.

[2] *Id.* Vol. II. No. 126.

[3] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Tîrthahaḷḷi tâluka, No. 11.

[4] Above, Vol. III. p. 36, note 3.—[Compare also above, Vol. VI. p. 329 f.—E. H.]

[5] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V. Hassan tâluka, No. 133, p. 85.

[6] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Tîrthahaḷḷi tâluka, No. 196.

[7] Compare above, Vol. III. p. 118 and note 4.

[8] *Viz.* Vêdagômapurattâr (ll. 75 and 79), Gômaṭattâr (l. 82 f.), Vaṅgippurattâr (l. 90 f.), Uṟuppuṭṭûrâr (l. 97), Śoṭṭaiyâr (l. 111), and Kârambichcheṭṭu (l. 104).

[9] [For *nivṛit*, 'a division,' see verse 9 of the Âlampûṇḍi plate.—E. H.]

TEXT.[1]

First Plate ; First Side.

1 [Śubham=a]stu [||*] Ôṁkâr-âṁkura-daṁ[shṭr]-
2 [âya sa]kal-âmnâya-ghôshiṇê [|*]
3 â[dyây=â]s[tu na]mas=tasmai Varâ-
4 hâya [ma]haujasê || [1 ||*] Âdhâra-śa-
5 ktim=ambhôdhi-mêkhalâṁ ratna-ga-
6 rbhiṇîm [|] Hara-mûrttiṁ Harêḥ kântâ-
7 m Bhûtadhâtrim=upâs[ma]hê || [2 ||*] Âs[î]-
8 t Sôm-ânva[y]-ô[ttamaḥ] Kâmâ-
9 kshî-Saṁgam-âtmajaḥ | B[u]k[ka-bhû]pa i-
10 ti khyâtô râjâ Raghur=i[v=âparaḥ] || [3 ||*]
11 Asti râjâdhirâj[ô=sya putrô]
12 Harihar-êśvaraḥ | yash=shôḍa[śa-ma]-
13 hâdâna-sukrit-âmrita-sâ[garaḥ] [|| 4 ||*] Sa
14 pautryâṁ Râmadêvasya [Mall]â-
15 dêvyâ[ṁ*][2] mahâśayam |(|) Virûp[â]ksha-ma-
16 hî[p]âlaṁ labdhavân=âtma[sa]mbha-
17 vam [|| 5 ||*] Sa Kuntal-êndus=Tuṇḍ[îra-Chô]-
18 [la]-Pâṇḍya-kshitîśvaraḥ | sau[nidhau][3]
19 [Râma]nâthasya tulâm=ârû[ḍhavâ]-
20 n=dhanaiḥ |[| 6 ||*] Sa gô-saha[sra-dô]
21 vêda-mâ[rgga]-sthâpana-[tatparaḥ] [|*] Śrî-
22 raṁga-Kâñchanasabhâ-puna[r-ut]bhâ-[4]
23 [sana]-kshamaḥ |[| 7 ||*] Dânaśâlâ[gh]yê [Śa]kasy-
24 â[bdê] Kshaya-saṁvatsarê [śu]bhê [|]

First Plate ; Second Side.

25 Pâ(phâ)lgunê mâsy=amâvâsy[âṁ]
26 tithau Saumyasya pâ(vâ)[sa]rê || [8 ||*]
27 Vaidhriti-spriśi Rêvatyâṁ [ka]ra-
28 ṇâ[5] Nâga-nâmni saḥ | Chôlêsh[u]
29 Saptakhaṇḍ-âkhya-nîvrity=Ujjîva-
30 n-âhvayê |[| 9 ||*] Chiraik[kâ]vûr=iti
31 gr[â]man=Tirupp[â]mpura-s[î]mani | [pâ]-
32 d-ôn-aikâdaśa-vṛiti-kshêtra-[sa]-
33 ṁ[gha]ṭit-ântikam |[| 10 ||*] Krita-praśastiḥ [Vi]-
34 ja[ya]suda[r]śana[pu]r-âkhyayâ [|] chatu-
35 [r]ddaśabhyô viprêbhyaḥ prâdâ[d=u]-
36 daka-pûrvvakam |[| 11 ||*] Samast-ôpâ[dhi]-
37 rahitas=sarvvamânyatayâ sthiraḥ | [va]-
38 rddhatâ[m]=agrahârô=yam=â-cha[ndra]-ravi-
39 târakam || [12 ||*] Svasti śrî-vijay-âtbhu-[6]
40 daya-śrîman-mahâmaṇḍalîśvaran r[â]-

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[1] From the original plates.
[2] The â of dâ is at the end of l. 14.
[3] The third member of the syllable dhau is at the beginning of l. 19.
[4] Read *-udbhâ-*.
[5] The â of ṇâ is at the end of l. 27.
[6] Read *-âbhyu-*.

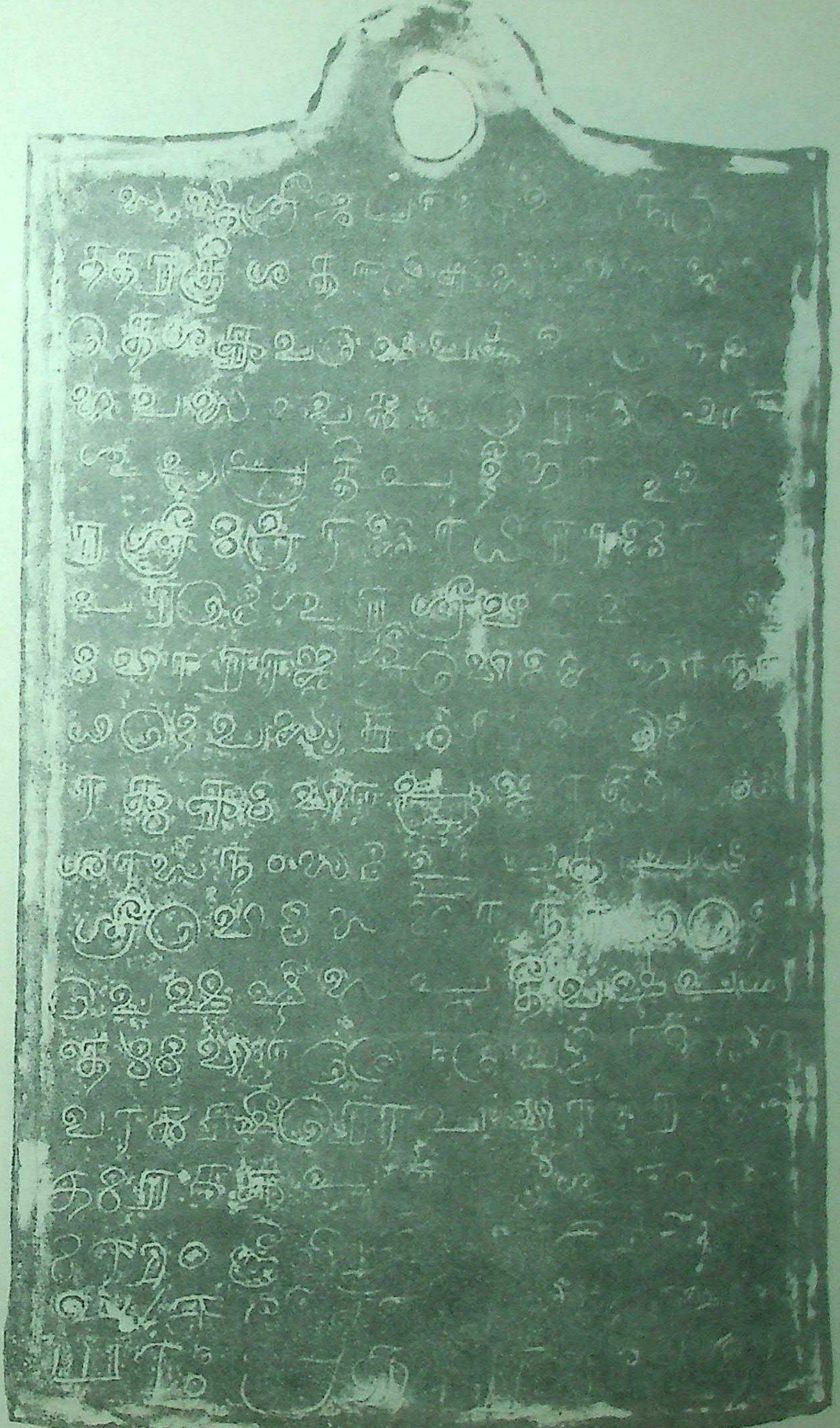
APPENDIX XIII

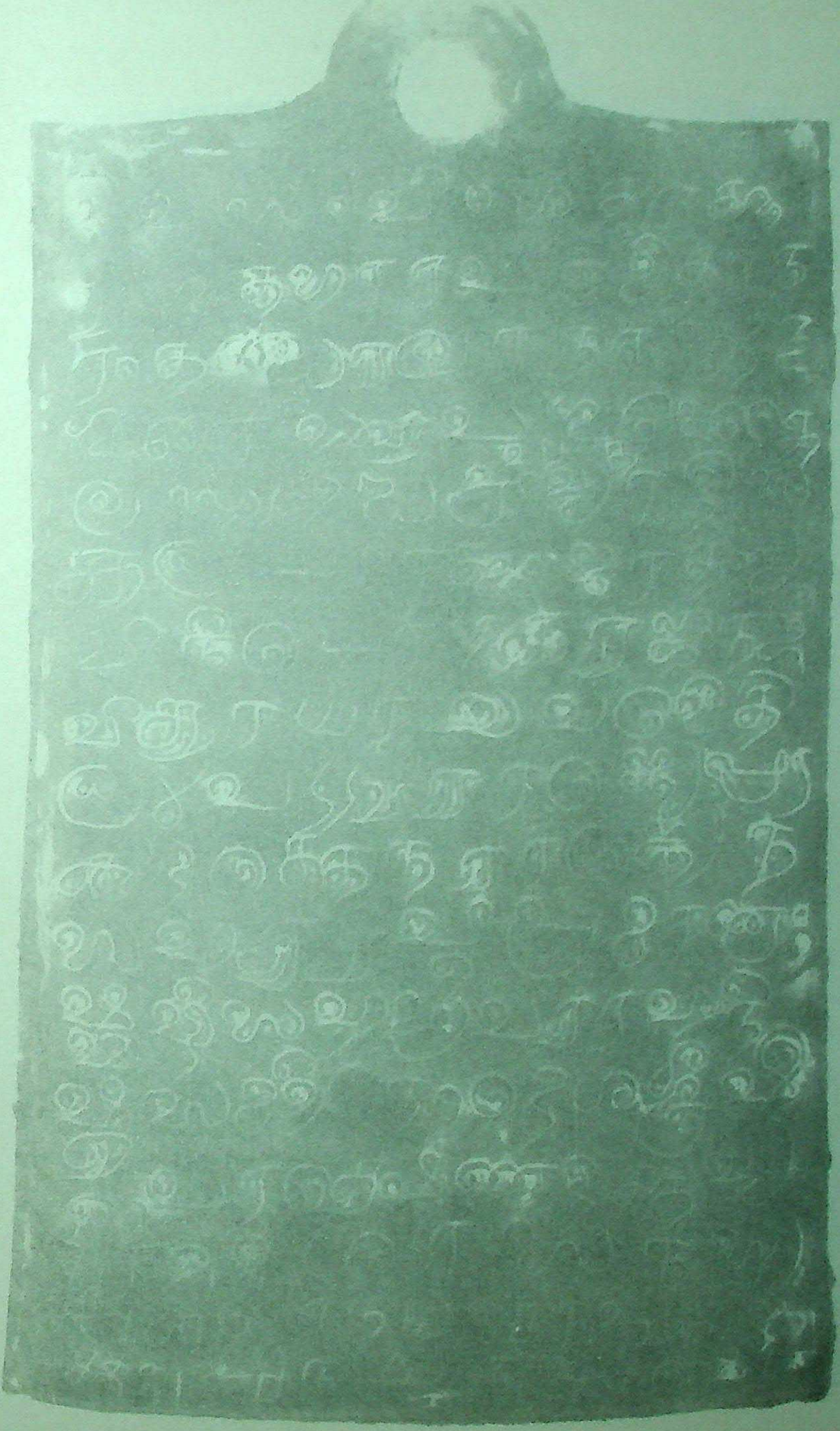
Copper Plate grants of Vijayanagar rulers

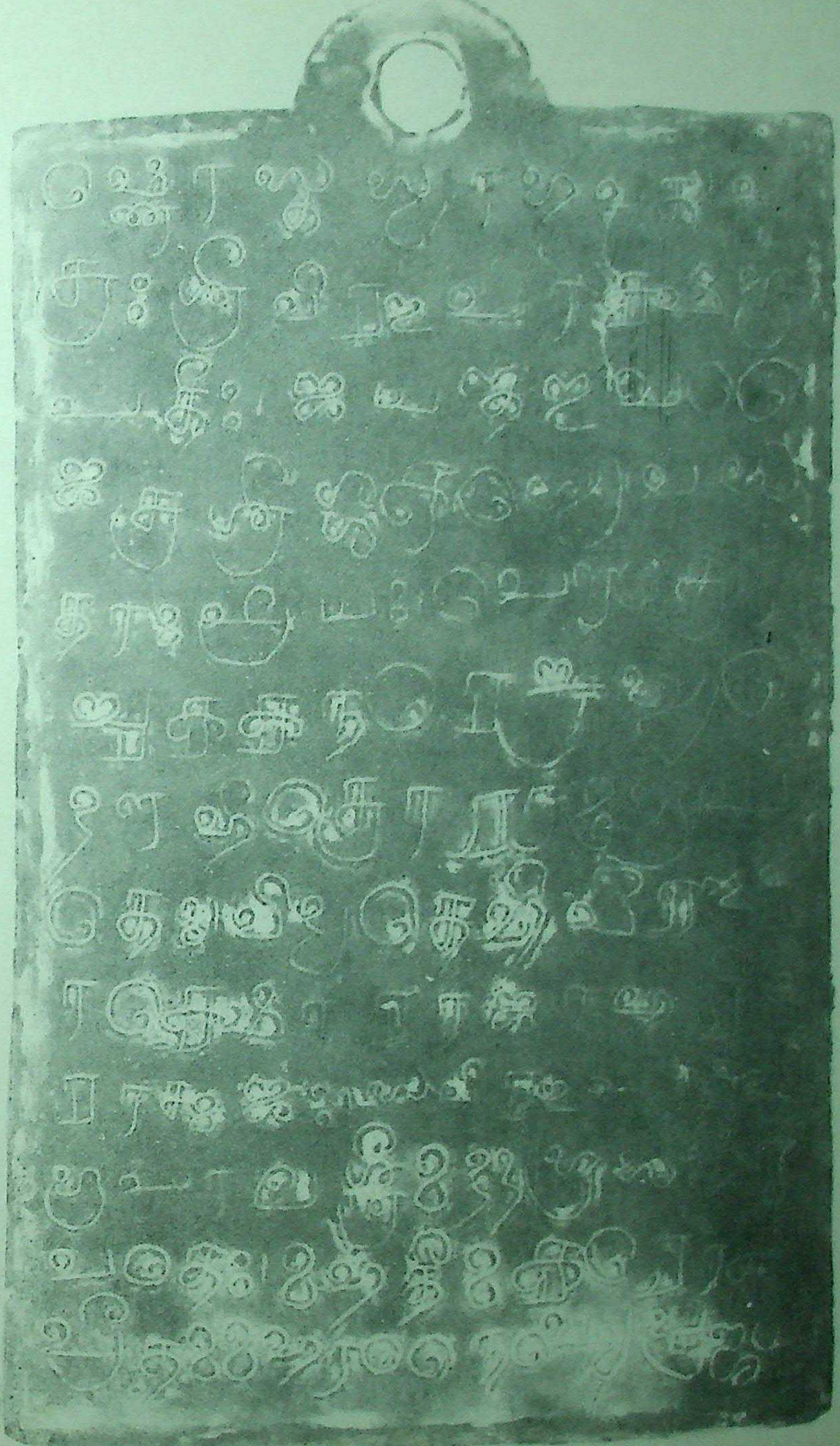
i) Harihara II and
ii) Virupaksha

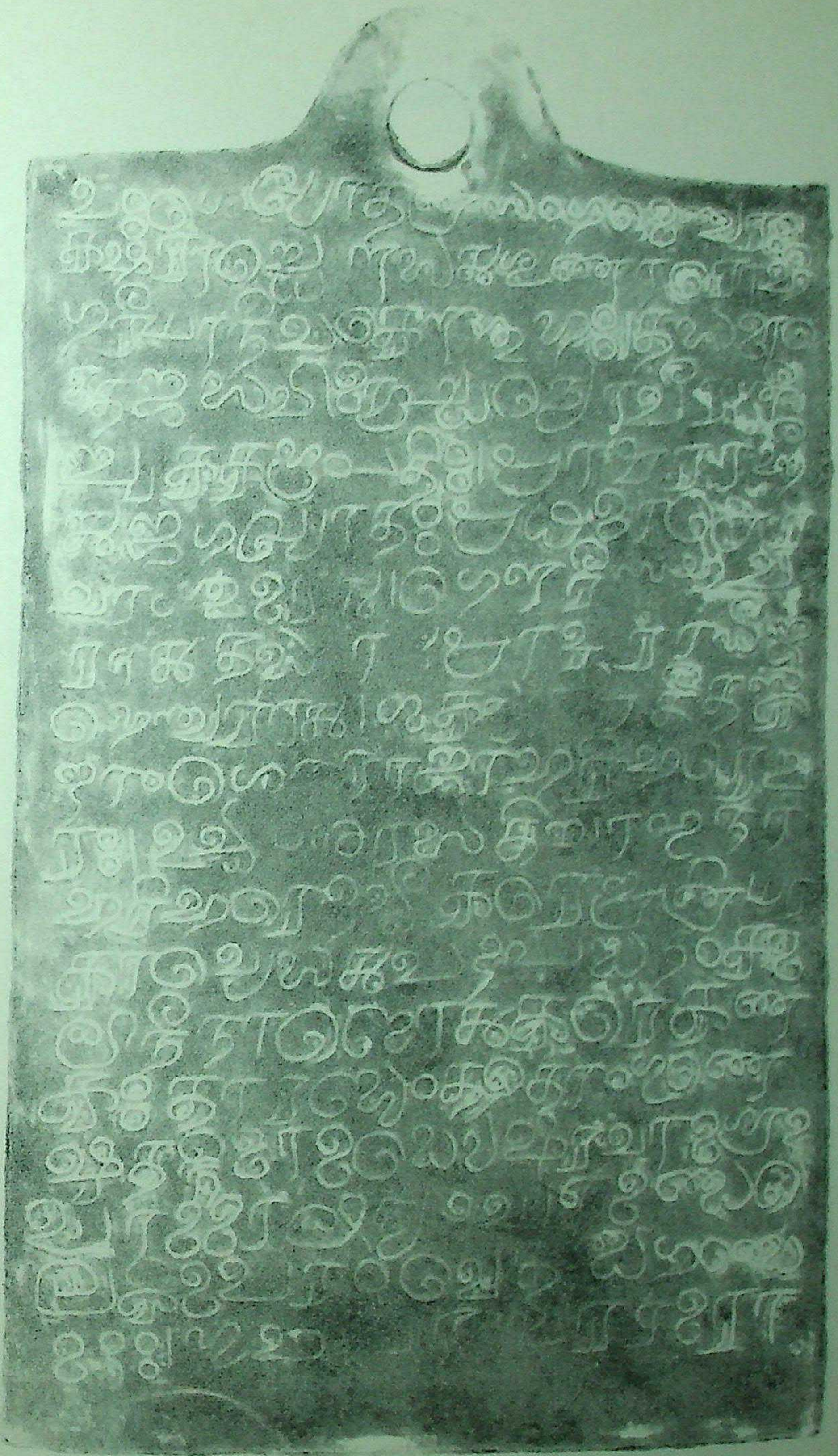
(Plates discovered at Tiruppanandal and brought to notice by N. Sethuraman of Kumbakonam)

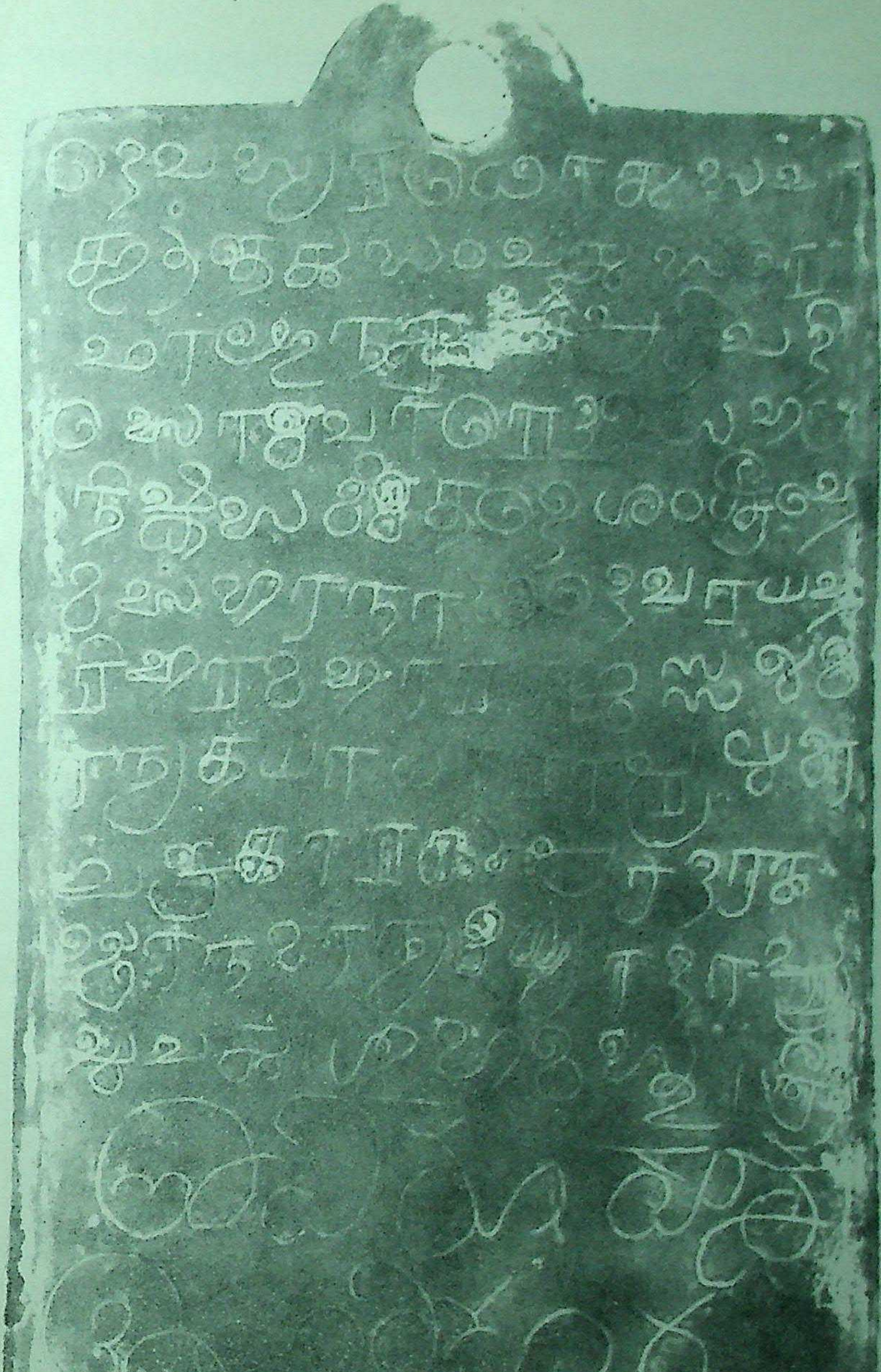
(Courtesy : N. Sethuraman)

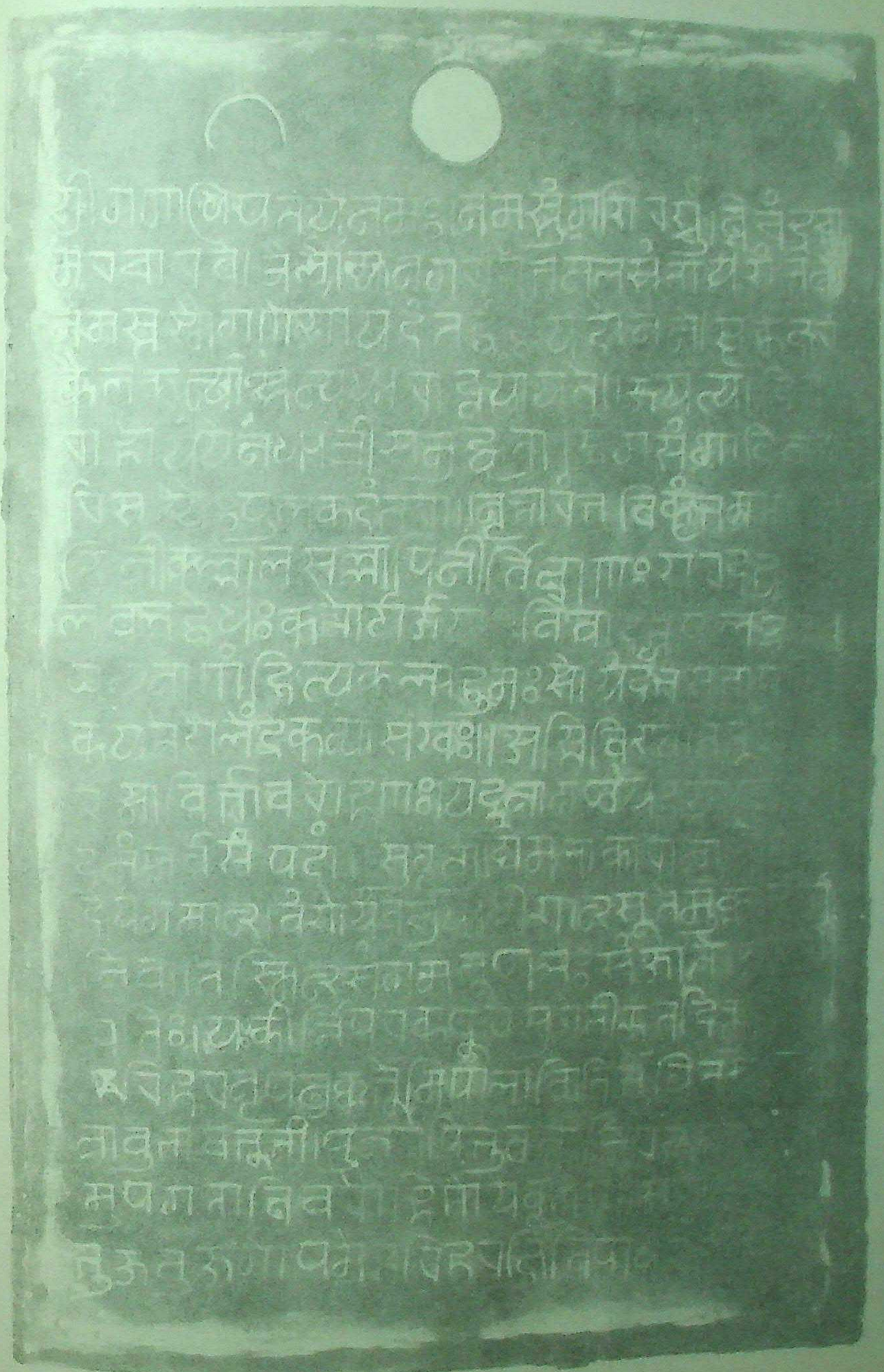




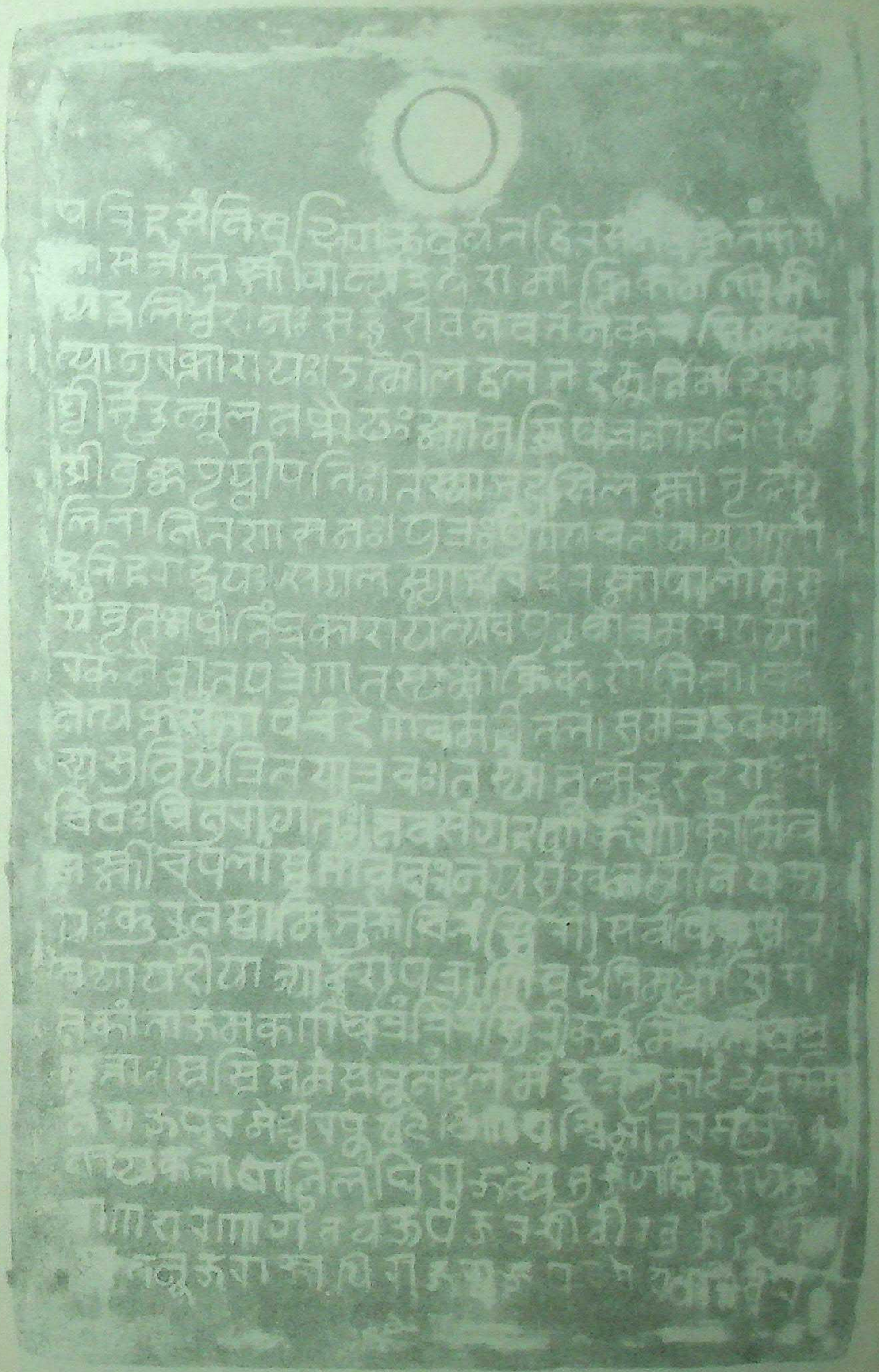




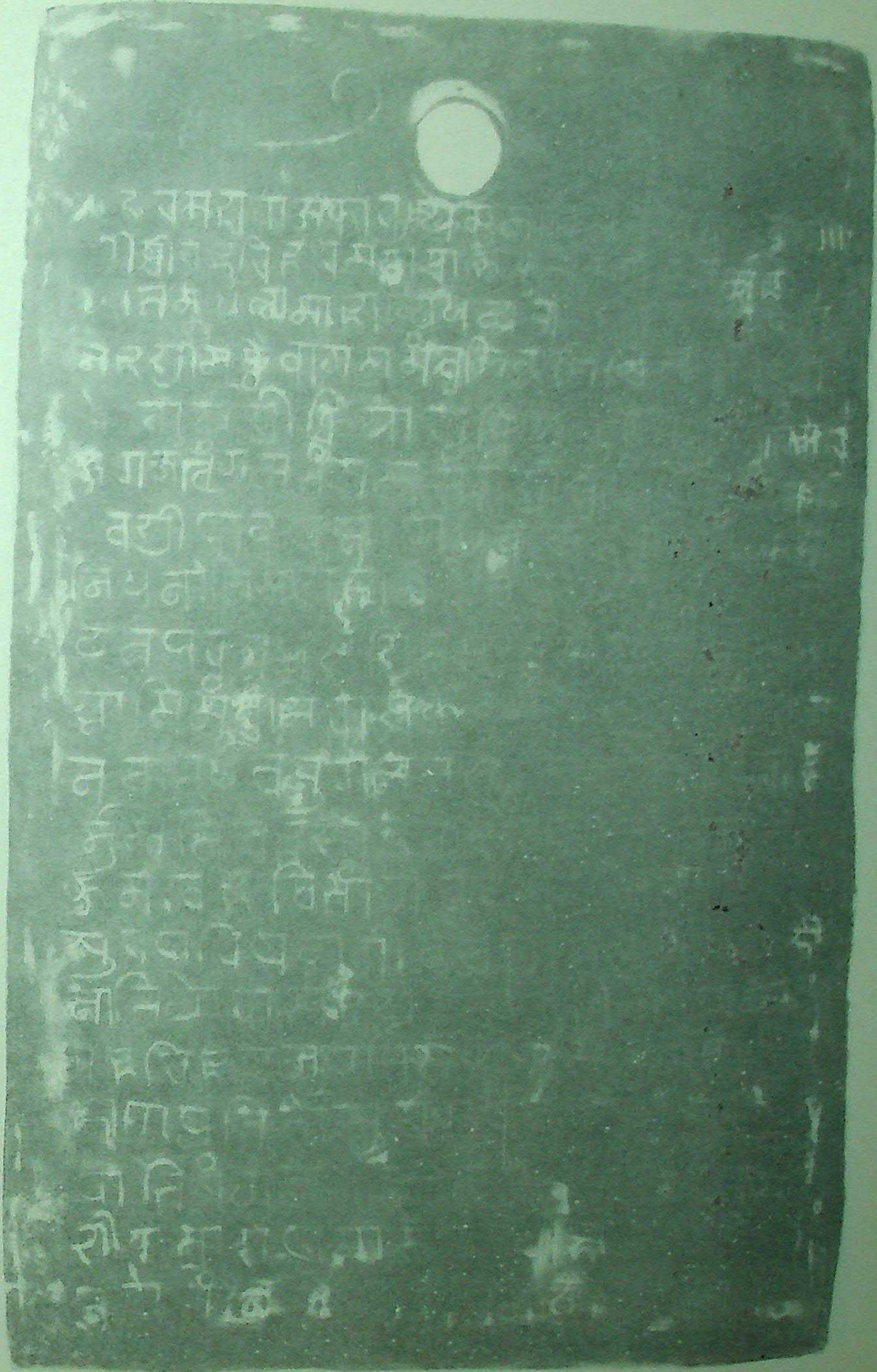




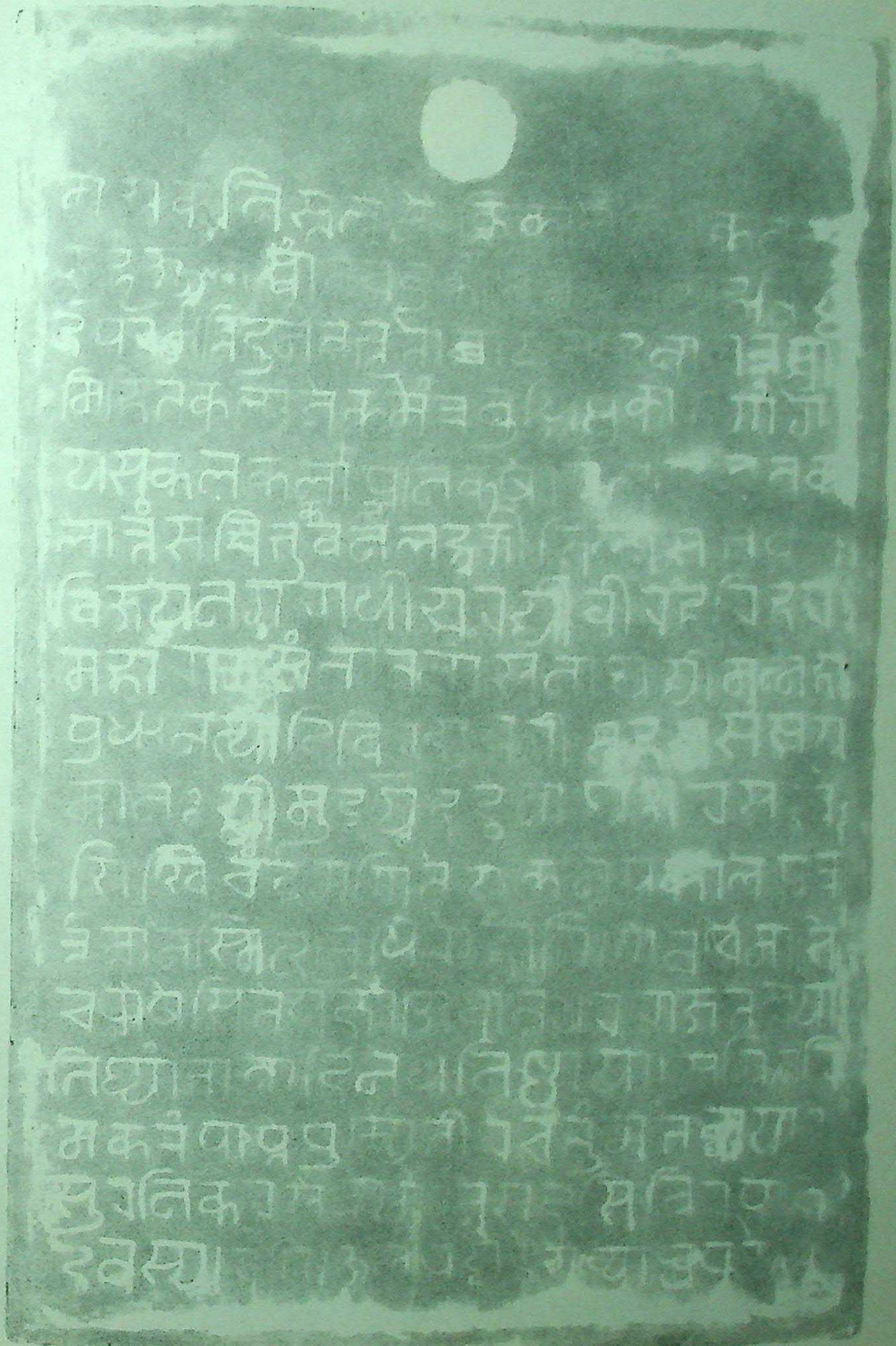
First plate, First side



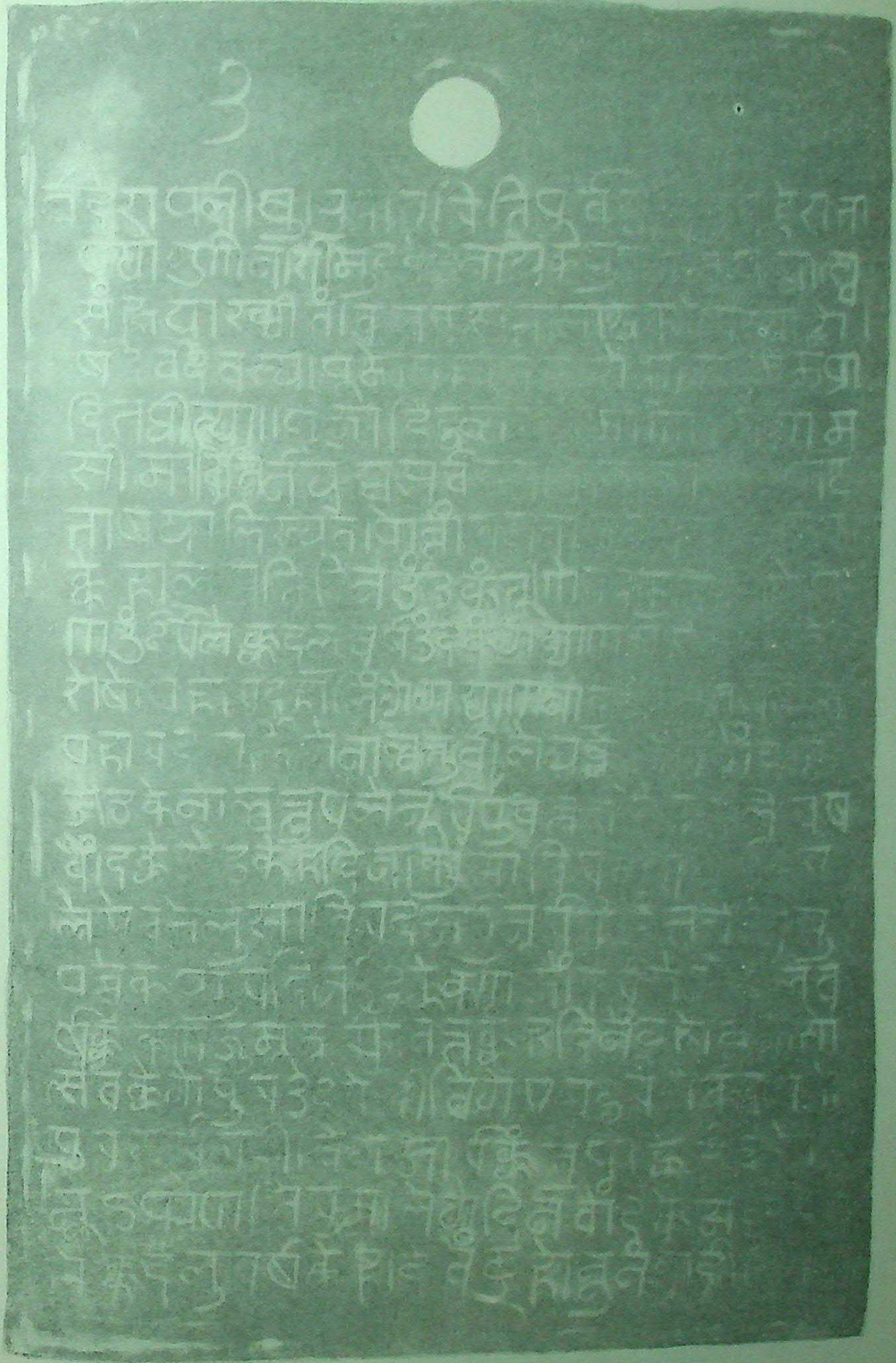
First plate, Second side



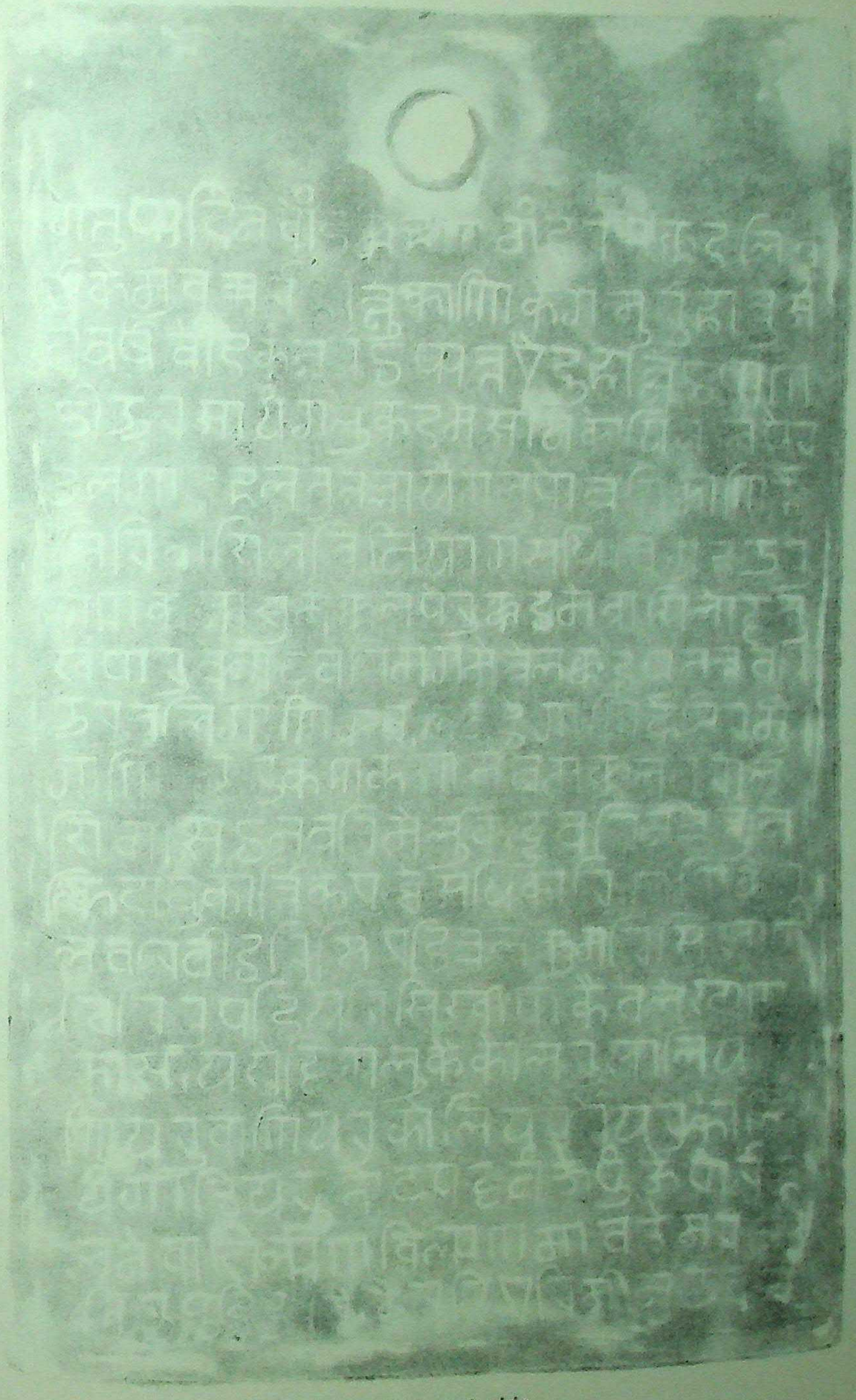
Second plate, First side



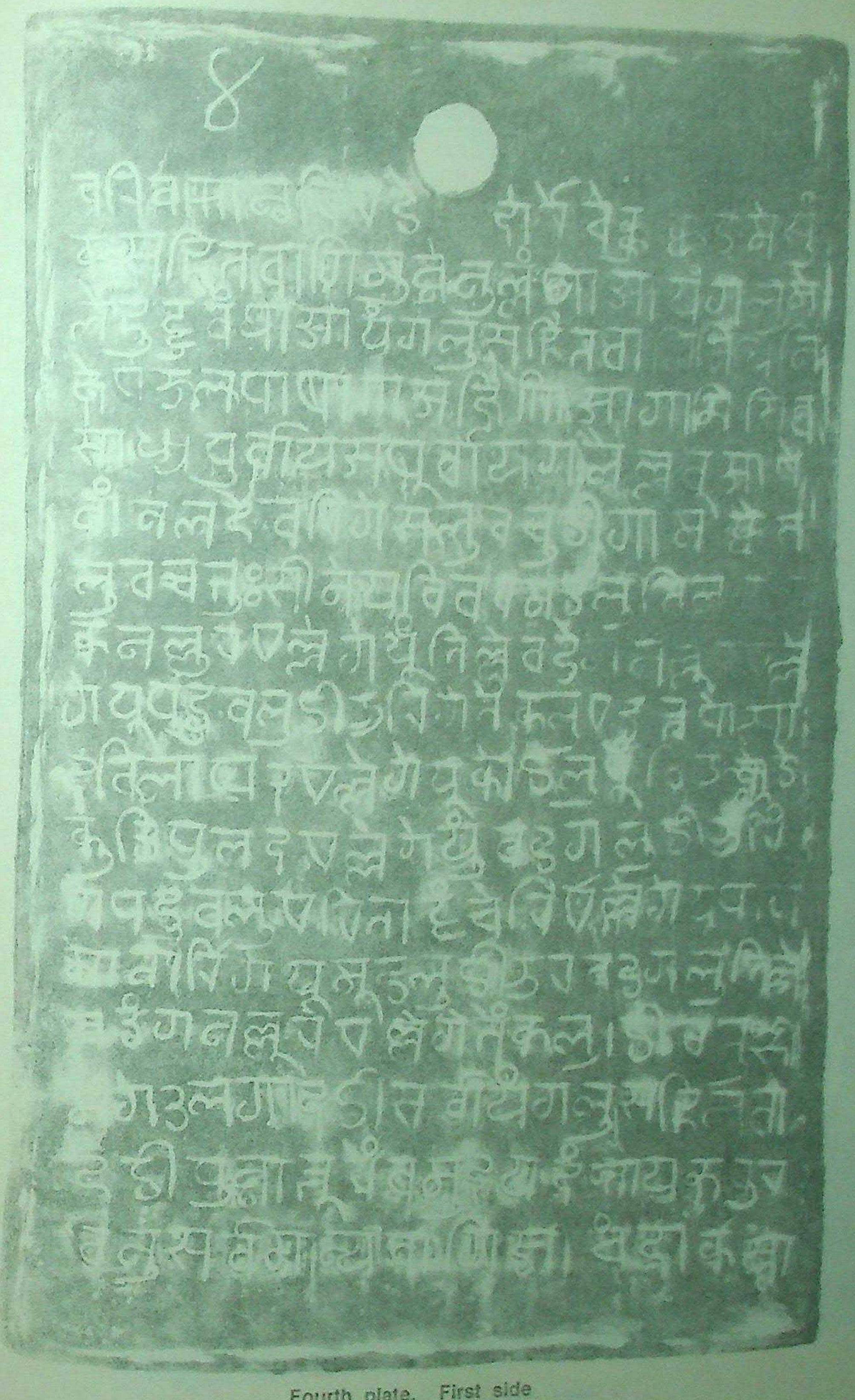
Second plate, Second side



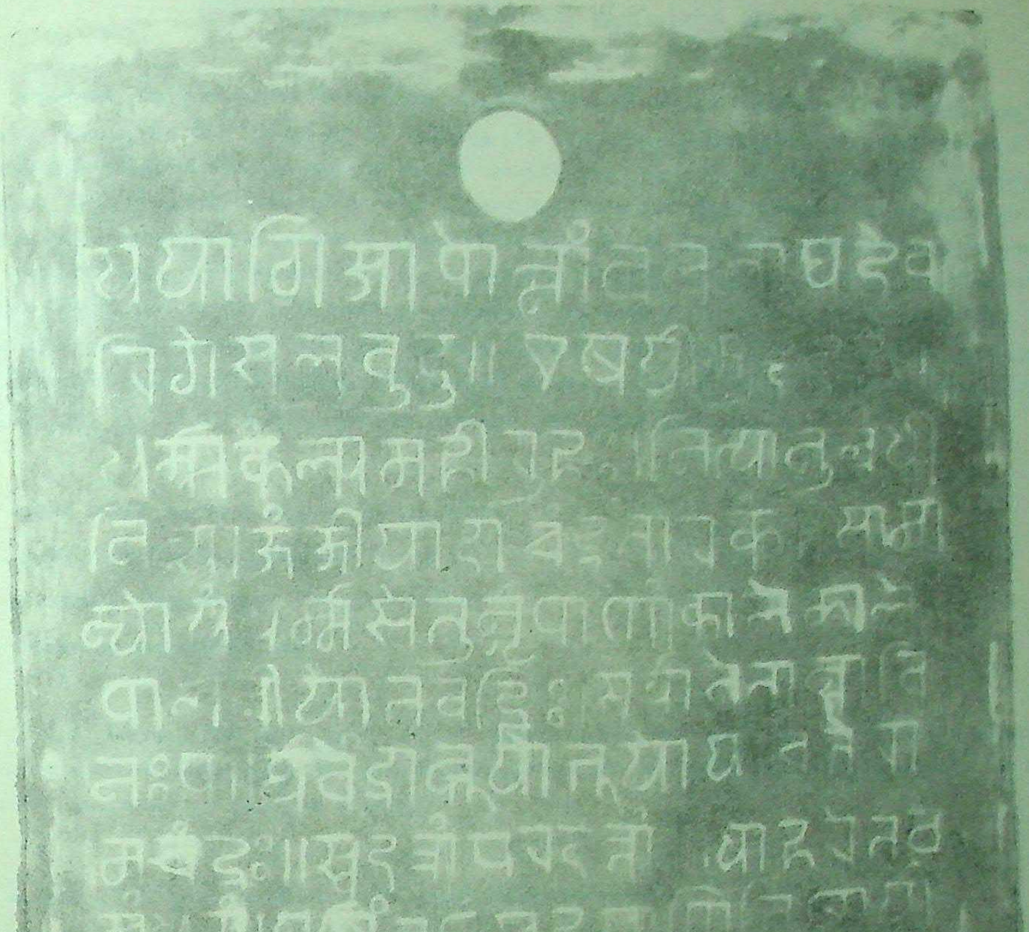
Third plate, First side



Third plate, Second side



Fourth plate, First side



Fourth plate, Second side

APPENDIX – XIV

குலோத்துங்கனுடைய தில்லைத் திருப்பணித் தொடக்கம்

தில்லைச் சபாநாயகரின் கீழைக் கோபுரத்தில் இரண்டு பாக்கள் கொண்ட கல்வெட்டு ஒன்று உள்ளது. இக்கல் வெட்டின் லிபி (எழுத்து) 13 அல்லது 14–ஆம் நூற்றாண்டினதாகலாம். இப்பண்டைக் கல்வெட்டு பிற்காலத்தில் கீழைக் கோபுர வாயிற் சுவரில் பெயர்த்து எழுதப்பட்டது போலும். இப் பாக்களைப் பாடிய கவிஞன் திருமூலத்தான முடையான் என வழங்கப்பட்டுள்ளான். இக்கல்வெட்டு குலோத்துங்கன் திருமாலின் அமிசமாகத் தோன்றினான் எனவும், இவன் தில்லைநாயகரின் கோயிலை விரிவாக்கத் திருவுள்ளங்கொண்டு தன் மாதேவியான சோழகுலவல்லியுடன் சகரயாண்டு 18–இல் அடிப்படைக் கல்லை நாட்டினான் எனவும் குறிப்பிடுகிறது. சகரயாண்டு 18 என்பது ஆயிரத்துப் பதினெட்டு என்ற பொருளில் வந்துள்ளது. சகரயாண்டு ஆயிரத்துப் பதினெட்டுக்குச் சரியான கிருஸ்து யாண்டு கி.பி. 1096. இதனை நோக்கக் குலாத்துங்கன் தன் ஆட்சியின் 26–ஆம் ஆண்டில் இத்தில்லைத் திருப்பணியைத் தொடங்கியிருக்க வேண்டும் என்று தோன்றுகிறது. கல்வெட்டுப் பாடல்கள் (பெருந்தொகை எண்கள் 1055, 1056) பின்வருமாறு:

ஓதும் சகரர் யாண்டு ஒருபத் தெட்டின்மேல்
ஆதிமூ லந்நாளில் ஆனிதனில் சோதி
துளங்கில மேற்சோழன் சோழகுல வல்லி
களங்கமற வைத்தாள் கரு.

(சகரர் யாண்டு 18–இல் ஆனி மாதம் மூலநட்சத்திரத்தில், ஒளி வீசும் பொன்னம்பலத்தை ஒட்டிய திருப்பணிகள் பல செய்வதற்குச் சோழன் குலோத்துங்கன் தன் மாதேவியான சோழகுல வல்லியுடன் களங்கமற்ற வகையில் அடிக்கல் நாட்டினான் என்பது)

வண்ணந் திகழும் கொடி மாடம் மற்றும் சோழ குலவல்லி
நண்ணும் தலைமை உடையாரை நாமார் புகழ்ப் பாமாலை
எண்ணும் படியிற் புகழாள ரென்றே அன்றே என்னுடைய
கண்ணும் பழனக் கழுமலமும் கலந்தோர் திருவை மலர்ந்தாரே.

[Extract from S.R. Balasubrahmanyam's "Colar Kalaippani" (in Tamil) – 1966]

APPENDIX XV

Inscriptions in the Amman shrine and on the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai

(Dr. B. Venkataraman)

On the base tier around the shrine of Sivakamasundari is an inscription of the 18th year, 140th day (A.D.1268) of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I, in Sanskrit and Tamil, containing a part of the famous *prasasti*, beginning with *Samasta-jagadadhara*, of this ruler. It records a tax-free gift of land by the king in favour of the deity. Mention is made of a *Manapallavan vaikkal* and of Udaiyar Alagiya Sokkar (A.R.E. 568 of 1962-63). On the west wall of the *Dhvajastambha mantapa* of the same shrine, there are two more inscriptions of this ruler (A.R.E. 570, 571 of 1962-63). The first inscription (No.570) describes the king's victories over the Hoysala ruler and over the Kerala and Ilam (Ceylon) kings and then refers to the ceremony of *tularohana* performed by the king, the gold weighed in which was used for gilding the *Sabha* of the Lord. The second inscription (No.571) is in verse form in praise of the king and refers, again, to the gilding of the *sabha*. Both of these are undated but have to be in the span after the victory over the Hoysalas (A.D. 1262).

Of equal interest is an undated inscription (A.R.E.569 of 1962-63) found on the same (western) wall of the *Dhvajastambha mantapa*, belonging to Maravarman Vikrama Pandya II (A.D.1249/50-1265/66), the senior contemporary of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I. It is in Sanskrit verse and in the Grantha script. Referring to the ruler as *Bhuvanaika Vira*, it praises the king's valour and exploits and refers also to the gilding of the *vimana*.

One could therefore conclude that the gilding of the *sabha* took place sometime after the victory over the Hoysalas (A.D. 1262) and the end of the reign of Maravarman Vikrama Pandya II (A.D. 1265/66).

On the base of a pillar of the *mukhamantapa* of this shrine, there is another inscription (A.R.E.572 of 1962-63). Its authorship is unknown but it is dated in Saka 1716, year Ananda and 16th day of *Ani* (A.D. 1794) and it records some renovation done by one Vaidyalinga Tambiran of the Tiruvannamalai Adhinam, who is said to have hailed from Mayuram (Mayiladuturai).

There are three inscriptions on the eastern wing of the *tiruc-curru-maligai* ("east wall, third *prakara")* relating to a Vira Pandya, who has to be identified with Jatavarman Vira Pandya (A.D. 1253-83) — (A.R.E. 549, 550 and 551 of 1962-63). The first of these (No.549) is dated in his 7th year, 324th day and records an order of one Vikrama Pandya Gangeyarayan, probably in respect of a grant of some land as *tiru-namattuk-kani* to the temple. Mention is made of Periya Nacciyar of Tiruk-kamak-kottam and of a piece of land given as *madappuram*. The second inscription (A.R.E. 550 of 1962-63) is an undated record of the same ruler which contains an order of the same officer (Vikrama Pandya Gangeyarayan) in respect of a grant of land for raising a flower garden to provide (supply) flowers daily to the temple. The village called Solakulavalli-nallur is mentioned in this connection as probably the village where the land is question was located. The third inscription (A.R.E. 551 of 1962-63), dated in the king's seventh year and 340th day (a fortnight later than the first-mentioned order), records yet another order of the same officer in respect of the purchase and grant of some land, made tax-free for the maintenance of the persons tending the flower-garden formerly granted to the deity of the temple.

On the "east wall of the third *prakara*", there are two inscriptions of the reign of the Cola king, Rajaraja III (A.D. 1216-46). One of them (A.R.E. 547 of 1962-63) refers to a royal gift of land to the God of the temple and to Periya Nacciyar of Tiruk-kamak-kottam; since it refers to the eleventh regnal year of the ruler, it should belong to a date later than A.D. 1227. The other inscription (A.R.E. 548 of 1962-63) is dated in his (16 + 1 =) 17th year (A.D.1233) and records a gift of land in Manikudi *alias* Tribhuvana-viran-kidangal and Virarajendran Vallam to the temple of Aludaiya Nayanar as *tiru-namattuk-kani*, by purchase in auction as *Rajarajap-peruvilai* on behalf of Somala-deviyar for 10,00,000 *kasus*. (Hoysala support for and marital relations with Rajaraja III have to be noted in this context; this record pertains to the period soon after the king was rescued from captivity in Sendamangalam.)

There are seven inscriptions of the Pallava Chief, Kopperunjinga, four of which range from his 9th to 12th regnal years, the remaining three being undated (A.R.E. 552 to 558 of 1962-63). Of these, No.553 is significant in that it contains a direction of the famous *Mudali* of Kopperunjinga, Solakon, that the record should be engraved on the *Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai*. These four dated records relate to the same transaction, and the one of his 9th year (No.552) records the order of Solakon specifying the contribution of the paddy to be made to the temple from the lands situated in several villages such as Uttamasolamangalam, Kshatriya-sikhamani-nallur, endowed as *tirup-pavadai-puram* to the Lord, Tiruc-cirrambalam-Udaiyar. There is a reference to a street called *Raja-divakarap-perunteru*. Similarly, No.553 records another order of Solakon, the details of which are lost; but there is a reference to Kopperunjinga's *Mudali*, Perumal Pillai, towards the end of the record, which is dated in his 11th regnal year. Another order of the same *Mudali* (Perumal Pillai *alias* Solakon) is found engraved on the same third *prakara* south wall (i.e., Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai), also dated in the Pallava Chief's 11th year, wherein he grants lands for a flower garden to supply flowers daily to the Goddess Tiruk-kamak-kottam-udaiya Nacciyar, for the *tirup-pu-mantapam*, and also providing for the payment of paddy probably for the maintenance of (by way of remuneration to) the gardeners. The endowment is stated to have been created for the welfare of the Chief (A.R.E. 554 of 1962-63). In another (subsequent) record dated in the next year (12th regnal year of the Pallava Chief), also found engraved on the same wall, is an order of the same *Mudali*, Perumal Pillai *alias* Solakon, granting land for residential purposes for those tending the flower gardens to which reference has been made in the earlier inscriptions.

In later records pertaining to Kopperunjinga's rule, another subordinate officer, Venadudaiyan, figures. In an inscription (A.R.E. 558 of 1962-63) found on the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai, an order is contained in respect of the grant of some lands by purchase from one Tirrucirrambalam Udaiyan Tyaga-vinoda Brahma-marayan, one Ulaccanan Tirunattap-perumal *alias* Tiru-vithi-kanda Brahma-marayan, and others, for raising a flower garden for the supply of flowers to the *Tirup-pu-mantapam* of Tiruccirrambalam Udaiyar and for the maintenance of the gardeners. We come across an order of the same officer (Venadudaiyan) in an inscription on the Vikramasolan Tirumaligai (west wall, second *prakara*) dated in Kopperunjinga's 36th regnal year (A.R.E. 104 of 1934-35: S.I.I., XII, 245).

In particular, the presence on the Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai of an inscription of the 11th year of Rajaraja III (A.D. 1227) confirms that this wall of enclosure (Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai) was completed in the time of Kulottunga III himself. He had the surname Rajakkal Tambiran and lived on till at least A.D. 1218, may be even later. Further the Kopperunjinga (Solakon) record (No. 553 of 1962-63) explicitly refers to the wall of enclosure by that name, 'Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai'.

We have emphatic confirmation therefore that Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai, on which the four main *Gopurams* are located, was exclusively a Cola affair completed by Rajakkal Tambiran (Kulottunga III) himself ---- a point we have repeatedly made in Section One of this book. Incidentally, it also re-establishes our view that the locations of the four main *Gopurams* on the alignment of Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai were well determined during the Later Cola period itself, by the time of Kulottunga III himself; and there can be no more convincing proof for our stand that 'the theory of Pandyan *Gopurams* at Cidambaram' cannot be sustained at all.

* * *

Select Diacritical Marks

Guide to the pronunciation of some words (mostly proper names)

Words not listed below — such as 'Pallava', 'Pariti-niyamam', Vijayanagar etc. — are to be pronounced as written — according to the fairly well-known norms for their pronunciation. We list below only some of those words which require diacritical marks for guidance in their pronunciation.

Abhayakula-śekhara (Ubhayakula-śekhara)
Abhicāra-hōma
Abhiṣēkham (abhishekam)
Acyuta Dēva Rāya
Acyuta Kaḷappāḷan
Acyutappa Nāyaka
Āḍa(l)vallān
Aḍayapalam
Ādhāra
Ādhīnam (Dharmapura-etc.)
Ādi Mūlam
Āḍi-p-perukku
Āḍippūra Amman
Ādi Sēṣa (Adisesha)
Āditya (Cōl̤a)
Āgama, Āgamānta
Aghōra, Īśāna, Tatpuruṣa, Vāmadēva, Sadyōjāta
Agrahāram
Ahamkāra (Ahankāra)
Ahapporuḷ
Airāvatēśvara (at Dārāsuram)
Aiyaḍigal Kāḍavar-kōn Nāyanār
Aiyiru-nūru-kāl-maṇi-maṇṭapa(m) (100-Pillared Hall)
Ājnā (cakra)
Ajnāna
Ajnāta-vāsa
Akalankan tiru-vāśal
Ākāśa (= 'ether'): Ākāśa-śarīram Brahma
Alagiya Tiruccir̤r̤ambalam-uḍaiya Tambirānār
Āḷuḍaiya Pil̤l̤aiyār
Āluḍaiyār
Āl̤vār
Amrta-ghaṭes'varar (temple at Mēlakka-ḍambūr)
Anāhata
Ānai-yēr̤r̤uk-kūḍam
Ānanda
Ānandamaya-kōśa (Cit Sabhā)
Ānanda Tāṇḍava, - mūrti
Ānanda Tāṇḍavap-perumāḷ Toṇḍaimānār alias Jagadīsuran Rāja Sūryat-toṇḍaimān
Anantīśvara(n) (temple)
Anapāya (Kulottunga II), - Mūvendavēḷān
Āṇḍāl
Āni (Tirumanjanam)
Anna-k-koḍi
Aṇṇāmalai, - Chet̤t̤iār of Chet̤t̤ināḍ, - Nagar
Antarvēdī
Apasmāra puruṣa (Muyalakan)
Āpatsahāyeśvarar (temple at Ālanguḍi)
Araviḍu (dynasty)
Ardhajāma Al̤agar, - pūjā
Ardha-maṇṭapa
Ardhanārīśvara
Ārdra Darśanam
Arpiśi Pūram
Arumol̤i Īśvaram
Arunācaleśvarar
Arunmol̤i-dēvar Śekkil̤ār
Aśarīrī
Ātma(n), "Ātmanārpaṇa-stuti"
Āttūr (Ar̤r̤ūr)

Āvaḍuturai
Avaniyāḷappirandān (Kōpperunjingan)
Āvuḍaiyār-kōyil
Bali-pīṭham
'Bharatam-vallān'
Bharata Nāṭyam, - Nāṭya Śāstra
Bhāṣya
Bhaṭṭācārya
Bhikṣātanar, Bhikṣāṭana-mūrti
Bhujanga-ancitakam, trāsam, balitam, trāsita
Bhūlōka Kailāsa (m)
Bhūtā-gaṇa(s)
Bhuvana-giri (Bhuvana-vīran paṭṭinam or Bhuvanaika-vīran paṭṭinam)
Bhuvana-mul̤uduḍaiyāḷ (Cōl̤a queen)
Bōdha
Brahma Caṇḍī
Brahma - Caṇḍikeśvara(r)
Brahma-dēyam
Brahmādhirājan
Brahmapurīśvara(r) (temple at Śīrkāl̤i)
Caṇḍeśura (Caṇḍēśvara) Nāyānār, "-Purāṇam"
Candramaulīśvara
Cēdiyarāyan, Cēdiyaraiyan
Ceramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār
Cēvappa Nāyaka
Cidambaram, Ciṛṛambalam
"Cidambara Māhātmyam" (part of "Skanda Purāṇam)
"Cidambara Mummaṇik-kōvai" (of Kumaragurupara Svāmigal)
Cidambara-nātha-puram
"Cidambara Purāṇam"
"Cidambara Tattva Nirṇayam"
Cidambarēśvara (Naṭarāja)
Cōl̤a, - maṇḍala(m), "-maṇḍala Śatakam"
Dahara - vidyā
Daharākāśa
Dakṣiṇāmūrti(h) : Dakshinamurti
Daṇḍayudhapāṇi(h)
Dārāsuram (Rājarājeśvaram)
"Darśanōpaniṣad"
Dārukā (forest)
Dēva Āram : Dēvāram
Dēvadāna
Dēva-kōṣṭa
Dēvāśrayan maṇṭapa(m)
Dharmasēna(r)
Ḍhuṇḍhi Vināyaka
Dhvaja-stambha, - ārōhaṇa, - avarōhaṇa
Dīkṣa
Dīpārādhanā
Doḍḍayacārya
Dvādaśāntastha(h)
Dvārapālaka
Ēkāmreśvara, Ēkāmranātha (of Kāncī)
El̤u-nilai Gōpuram
Gaja-samhāra-mūrti(h)
Gaṇḍarāditya (Cōl̤a)
Gangā, Gangai-koṇḍa-Cōl̤a (Rājēndral)
- Cōl̤apuram (Gangāpurī)
- Cōl̤īśvaram
Garuḍa (Ālvār)
Gauḍa - deśa (North Bengal)
Gaulīśa
Girijā (Pārvatī, Umā)
Gōpāla Paṇḍita (Dādājī)
Gōpura(m), Gōpura-vāśal
"Gōpura darśanam pāpa vimōcanam (vināśanam)
Gōvindarāja
Guḍimallam
Guṇaparavīccaram
Hari-Harābhēda
"Hālāsya māhātmyam"
Hēma - sabhā, - nātha(r)
Hiraṇya Narasimha, - Sabhā, - varman (Simha - varman)
Hoyśalas of Dōrasamudra (Dvārasamudra)
Iḍangal̤i Nāyanār
Ilamaiyākkinār
Īl̤am (Śrī Lankā : Ceylon)

Iṣṭa-dēvatā (Ishta-devata)
Jambukēśvaram (Tiru(v)ānaikkā)
Jananātha saruppēdimangalam (caturvēdimangalam) = Ālanguḍi
Jaṭā, - varnam (Pāṇḍya kings)
Jaṭa-makuṭa
Jayankoṇḍa - cōḻa - caturvēdimangalam - maṇḍalam
Jayan-koṇḍār
Jīvaka Cintāmanī
Jnāna, Icchā, Kriyā (-śakti)
Jnāna - Ākāśa, - Sabhā (Cit Sabhā)
Jnānākāśa - Cit sabhā - praveśah
Jyōti, - svarūpa, - Natarāja
Kaḍamai, Kuḍimai (taxes)
Kaḍāram (= Kedah)
Kāḍava
Koḍungōn
Kaḍvāngam
Kalā (art, phase of moon)
Kaḷabhra (inter-regnum)
Śrī Kāḷahasti
Kālakaṇṭheśvara
Kālam (time-scheduled worship)
Kalaśa(m)
Kaḷavaḷi
Kāḷī
"Kalingattu-p-paraṇi"
Kālāmukhas
Kāmbhōja
Kāmikāgama
Kampa - hareśvara (temple at Tribhuvanam)
Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār
Kanaka-sabhā-pati, Ratna-sabhā-pati, Cit-sabhēśa, Natēśa, Sabhēśa, Cidambarēśvara, Ponnambala-nāthan, Ambala-vāṇan, Kūtta-pirān, Tillai-pirān, Āḍa(l)vallān, Ānanda-tāṇḍavan, Ānanda-k-kūttan. (names of Naṭa-rāja)
"Kanaka-sabhā-pati sabhā sarva-kārya sarva-kalā nirvāhakah" (self-description by Kōpperunjingan)
"Kāncana Sabhā punar-uddhārana"
Kāncīpuram, "Kāncī-puram", Kāncī-vai-pērūr
Kāndalūr Śālai
Kaṇḍan Mādhavan
Kaṇṭham
Kanyākumārī
Kāpālikas
Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār
Karaṇā(s)
Kāraṇa : upādāna, nimitta
Karār - nāmā
Karikāla (Cōḻa)
Karpaka Vrkṣa
Karuṇāgama
Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān
Karuvūr (- dēvar)
Kāśī (= Vārāṇasī)
Kaṭṭalai
Kaṭṭu-mannār-kōyil
Kāverī
Kā, Kāvu
Kāyāvarōhaṇa
Kirāta
Kōc-cengaṇān (Kōc-cengat-cōḻa Nāyanār)
Koḍimāḍa Sengunrūr
Koḍu-koṭṭi, Pāṇḍa(ranga)m, Kapāla-k-kūttu, Ūḷi-naṭanam, Kōḍu (tāṇḍava forms)
Koḍumbaḷūr
Koḍungoḷūr
Koḷḷiḍam (the river Coleroon)
Kolli-maḷavan
Kōnerinmai-koṇḍan (Kulōttunga III)
Koṛṛavanguḍi (Kottanguḍi)
Kōṭṭāru
Kōyil
"Kōyil Purāṇam" (by Umāpati Śivācārya)
Kr(i)mikaṇṭhan
Krṣṇa-dēva Rāya (Krishnadeva Raya)
Kṣētra, - vrkṣa, - pāla Piḷḷaiyar (= sthala) Vināyaka, Nartana Vināyaka, Kulōttunga Cōḻa

Vināyakar
Kubēra
Kuḍamūkku (Kumbakōṇam, Kumbhaghōṇam)
Koḍiyiruppu-nattam
Kuḍumiyān-malai
Kulanāyakam
Kulaśekhara Ālvār, - Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi
Kulōttunga, - Cōḻan Ulā, - Cōlan Vīthī
Kulōttunga II (Anapāya, Śrī-pīṭham-kaṇḍa Periya Perumāl, Tiru-niṟṟuc-cōḻan, Pon-vēynda Perumāl, Tirup-pērambalam pon-mēyndaruḷiya Rājakēsari-varman)
"Kuncitānghri-stavam" (by Umāpati Śivācārya)
Kuncita-pādam
Kuṇḍalinī
Kūrattāḻvār
Kūrruva Nāyanār
Kūta, Śāla
Kuvalayānanda (Alankāra)
Lakṣa arcanā (Laksharcana)
Linga Purāṇa
Lakulīśa
Lingōdbhava
Māḍakkōyil
Maḍappaḻḻi
Madhurai-koṇḍa parakēsari
"Madhurā-vijayam"
Mādiniyār
"Mahābhāṣya" (of Patanjali)
Mahābhiṣekam (Mahabhishekam)
Mahādēvar
Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara
Mahā-naivēdyam
Mahēndra-varman (Pallava)
Māhēśvara
Mahiṣāsura-mardanī (Durga)
Mahōdai (Muśiri, Cranganore)
Makuṭāgama
Mana-vāsagan-gaḍandār
Maṇavāḷa Muni
Mangaiyarkkaraśi
Māṇikka-mūrti (Ratna-sabhāpati)
Māṇikka-vācakar
"Maṇimēkhalai" (by Sattanar)
Maṇipūrakam
Maṇṭapa
Maraijnāna Sambandha Śivācārya (one of the Santāna Guruvar)
Mārkaṇḍeya
Marumāṟṟa-t-tirut-tāṇḍakam
Māśi (month), - makham (festival)
"Matta-vilāsa prahasaṇa"
Mayilāppu (Mayilāppūr, Mylapore)
Mēlakkaḍambūr
Mēru
Meykaṇḍār (Meykaṇḍa-dēvar)
Meykkīrti
Mōhana Gaṇapati
Mōhinī
Muḍittalai-koṇḍa Perumāḷ Tiruvīthī
Mūkāmbikā (at Kollūr)
Mukhak-kaṭṭaṇa Vināyakar
Mukha-maṇṭapa
Mūlādhara (- kṣētra)
Mūla-paruṣaiyār
Mūlavar
"Mūttā Tiruppadigam" (of Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār: Eleventh Tirumurai)
"Mūvar Ulā"
Mūvēnda-vēḷān
Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi
Nāḍi (Candra, Sūrya, Iḍa (- kalai), Pingalai, Naḍu)
Nāda, Nādānta, Naṭana, Naṭanānta
Nāḍu
Nāda-Brahmam
Naduvil-nāḍu
Nāgapaṭṭinam
Na ma śi vā ya
Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi
Nammāḻvār
Nānādēśī

Nandikēśvara
Nārai (Crane) - (Tirunāraiyūr)
Naralōka-vīran (Sabhā-nartakan, Kālingarāyan, Mānavatāran, Maṇavil-vāḷ-kūtan, Arumbākka-k-kiḻan, Porkōyil Toṇḍaimān, Madhurāntakan, Ponnambalak-kūttan, Aruḷākaran); - tirumāligai
Naṭarāja
Naṭēśa
Nāṭṭuk-kōṭṭai Ceṭṭiārs (Nagarathār)
"Nāyanār-kōyil-terkil-tiruvāśal Sokkac-cīyan tiru-nilai-eḻu-gōpuram"
Nāyanār, Nāyanmār
(Tiru) Nāvukkaraśu, Nāvukkaraśar
Nīḍūr
Nilai maṇi māḷigaigaḷ
Nīlakaṇṭha yāḻp-pāṇar
Nilam-alavupaḍa-perumakkaḷ
Ōduvār
Oṭṭak-kūttan(r)
Pachaiyappa Mudaliār
Paḍampakka Dēvar
Palaiyanūr
Paḷaiyarai
Pālayakkārar
Paḷḷi-arai
Paḷḷikēśvarar
(Akkan-) Paḷḷip-paḍai
Pāmālai
Panangudic-cēri alias Parakēsari-nallūr
Panca-bhūta kṣetra
Panca krtya
Paramānanda Tāṇḍavam
Pāṇḍarangam (dance-form)
Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam
Pāṇḍya, - Nāyakam
Pāṇḍyar Tambirān
Panangudiccēri alias Parakēsari -nallūr
Pancākṣara (Anjeḻutta, Aindeḻuttu)
Para-Brahma jyōtī
Paradēśi
Parakēsarī (Cōḷa title)
Parākrama Pāṇḍya
Paramānanda, Paraparānanda
Paramānanda-kūpam
Paramēśvara
Paraṇi (a heroic poem)
Parāntaka (Cōḷa)
Paraśurāmēśvara
Paravai Nācciyār
"Paripāḍal"
Parivāra-dēvatā
Pārthasārathi(h) : Krishna
Pāśupatas
Pāśupatāstra
Pāśupatēśvara (of Tiruvēṭkaḷam)
Paśupaṭi (Śiva, Naṭarāja)
Pāśūr (Tiruppāccil)
Pātāḷa
Pāṭalīputra (Tirup-pādirip-puliyūr)
Paṭṭabhiṣekam
Pāvāḍai
Peṇṇar
"Pēṇu Śentamiḻ vāḷap-piranda Kāḍavan"
Pērambalam (Dēva Sabhā)
Periya Purāṇam (- Pāyiram) by Śēkkiḻar
"Periya Tirumoḻi"
"Periya Tirut-tāṇḍagam"
Perumāḷ Piḷḷai
Perum-paṟṟap-puliyūr (Cidambaram)
Piḍārar
Piḍāri Tiruc-ciṟṟambala Mākāḷī
Poigai Āḻvār
Pollāp-piḷḷaiyār
Pon-vēynda Perumāl
Poṟṟi-t-tiru(v)ahaval
Prabhā (-vaḷi)
Prākāra
Prāṇamaya kōśa
Praṇava Pīṭha
Praṇava Prākāra
Praṇavātmakah

"Prapannāmrtam"
Praśasti(h)
'Pratyabhijnā hrdaya(m)'
Prthivī (earth)
Puṇḍarīka-puram (Cidambaram)
Puṇḍarīkavallī Nācciyār
"Pura-nānūru"
Purāri (h)
Rājādhirāja, - vaḷanāḍu
Rājakēsarī (Cōḻa title), - varman
Rāja Mahēndra (-deva Cōḻa)
Rājākkaḷ Tambirān Tirumāligai, - Tiruvīthī
Rājarāja (Coḻa, I, II & III)
Rājarājan Tiruvāśal
Rājarājap-peruvilai
Rājarājeśvaram
Rājēndra (Cōḻa)
Rājigā
Rāmānuja
Rāma-pāda
Rāma-rāya
Ranganātha (at Śrī-rangam)
Rāṣṭrakūṭa
Rathakāra, Ratha-vimāna,
Ratnasabhāpati (= Māṇikka-mūrti)
Ṛṣabha (Vrṣabha)
Śabdam, sparśa, rūpa, rasa, gandha
Sabhā : Cit, Kanaka, Nrtta, Dēva, Rāja (Dabhra, Hāṭaka, Tāmra)
Sabhāpati (Sabhānāyaka)
Sadāśiva
Sadāśiva Pīṭha
"Sāhitya Ratnākara"
Sahyādri
Śailendra
Śaiva Siddhānta
Saiva Vellāla
Śakti
Śāluva
Samasta Jagadādhāra
Sambandhar, Jnāna -, Tiru-jnāna-
Śambhu (h)
Śāmbhājī
Śambhuvara(i)yar
Samhāra
Śangam (Age)
Santāna Guruvar (Guravar, Guravargal)
Śankarācārya (Śankara Bhagavat-pāda, Ādi Śankara)
Śarabha
Śārngapāṇi
Sat-cit-ānanda (Saccidānanda)
Sēkkiḻar
Śembiyan Mahādevī
"Śentamiḻ vāḷap-piranda Kāḍavan"
Śeppukkal Tiruc-ciṟṟambalam - uḍaiyān
Śēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār (also, Cēramān)
Sikhāgiriśvara (at Kuḍumiyānmalai)
Śilappadikāram
Śilpa-śāstra
Simhādri Pōttanūru
Simhalāntaka
Simha-Viṣṇu
Śingārat-tōppu : Parakēsari-nallūr alias Panangudic-cēri (temples of
1. Brahmapurīśvarar or Tirukkaḷancēdi Uḍaiyār
2. Arumoḻīśvaram
3. Vikrama cōḻisvaram Uḍaiyār)
Śīrkāḻi
Śiva
Śivācārya
Śivagangā (tank)
Śiva-jnāna Bōdham
Śivakāma-sundarī, - vallī
Śivapāda-śekhara (Rājarāja I)
Śivārkamaṇidīpika
Śokkaccīyan
Śoḻak(k)ōn
Śoḻakulavallī (yār) alias Ādittan āṇḍa Kuṭṭiyār - nallūr
Śoraikkāvūr
Sphaṭika linga

Śrī-bali Nāyakar
Śrī-cakram
Śrī-kaṇṭha (Śiva)
Śrī Mahāsvāmigaḷ Śrī Śankarācārya Śrī Candraśekharēndra Sarasvatī Svāmigaḷ of Śrī Kāncī Kāmakōṭi Pīṭham
Śrī Mūlanāthar (Tiru Mūlaṭṭanattar) shrine: (Śrī) Mūlasthānam
Śrī-Pīṭham
Śrī-ranga(m)
Sadāśiva Rāya
Śrī-vimāna(m)
Śrṣṭi
Sthala-purāṇam
Sthala-vrkṣa
Sthānattār
Sthira-tarānanda
Sthūla rūpam
Śubha-dēva
Sudarśana-cakra
Sundara Pāṇḍya
Śūḍik-koḍutta Nācciyār (Āṇḍāḷ)
Sūkṣma
Sundaramūrti Nāyanār
Śuppammāḷ
Śuṣumnā
Svādhiṣṭānam
Svarṇa-kāla Bhairavar
"Svasti śrī It-tiru-maṇṭapam Akaḷankan"
Tai pūśam
Tambirān-tōḻar
Tātācārya
Tāṭanka
Tējas, Tēyu (fine)
Tēr-k-kōyil
Terkku-nāḍu
Teṟṟi Ambalam (Tiruc-citra-kūṭam)
Tillai-k-kālī (Tillai vanam uḍaiya Paramēśvarī)
Tillai Mūvāyiravar (The "Three Thousand" of Tillai)
Tillai Nāyakar (Nataraja)

Tillai vāḻ Andaṇar
Tirōbhāva, Tirōdhāna
Tīrtha, - yātrā
Tiru(v)ālangāḍu
Tiru Ālavāi
Tiruc-ciṟṟambalam, - Uḍaiyār
Tiruc-citrakūṭam
Tiruc-cuṟṟu-māḷigai
Tiruk-kalancēḍi _ (-jēri) Uḍaiyār at Panan-guḍic-cēri
Tiruk-kāmak-kōṭṭam (Kāma-kōṣṭa) - uḍaiya Periya - Nācciyār
Tiruk-kaṭṭup-paḷḷi
"Tiruk-kōvaiyār"
Tiru--kuḍandai-k-karōṇam
Tiru-k-kūttu darśanam
Tirumandiram
Tiru-mandira-ōlai
Tiru-mangai Āḻvar
Tirumaraikkāḍu (Vedāraṇyam)
Tiru(v)iśaippa
Tirumūlar
"Tiru-murai kaṇḍa Purāṇam"
Tiru-murai kaṇḍa Vināyaka
Tiru-nāgai-k-karōṇam
Tiru-nāḷaip-pōvār Nāyanār (Nandanār)
Tiru-nāmattuk-kāṇi
Tirunāraiyūr (in Śōṇāḍu)
Tirunāvukkaraśu (araśan) Nāyanār - (Appar)
Tiru-nīlakaṇṭha Nāyanār
Tirup-pārkkaḍal
Tirup-pattur
Tirup-pāvāḍai amudu
Tirup-pudiyadu (Tirup-puḍavai-iḍu) festival
Tirup-pulīśvaram (Vyāghrapāda tīrtham)
Tirup-pūnturutti
Tirut-toṇḍat-togai, - Īśvaram Uḍaiyār
"Tiruvācakam"
Tiruvānaikkā(val) : Jambukēśvaram
Tiruvaṇṇamalai
Tiruvārūr, - k- kūṟṟam

Tiruvāsi (Prabhāvalī)
Tiruvāvḍuturai
Tiruveṇkāḍu
Tiruveṇṇai-nallūr
Tiruviḍai-marudūr
Tiruviḻimiḻalai
Tiru-vīraṭṭānēśvarar (of Tiruvadigai)
Tiru(v) ōṇam
Tiruvoṟṟiyūr
Tiṭṭi-vāśal
Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam
Toṇḍaiyar-kōn
Toṇḍar-śīr-uraittar (-śīr-paravurār) - Śēkkiḻār
Tribhuvana-vīra-dēva (Kulottunga III)
- Īśvaram
Tripurāntaka(m)
Tyāgarāja or Tyāgēśa (of Tiruvārūr)
Ubhayakārar
Ubhaya-puṇya Kāvērī (Koḷḷiḍam)
Uḍaiyār -kōyil pon-vēynda Perumāl, - bhaṇḍāram
Ulā, Vikrama Cōḻan -, Kulōttunga Cōḻan -, Rājarāja Cōḻan -, Mūvar-.
Uḻavārap-paṇi
Umā-Pārvatī
Umāpati Śivācārya
Uṇmai-viḷakkam
"Unnaḍikke pōduhinrēn"
Uraiyūr
Ūrdhva-tāṇḍava, - tāṇḍavēśvara
Vāgīśar
Vaidīka
Vaidumbarāyan
Vaikuṇtha, - Perumal (temple at Kāncī)
Vaikhānasa Sūtra
Vaiṣṇava, Vaiṣṇavism
Vaiyappa Kṛṣṇappa Koṇḍama Nāyaka
Vāmā, Jyēṣṭhā, Raudrī, Kālī, Kāla-vikāriṇī, Bāla-vikārinī, Bala-pramathanī, Sarva-bhūta-damanī, Manōnmanī
Vanādhirāja Noḷambādhirāja
Varaguṇa (Pāṇḍya)
Vāyu(h) (Air, wind)
Vēda
Vēdānta, - Dēśika(r)
Vellār
Vēli
Vēḷir
Vēnkaṭa (-pati) Rāya
Vijayālaya (Cōḷa)
Vijnānamaya kōśa (Kanaka Sabhā)
Vikramāditya (Cālukya)
Villavarāyan
Vīra Ballāla, - Cōḻa, - Cōḻa-mandalam, - Cōḻa-valaraṣtra, - Nārāyaṇan
Vīrāṇam (tank: Vīra-nārāyaṇam ēri)
Vīra-nārāyaṇac-cīrmai
Vīra Pāṇḍya, - Vāṇadhirāyan
Vīrappa Nāyakan (madil)
Vīra Pratāpa Śrī Ranga Dēva Mahārāya
Vīra-Rājēndra-dēva (Kulottunga III)
Virāṭ-puruṣa
Viraṭṭānam
Virūpākṣa
Viśuddhi
Viṣvaksēna
Vīthī viṭanka Perumāḷ
Vyāghra-agrahāra-vara-Hemasabhā-Naṭēśa pādāravinda-madhuyōbhi-Anapāya-nāma (From inscription A.R.E. 73 of 1890 : S.I.I., IV, No.397: Kulōttunga II alias Anapāya)
Vyāghrapāda
Yāga-śālā (-śālai)
Yāpparungalak-kārikai
Yōga Narasimha
"Yōga Sūtra" (of Patanjali)

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Index

A

Abhaya-kula-sekhara (Title of Rajaraja I) 212, 214, 215
Abhinavagupta (Pratyabhijna School) 258, 284, 285, 347
Accalpuram 202, 397, 398
Acyuta Dasa 394 -95
Acyuta Deva Raya (of Vijayanagar) 62, 65, 89, 113, 114, 118, 147, 153, 157, 160, 166-7, 170, 343-345
Acyuta Kalappan 19
Acyuta Nayaka 114, 189
Adalvallan (Adavallan) 34, 36, 37, 119, 135, 210, 226, 256, 296, 297, 299
Adayapalam 114, 310, 311
Adl-p-perukku 116
Aditya I 5, 31, 33, 70, 78, 79, 211 to 213
Aditya II 78
Adoor Ratnasabhapati Pillai 126
Aduturai 64
Advaita (See 'Sankara' and 'Appayya Dikshitar' and 'Meykandar')
Agamanta 258, 279, 283
Aghora Sivacarya 192, 281, 283
Airatesvarar temple (Daresuram) 155
Aiyadigal Kadavarkon Nayanar 205
Akalankan (Vikrama Cola) 50, 51, 52, 57, 175
Akalankan Tirumantapam 142, 143
Akalankan Tiruvasal 50, 54, 95, 138, 159, 170, 172, 177, 178
Akasa (ether) 135, 346
Akasa Linga 342, 413
Akkan Pallippadai 187
Alangudi (Irumpalai) 52, 53
Alankara Mantapa 130, 138, 179
Ambalam (Ambaram) 4, 119
Amrtaghatesvarar temple (Melakkadambur) 58, 137
Ambalappuli 120 to 122, 124
Ammangai Alvar alias Periya Nacciyar 72
Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy 3, 240, 241, 244 to 246
Anandamaya Kosa (Cit Sabha) 180
Ananda Nataraja 13, 182, 221, 223, 228, 355, 358
Ananda Tandavam, Ananda Tandava murti 3, 5, 9, 10, 13 133, 135, 179, 225, 226, 229, 231 to 234, 236 to 240, 247, 252 to 254, 264, 267, 280, 285, 296 to 299, 309, 343, 346 to 348, 356, 357
Ananda Tandava Perumal Nayanar 118
Anantisvaran temple 10, 32, 77 to 79, 191, 192
Anantisvaran koyil Inscriptions 77, 79
Anapaya (Kulottunga II), Anapaya-nallur 59, 60, 64, 65, 67 to 69, 139, 148, 213
Anapaya Muvendavelan 60
Anbil plates of Sundara Cola 33
Andabarana Deva 139
Anglo-French wars 110, 123, 172
Ani Tirumanjanam 124, 148, 177, 182, 187, 223, 254, 329, 351, 352, 355, 356, 358
Annamalai University, Annamalainagar 42, 114, 201, 326
Annamaya Kosa (Raja Sabha) 177
Antarvedi 10, 11, 12, 323, 325, 348
Aparajitha (Pallava) 33
Apatsahayesvarar shrine at Alangudi 52
Appar (Tirunavukkarasu) 5, 8, 13, 15, 21, 22, 24 to 26, 34, 44, 58, 69, 152, 153, 171, 178, 183, 189, 190, 193 to 199, 202, 203, 208, 210, 214, 236,

242, 246, 257 to 259, 261, 274, 282, 282, 287, 291, 292, 294, 297, 298, 304, 317, 320, 321, 325, 345, 347, 409
Appayya Dikshitar 114, 179, 310, 311 to 315, 357, 358, 362, 412
Aravidu Dynasty 114, 115, 117 to 119, 343
Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu 25
Arcot (Nawab of) 168
Ardhanarisvara 183, 195, 201, 228, 237, 279, 285, 287, 320
Ardra Darsanam 124, 148, 177, 182, 223, 254, 329, 351, 352, 354 to 358
Arimardana Pandyan 24
Arpisi Puram 116
Arumukha Navalar 315, 316
Arunacala Kavirayar (Sirkali) 384-85
Arunagiri-nathar 177
Arunandi Sivan - (also Arulnandi) 303, 308
Astra-raja 183
Attur 96, 98, 155, 158, 187
Avaduturai (Tiru - Avaduturai) 7
Avudaiyar Koyil (Perunturai) - (See Tirupperunturai) 25, 188, 411
Ayirattali 81, 100, 108
Ayyalammal 124

B

S.R. Balasubrahmanyam 18, 31, 32, 40, 56, 58, 64, 75, 77, 93, 97, 132, 137, 142, 152, 153, 159, 160, 162, 215, 259, 277, 300, 341, 344
Balasubrahmanya Shrine 175
J.N. Banerjea 296
Barni 108
Basavesvara 278
A.L. Basham 270
Bhairava (Sect of Saivism) 276, 289
Bhairava shrine (in Tillai-Amman temple) 186
Bharatam Vallan (title of Kopperunjinga) 157, 188
Bharata Natyam (Karana's) - Bharata's Natya Sastra 141, 155, 157, 159, 174 to 176, 188, 199, 232, 233, 321, 353, 363, 364, 392, 398, 405, 415 to 418
Bhikshatanar 9, 48, 141, 158, 165, 183, 201, 225, 352, 402
Bhuti Vikramakesari 288, 289
Bhhuvanagiri 5, 102, 113, 117
Bhuvanaika Vira (Bhuvanaika Viran Pattinam - Pattina Simai) 101, 102, 113
Bijapur, Bijapur Sultantes 119, 121
Brahma 9 to 11, 26, 155, 179, 183, 201, 262, 266, 269, 273, 274, 287, 356, 408
Brahma Candesvara 181, 183
Brahmadesam 40
Brahmapurisvara temple (Singarattoppu) 71
Brahmapurisvarar temple (Sirkali) 32
Brahmastpuri 109
Buddhavarman 15
Buddhism (Buddhists) 19, 20 to 22, 24 to 26, 40, 93, 168, 193, 199, 201, 282, 287, 288, 301, 321, 322
Bukka 109, 166
Burgess 160, 163

C

Calukyas 38
Candesura Nayanar 76, 77, 130, 183, 209, 352, 354, 404, 408
Candesura Nayanar Puranam 59, 67, 68, 183, 209
Candramaulisvara (Sphatika - Crystal linga) 29, 134, 169, 180, 182, 220, 221, 342, 355, 356, 361
Carnatic - (Carnatic Wars) 57, 110, 113,

123, 147, 172, 326
Carpenter J.E 3
Cassell ("Illustrated History of India") 123
Ceraman (Seraman) Perumal Nayanar 29, 42, 204, 205, 300
Ceran (Seran) Senguttuvan 14 to 16
Cevappa Nayaka (See Sevappa Nayaka) 114
Ceylon (Srilanka) - (Simhala) 22, 26, 33, 35 to 38, 71, 105, 144, 268, 322
Chidambaranathapuram 113
"Chillambaram" 127, 150
Cidambaram 1, 3 to 16, 18, 22 to 27, 30 to 39, 41, 42, 44 to 46, 49, 51 to 60, 62, 64 to 71, 74, 76, 77, 79 to 81, 85, 88, 90, 96 to 105, 107 to 117, 119 to 125, 127 to 133, 135 to 138, 141, 142, 144, 145 to 148, 151 to 154, 157 to 167, 173, 174, 176, 179, 183, 185 to 189, 191 to 193, 195 to 199, 201 to 204, 206 to 211, 213, 214, 219, 221, 223 to 225, 229, 231, 235, 236, 238, 240, 242, 245, 246, 252, 254, 256, 260, 262, 264, 265, 268, 280, 285, 286, 292, 296 to 300, 308 to 317, 319, 320, 322, 324 to 326, 328, 329, 341 to 344, 346 to 348, 351, 352, 354, 358, 361, 362, 364, 396 to 398, 402 to 405, 410, 413
Cidambara Cirrambalamuni 119
Cidambara Mahatmyam 8, 9, 11, 159, 182, 219, 231, 232, 324
'Cidambara Mummanikkovai' (of Kumaragurupara Svamigal) 3, 241
'Cidambara Puranam' 62, 133, 178
'Cidambara Rahasyam' (Akasa-linga) 29, 134, 135, 181, 219, 222, 223, 286, 342, 343, 345, 357, 404
'Cidambara Tattva Nirnayam' 4
Cidambaresvara 114 to 116, 135, 189
Cinna Bomma Nayaka (of Vellore) 114, 311, 312
Cirrambalam - (Tiruc-c-Cirrambalam) 4, 26, 34, 54, 60, 130, 133, 165, 193, 246, 320, 410
Citragupta 141, 176
Citra Sabha 45
Cit Sabha 4, 10, 13, 14, 33, 37, 40, 54, 89, 93, 111, 120 to 122, 124, 129 to 135, 148, 168, 171, 175, 177 to 185, 203, 220, 222, 224, 232, 238, 254, 262, 298, 342, 344, 345, 352, 357, 402, 404
Cola - Calukya 59
Colamandalam 5, 138, 283
'Cola Mandala Satakam' 121
Coromandel 108, 119
Cosmic Purusha 269, 272, 274
Cuddappah 102, 345

D

Dabhra Sabha (Dabhra Sabhapati) 4, 34, 38, 99
Dahara Vidya 4
Dakshinamurti 129 to 131, 156, 175, 178, 190, 197, 285 to 287, 343, 403
Mahamahopadhyaya S. Dandapanisvami Dikshitar 326
Dandayudhapani shrine 171, 172, 178
Dantivarnan (Pallava), Son of Nandivarman II 29
Darasuram temple (Rajarajesvaram) 81, 83, 84, 95, 138, 140, 155, 156, 163, 177
Daruka 8, 165, 185, 225, 236
Delhi 108
Devagiri 108
Devaraja II 112
Devaram 4, 5, 7, 15, 21, 22, 26, 29, 37, 46, 47, 49, 54, 58, 68, 136, 167, 178, 180, 181, 183, 189, 199, 203, 210 to 215, 246, 274, 277,288, 317
Deva Sabha 32, 40, 65, 130, 133, 138, 139, 170, 172, 174, 328, 329
Dharmapuram (Adhinam) 22, 159, 303, 304, 321, 362
Dikshitars (See 'Tillai Three Thousand' and 'Tillai-val-Andanar) 10, 11, 16, 28, 77, 118 to 122, 124, 133 to135, 139, 150, 165, 167, 168, 179 to 182, 184, 201, 209, 214, 303, 308, 309, 315, 324 to 329, 342, 346, 348, 353, 358, 361, 362, 404, 405
Dodda(ya)carya (Mahacarya), of Sholinghur 114, 118, 166, 311 to 313
Domingo Paes (the Portuguese chronicler) 113
Draksharama 83, 99

G.J. Dubreuil (of Pondicherry) 156, 160, 161
Durga Shrine 139, 141, 176

E

East Gopuram 8, 39, 62, 67, 70, 93, 96, 97, 99, 100, 102, 124, 130, 149, 150, 151, 153, 155 to 159, 162 to 164, 174, 187, 214, 232, 233, 343, 405, 416, 418
East India Company 147
Edgar Thurston 328
Edirambalam 32, 39, 40, 43, 44, 54, 65, 73, 77, 85, to 88, 92, 129, 130, 133, 343
Ekamresvarar (Ekamranatha , Ekambaranatha) - Prthivi linga (temple) at Kancipuram 7, 98, 178, 204, 288, 293, 294
Elliot and Dawson 109
Sir Eyre coote 123
James Fergusson 57, 58, 125, 127,128, 136, 141, 148, 150, 160, 163, 176
W. Francis 328, 329
French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry 22, 345

G

Gajapati (of Orissa) 113
Gajasamharamurti (Gajantaka) 183, 261, 287
Ganapati (Kakatiya) 100
Gandaraditya 33 to 35, 323
Ganesa (Ganapati) - Vinayaka (shrine) 131, 139 to 141, 174, 175, 178, 186, 343, 352, 354
Ganga (Gangai-Pundan) 11, 46, 105, 145, 283, 298, 299, 317
Gangai-konda-cola-puram (or Gangapuri)-Gangai-konda-colisvaram 37, 54, 56, 58, 59, 95, 140, 404
Ganga-Yamuna doab 11 to 13, 323, 325, 348
Gaulisa (at Tiruvorriyur) 289, 290
Gauri Tandavam 234, 235
Gingee 109, 115 to 117, 119, 120, 166
Godavari 11, 12
Golakhi Matha (Saiva sect) 283, 292, 346
Gopalakrishna Bharati 207, 208, 353, 367, 369, 370 to 378
R. Gopalan 15
Gopala Pandita (Gopala Dadaji) 119, 163
Gopanna 109, 110, 166
Gopannarya 166
T.A.Gopinatha Rao 110, 111, 138, 203, 240, 262, 270, 271, 272, 277, 283, 284, 408
Govindaraja 8, 26 to 29, 32, 38, 39, 42, 49, 50, 54, 56, 59, 64, 65, 89, 108, 110, 113, 114, 116 to 119, 125, 126, 129, 135, 138, 147, 150, 165 to 173, 178, 179, 182, 183, 203, 311 to 313, 343 to 345, 367
Grousset 237
Gudimallam (Parasuramesvara shrine) 270, 271, 273 to 275, 289, 408
'Guruparampara Prabhavam' 166

H

Halasyaṇatha Mahatmyam - Halasya Mahatmyam 224, 231
Hampe(i) 111
Dr. B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao 278
Harihara II 109 to 111
Dr. J.C. Harle 4, 50, 131, 132, 155, 156, 161, 163, 344
Hovell 30
Hema Sabha,, 110, 134
Hema Sabha - nathar (Lord Nataraja of Cidambaram)
Rev.Father Heras 115, 116, 167
Hieun Tsang 288
Hinduism 21, 25, 279
Hiranya Varman (Simha Varman) 12, 13, 16, 34, 127, 309, 323, 325
Hoysalas (of Dorasamudra) 74, 96, 102, 108,

109, 598
Hrdayakamala 4
E. Hultzsch 161
100 - Pillared Mantapam (Hundred-Pillared Mantapam) - (Sri Vikrama Colan Tirumantapam) 31, 32, 45, 49, 50, 53, 54, 57, 59, 67, 70, 79, 105, 139, 140, 142, 145 to 147, 149, 150, 152, 162, 163, 175, 176, 209
Hyder Ali 123

I

Idangali Nayanar (of Kodumbalur) 33
Ilamaiyakkinar 191, 206
Dr. Indira V. Peterson 215, 410

J

Jabala Darsanopanishad 222, 223
Jaimini 10, 183, 356
Jainism (Jains) 19, 21, 22, 24 to 26, 59, 64, 168, 193 to 195, 198, 199, 201, 258, 259, 282, 301
Jambukesvaram (temple) at Tiruvanaikka 32, 160, 161, 221, 364
Jatavarman Kulasekhara 100
Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I 74, 101, 102, 104 to 106, 108, 144, 145, 151, 155 to 158, 161, 187, 598
Jatavarman Vira Pandya I - (Vira Pandya) 105, 106, 144 to 146, 598
Jayankondan 37, 112
Jayankondar (author of Kalingattupparani) 38
Jivakaka - Cintamani 65
Jnana-akasa 4, 135
Jnana Sabha 4, 133
Journal of the Annamalai University (1943-44) "The Oldest Cidambaram Inscriptions" 32
Justices Muthuswami Ayyar and Sheppard 328
Justices Satyanarayana Rao and Justice Rajagopalan (Madras High Court Judgement) 330-340
Jyotir-Lingas 413, 414

K

Kadaram 37, 39, 40, 93
Kadungon 19
Kailasa 9, 21, 30, 34, 42, 45, 256, 257, 258, 297, 298, 300, 351
Kailasanatha temple (Kancipuram) 65, 282, 287, 295
Kalabhra Interregnum 19, 21, 208, 291
Kalabhras 18, 22, 24
Kalakantahesvara temple (Adayapalam) 114
Kalamukha (Saivite sect) 276, 277, 283, 284, 288, 289, 290, 291, 294, 295
Kalattur 274, 275
Kalavali 14, 15
Kali (Bhadra-Kali) 10, 44, 136, 185 to 187, 297
Kalidasa 255
Kalika tandavam 234
Kalinga 38, 45, 51, 144
Kalingattupparani 14, 38, 41, 144
Kamalavati 15, 16
Kambhoja 43
Kamikagamam 137, 229, 234, 351
Kanapanna 166
Kampana Udaiyar 109
Kanaka Sabha (Hema Sabha) 5, 13, 14, 33, 34, 36, 40, 45, 54, 74, 89, 93, 124, 125, 130 - 135, 148, 149, 173, 178 to 182, 184, 220, 225, 232, 238, 298, 327, 242, 344, 351, 352, 355, 402
Kanaka Sabhapati 76, 135, 314
R. Kanakasabhai Pillai 126
Kanampulla Nayanar 205
Kancana Sabha (Golden Hall at Cidambaram) 111
Kancipuram - (Kanci) - (Conjeevaram) 4, 7, 12, 13, 16, 20, 26, 41, 42, 62, 100, 102, 106, 124, 144, 157, 171, 197,

255, 256, 274, 278, 283, 286 to 290, 293 to 295, 301, 310, 326, 361, 364, 405, 409, 410
Kancipuram 295, 409, 410
Kandur 109
Kannan (of Kanchi Math) 403 to 405
Kannappa Nayanar 6, 257, 282, 302, 408
Kanyakumari 40, 41, 249
Kapalika (Saivite sect) 255, 276, 277, 283, 284, 288 to 291, 294
Kapalisvara (Mayilappur) 288
Karaikkal Ammaiyar 44, 204, 292
Karanai Vitankar (Tiruvorriyur) 277, 289
Karanas (of Bharata Natyam) - (See 'Bharata Natyam') 36, 199, 232, 233
Karikala 14, 15
Karanagama 229
Karpaka Vinayakar (See Kulottunga Cola Vinayakar) ('Nartana Vinayaka,' 'Kshetrapala Vinayakar) 106, 112, 175
Karunakara Tondaiman 50, 51, 80, 144
Karvan (Kayavarohana) - (Karona) 277, 285, 289, 290, 293 to 295
Kashmir(a) 127, 256, 258, 268, 294, 297, 325, 346 to 348
Kashmir Saivism 258, 282, 284, 285, 325, 347
Kasi (Varanasi) 5
Kasi Visvanatha temple (Kumbakonam) 293
Kattumannargudi (Kattumannarkoyil) 136, 137, 146, 210, 404
Kaveri (Ponni) 6, 33, 38, 96, 105, 117, 145, 249, 256
Kayavarohana (See 'Karvan')
Killai 8, 45, 136, 165, 166, 356
Kivalur 205
Koc-Cenganan (Koc-Cengat-Cola Nayanar) 6, 7, 13 to 19, 34, 131, 133, 148, 205, 208, 213, 259, 321, 322, 325
'Kodikkavi' 308, 309
Kodumbalur 208, 288, 289
Koli (Uraiyur) 35
Kollidam 6, 37, 95, 116, 117, 119, 189, 197
Konerinmaikondan (Title of Kulottunga III) 73, 105
Kongu Desa (Nadu) 33, 34, 71, 105, 144
Kopperunjingan (Later Pallava) - Maharaja Simha - Kadava chief 67, 71, 74, 77, 87, 93, 96 to 99, 102, 105, 130, 131, 139 to 141, 145, 146, 151, 153 to 155, 157, 158, 161 to 163, 174, 186 to 188, 191, 343, 344, 356, 599
Kopperunjingan Tiruvithi 151
Korravangudi (Kottangudi) 5, 42, 309, 310
Kottaru (Korgara) 40, 41, 89
Koyil (The 'Temple of Temples') - Cidambaram - also 'Tiruk-koyil' 3, 5, 31, 193, 204, 211, 214, 246, 297, 343, 364
'Koyil Puranam' (of Umapati Sivacarya) 8, 11, 12, 40, 189, 240, 309, 323
Krimikanthan 64, 108
Krishna Deva Raya (of Vijayanagar) 57, 62, 67, 70, 113, 114, 146, 153, 154, 156, 157, 160, 162, 343
Krishnappa Nayaka 167, 345
H. Krishna Sastri 67, 70, 142, 162, 229, 234, 270, 408
Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (Author of "Ancient India" - "Sources of Vijayanagar History") 7, 14, 21, 23, 28, 63, 64, 167
Kshemaraja (Pratyabhijna Hrdayam) 258, 347
Kshetra-Vrksha (Sthala - Vrksha) 7, 312
Kudumiyanmalai 88, 119, 120, 124, 145, 274, 275, 287
Kulasekhara Alvar 26, 28, 65, 165, 179
Kulottunga I 8, 31, 38 to 45, 51, 52, 54, 56 to 59, 64, 65, 67, 70, 72, 74, 77, 78, 80, 84 to 90, 92, 93,

129 to 131, 133, 136 to 138, 140 to 142, 144, 149, 162, 163, 169, 171, 172, 177, 203, 213 to 215, 277, 294, 295, 344
Kulottunga II (Anapaya) 31, 34, 50, 51, 54, 56, 58 to 60, 62 to 71, 80, 81, 84, 87, 88, 93, 96, 103, 108, 113, 114, 139, 140, 146, 148 to 150, 153, 154, 156, 157, 163, 165, 175, 191, 213, 232, 233, 343, 344
Kulottunga III (Rajakkal Tambiran) 31, 43 to 45, 56, 62, 65 to 67, 69, 71 to 75, 84 to 89, 91, 92, 100, 106, 135 to 138, 140, 146, 148 to 150, 152, 153, 157, 161, 163, 167,, 169, 177, 190, 191, 203, 215, 283, 290, 292, 342, 600
Kulottunga Colan TIrumaligai (or Naralokaviran Tirumaligai) 31, 32, 39, 40, 50,, 54, 73, 77, 85 to 89, 92, 93, 129, 135, 163, 167, 169
Kulottunga Colan Ula 18, 60, 63, 70, 80, 81, 153
Kulottunga Colan Vithi (Tiruvithi) 6, 60, 108, 151
Kulottunga Sola Vinayakar (Pillaiyar) 106, 151, 175 (See 'Karpaka Vinayakar')
Kumbakonam (Tiruk-kudandai) 52, 81, 100, 277, 278, 293 to 295, 367
'Kuncitanghristavam' (of Umapati Sivacarya) 8, 183, 225, 226, 234, 310, 343
Kundavai (Sister of Kulottunga I) 85, 88
Kunrathur 65, 91
Kurruva Nayanar (of Kodumbalur) 18, 66, 208, 209, 325
Kuttapiran 135, 200, 226
Kuvalayananda 114, 311

L

Lakulisa Pasupata (or Mahesvara) 274, 277, 278, 283 to 286, 288 to 290, 293, 294
Lally (French commander) 123
Leyden Grant 34, 44
Leyden Grant (Smaller) 40, 93
Linga (Siva Linga) 4, 6, 13, 14, 259, 263, 269 to 275, 285, 407 to 409, 411
'Linga Purana' 133, 197, 203, 229, 238, 255, 259, 262, 272 to 274, 285, 293, 409
'Linga Purana' (Tirumular) 259, 262, 263
Lingodbhava 183, 190, 197, 262, 266, 274, 286, 287, 320

M

Ma'bar 109
Madakkoyil 205
Madhurantaki Alvar 44
Madhura Vijayam 109
Madurai 7, 24, 25, 33, 71, 100, 107 to 109, 115, 117, 119, 120, 124, 154, 158, 234, 317, 353
Mahabharata 272, 283
Mahabhishekam (of Nataraja and Sivakama sundari) 182, 351
Dr. T. V. Mahalingam 15
Maharaja Rama Varma 118
Maharaja Simha (See 'Kopperunjinga')
Maharashtra (Mahratha) 119, 120, 122 to 124
Mahasivaratri 356
Mahendra Varman I (Pallava) of Kanci 13, 18, 21, 25, 193 to 195, 255, 259, 288, 298
Mahesvaras 44, 112, 118, 263, 284, 286, 289, 292, 295
Mahishasura - mardani 140, 176
Major Manson 123
Makutagamam 230 to 232
Malik Kafur 108 to 110, 166

Mana vasagangadandar (of Tiruvadigai) 244, 308
Mandagappattu 18
Mangalambika Shrine 140
Manikkavacakar 21 to 27, 64, 152, 165, 178, 188, 189, 214, 220, 240, 258, 282, 283, 291, 292, 304, 317 to 323, 355, 356, 364, 409 to 411
Manimekhalai 19, 277
Manomaya kosa (Nrtta Sabha) 178
Marai-jnana-Sambandhar 71, 189, 191, 303, 308, 309
Maravarman Kulasekhara Deva 89, 106, 151
Maravarman Parakrama Pandya 50
Maravarman Sundara Pandya I 91, 96, 100, 140, 177
Maravarman Vikrama Pandya 89, 151
Maravarman Vikrama Pandya II 100, 104, 598
Maravarman Vikrama Pandya III 152
Maravarman Vikrama Pandya IV (alias Rajakkal Nayan) 106
Maravarman Vira Pandya 107, 141, 152
Sir John Marshall 269
Marimutta Pillai 386 to 388
Masi Makham 45, 124, 136, 356
"Matta Vilasa Prahasana" (by Mahendra Varman Pallava) 255, 288
Mckenzie Manuscripts 345
Michael W. Meister ("Discourses on Siva") 406
Melakkadambur 58, 136, 137, 162
Melkote (Kannataka) 64
Meykandar (Meykanda Devar) 3, 214, 258, 303, 304, 308, 321
Minakshi 175, 353, 354
Dr. C. Minakshi 288
Mohana Ganapati 129, 131, 178
Sir Mortimer Wheeler 269
Muhakkattana (Mukkuruni) Vinayakar 175
Mukambika (Kollur) 7
S. Rm. Muthiah Chettiar 125
Muttusvami Dikshitar 236, 364 to 367
Muttu Tandavar 378 to 384
Muvar ula 14
Muyalakan (Apasmara Purusha) 9, 226 to 228, 234, 235, 243, 245, 296
Mylapore (Mayilappur) 196, 202, 288
Mysore Wars 123, 172, 326

N

Nadanta 239, 240, 246 to 248, 253, 254, 261 to 267, 280, 308
Nagapattinam 20, 26, 40, 44, 93, 277, 278, 293 to 295
Nagarathu Saliyar 97, 141
Dr. R. Nagaswamy 215, 274, 299, 398, 411, 412
J.M. Nallaswami Pillai 303, 304
Nallur 205
Nambi Andar Nambi 17, 210 to 215, 324
Nammalvar 179
Nandanar 206 to 208, 257, 282
'Nandanar Caritram' (by Gopalakrishna Bharati) 207, 208, 370, 371 to 377
Nandi Mantapa 93
Nandivarman Pallava 27, 28, 165
Nandivarman II (Pallava) 255
Naralokaviran 8, 39, 41, 45 to 53, 56, 57, 59, 67, 70, 86 to 88, 106, 135, 136, 140, 142 to 149, 163, 167, 169, 175, 176, 183, 343, 356
Naralokaviran Tirumaligai 39, 40, 46, 135
Narasimha (avatar of Vishnu) 137, 138
Narayana Ayyar C.V. 7, 14, 16, 18, 21, 22, 24, 29, 273, 275, 300, 342
Narmada 283
Narrinai 14
Nataraja (Tillai-nayakan) - Aludaiyar 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10 to 14, 25 to 29, 32, 34 to 40, 42, 43, 46, 50 to 60, 64 to 69, 71 to 80, 85, 88 to 90, 93, 95, 96, 99, 101 to 103, 105 to 114, 119 to 136, 138, 139, 141, 142, 148 to 150, 152, 153, 155, 157 to 160, 162, 165 to 175, 177 to 189, 191 to 193, 195, 200, 201, 203, 204, 206 to 208, 210, 219 to 231, 235 to 240, 242, 245, 246, 252 to 254, 260, 266 to 268, 280, 296 to 299, 308 to 316, 319, 320, 324 to 329, 341 to 348, 351 to 358, 362, 364 to 367, 402 to 404, 410, 413

Nataraja cult 122, 135, 226, 285, 296, 297, 299, 341, 343, 347, 348
Nataraja-p-pattu (by Manavala Muniswami) 399 to 402
Chidambaram 396
Nataraja Sundaram Pillai
Natesa, Natesvara 55, 67, 297, 411
Nattukkottai Nagarathar (of Chettinad) 125, 129, 138, 162, 170, 172, 173, 183, 327, 362
Natyanjali 398, 399
Navagraha shrine 139, 179
Navaliṅgam shrine 32, 37, 38, 177
Nayanmar (Sixty-three Tamil Saivite saints) 10, 29, 33, 44, 68, 69, 130, 133, 153, 178, 189, 191, 193, 209, 214, 246, 255, 257, 263, 282, 288, 301, 302, 304, 325, 343, 345, 409
Nellore 96, 102
Nidur 42, 203
Nilakantha Dikshitar 314, 315
Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri 7, 19, 24, 26, 29, 55, 64, 106, 109, 161, 168, 277, 289, 319, 409
North Gopuram 62, 67, 70, 113, 114, 146, 149, 150, 153, 156, 157, 159, 160, 163, 176, 177, 185, 343, 417-8
Nrtta Sabha (See 'Ter-k-koyil') 10, 40, 54, 56 to 58, 86, 93 to 95, 130, 132, 133, 136, 138, 140, 162, 170 to 172, 175, 177, 178, 185, 344, 345

O

Oduvars 180, 181, 212, 214, 316, 356, 361, 402, 410
Ottakkuttar 34, 51, 60, 65, 80, 82 to 84, 165

P

Pachaiyappa Mudaliar 124, 153, 157, 164, 174, 327, 361
Padampakkanayaka Devar (Tiruvorriyur) 277, 289, 290
Palaiyanur 44
Palaiyarai 100, 108, 198
Pallavas 13, 15, 21, 26, 29, 31, 32, 77, 96, 255, 322
Pallavi Doraiswami Iyer 389-90
Pallikesvara 178
Pallippadai (alias Vikrama sola nallur) 186, 187, 216 (Map)
Pallippadai 294
Palliyarai 183
Pancabhuta's 4, 236, 253
Panca Indriya's 133, 280
Panca krtya (five duties) 3, 182, 230, 231, 236, 240, 263, 280, 297, 346-8
Panca krtya Paramananda Tandavam 231, 233
Pancakshara (the five syllables - na ma si va ya) 8, 25, 124, 134 194, 205,, 227, 245, 251, 267, 280, 297, 308, 309, 315, 342, 346, 404
Pandarangam 185, 201, 235, 251
Pandya Nayakam 123, 138 to 140, 149, 150, 152, 159, 176, 328, 357
Pannirutirumurai's- (Tirumurai's) 4, 21, 22, 135, 193, 242, 317
Papanasam 52
Papanasam Sivan 373, 392 to 394
Papavinasa Mudaliar 367
Parakesarinallur 71, 72
Parakrama Pandya 45, 144, 149
Parangippettai (Porto Novo) 119, 123
Parantaka I 5, 13, 18, 31 to 35, 54, 56, 77 to 79, 160, 192, 296-8, 347, 348

Parasuramesvara (Gudimallam) 270, 408
Paravai Nacciyar 69, 204
Parvati 9, 49, 209, 287, 317
Pasupata's - Pasupata cult 255, 277, 278, 283, 284, 288, 289, 291, 293 to 295, 346
Pasupatesvara temple (Tiruvetkalam - Annamalai nagar) 114, 189
Pasupati 268
Pataliputra (Tiruppadirippuliyur) 193, 194
Patanjali 9 to 13, 74, 129, 133, 156, 178, 182, 183, 185, 190, 191, 236, 252, 297, 309, 317, 351, 356, 357
'Pati - Pasu - Pasam' 260, 279, 309, 317
Perambalam 40, 45, 47, 60, 62, 65, 179, 343
Percy Brown 127, 128, 156, 161
Periya Puranam 14, 18, 21, 25, 33, 59, 65 to 69, 148, 153, 163, 193, 195, 196, 198 , 208, 209, 255, 257, 282, 283, 297, 324, 325, 342
Perumparrappuliyur (or Puliyur) 4 to 6, 8, 12, 26, 38, 41, 46, 52, 53, 66, 72 to 74, 76, 98, 100, 101, 104, 105, 107, 112, 145, 146, 187, 213, 256, 317, 319
Peruntogai 39, 42, 43
Perur 204
Philadelphia Museum of Art 293, 407
Piccaivaram 25
Pidari Tiruccirrambala Makali (temple) 186
Pillai-t-Tamil (Ottakkuttar) 60, 80
Father N. Pimenta 116, 167
Podiyil (Podiyamalai) 40, 100, 256
Poigaiyar 14
Pondicherry 123
Ponnambalam 5, 13, 26, 34, 39, 45, 100, 113, 134, 135, 156, 264, 285, 297
Ponnambalakkuttan 73
Rev.G.U.Pope 24, 25, 282, 303, 317, 322
Pranamaya Kosa (Deva Sabha) 179
Pranava Pitha 134, 182, 346
Pranava Prakara 134, 342, 346, 404
'Prapannamrtam' 108, 114, 312
Pratyabhijna (Pratyabhijna Darsanam) 258, 284,. 285, 325, 346 to 348
Pudukkottai District 18, 25
Pudukkottai List (Inscriptions) 62, 145, 146
Pulisvaram 10
Pundarikapuram 5
Pundarikavalli Nacciyar 117, 138, 168, 170 to 172, 178
Purananuru 14

R

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan 280, 282, 300, 301
Chidambaram Radhakrishna Pillai 398
M. Raghava Aiyangar 166
Raghunatha Abhyudayam 116
Raghunatha Nayaka (of Tanjore) 116, 117
Rajadhiraja I 289
Rajadhiraja II 290
Rajadhiraja deva (Tribhuvana cakravarti) *alias* Karikala cola Deva 71
K.M. Rajaganesa Dikshitar 12
Rajah Saheb of Chettinad 126
Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad 13, 38, 118, 125, 126, 168, 171-73, 203, 326
Rajah Sir M.A. Muthiah Chettiar of Chettinad 125, 126
Dr. M.A.M. Ramaswamy 126
Rajakkal NayanSandhi 107
Rajakkal Tambiran (Kulottunga III) , 106, 151 to 153, 600
Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai 31, 62, 66, 67, 71, 93, 106, 129, 140, 148 to 153, 158, 163, 174, 175, 177, 599, 600
Rajakkal Tambiran Tiruvithi 151, 152
Raja Mahendra 32, 38, 77
Rajaraja I 31, 32, 35 to

(Sivapadasekhara) 38, 40, 54, 56, 77, 78, 87, 90, 92, 157, 210 to 215, 283, 294, 295, 299, 343, 347, 348
Rajaraja II 51, 74, 80 to 84, 89, 93, 137, 140, 146, 155, 156, 177, 191, 344
Rajaraja III 74 to 76, 84, 89, 91, 96, 97, 102, 105, 106, 146, 161, 599, 600
Rajaraja Colan Ula 60, 63, 81, 108
Rajarajesvaram (at Darasuram) 137
Rajarajesvaram (Tanjavur) 36, 37, 92, 157, 160, 205, 232, 299
Raja Sabha 133, 148, 177, 180
Rajasimha alias Narasimhavarman II (Pallava) 282
Rajata Sabha 45
Rajendra I (Gangai-konda-cola) 31, 32, 35, 37, 38, 40, 54, 77, 78, 86, 87, 92, 93, 283, 294
Rajendra II 32, 77, 86, 93, 137
Rajendra III 76, 84, 96, 102, 161
T.N. Ramachandran (of Thanjavur) 193, 300, 303, 321
V.G. Ramakrishna Iyer 165, 166
Ramanuja 64, 65, 108, 165, 166, 179
Rama Raya (of Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagar) 114, 118, 311, 312
N.S. Ramaswami 140
Ramaswami Sivan 391, 392
Dr. N. Ramesan 310, 313
Dr. K.V. Ramesh 110
Ramesvaram 326, 361
Rathakaras 138
Ratna Sabha 45
Ratnasabhapati (or Manikka-murti) 10, 11, 29, 134, 135, 169, 173, 180, 181, 250, 342
Raurava Agama 258, 304
Ravivarman Kulasekhara (of Kerala) 106
Rodin 236, 299
Ronaldshay, Lord (Marquess of Zetland) 3
Rudra (Pasupati) - Rudra Siva 268, 269, 272, 274, 283
Rudramba 100

S

Sabhanayakar Temple Renovation Committee 126, 174
Sabhapati (Sabhanayakar, Lord Nataraja) 25, 46, 47, 71, 88, 124, 153, 226, 227, 229, 236, 324, 329
Sabhapati Mantapam (Tiruvarur) 123
T.V. Sadasiva Pandarathar 40, 65, 155, 212
Sadasiva Pitha 134
Sadasiva Raya 115
Sahaji II (of Tanjavur) 120, 124
Sahyadri (Western ghats) 33, 41
Saiva Agamas 256, 258, 259, 270, 271, 279 to 283, 308, 316, 325
Saiva Siddhanta 3, 21, 65, 67, 71, 189, 199, 206, 248, 256, 261, 265, 279, 280, 282, 292, 303, 304, 308, 309, 316, 317, 320, 321, 325
Saivism (Saivitee) 3, 21, 25, 31, 37, 59, 62, 64, 65, 68, 108, 114, 115, 118, 120, 125, 138, 147, 165, 166 to 168, 179, 193 to 195, 199, 203, 206, 207, 211, 215, 246, 255, 257 to 259, 265, 268, 271, 272, 274, 282 to 285, 291, 292, 294, 310 to 312, 316, 318, 324, 325, 327, 341, 343, 346, 347, 413

347, 413

Sakti (Sakti cults) 84, 134, 254, 260, 263 to 265, 270, 271, 275, 279, 280

Saluva 112

Professor P. Sambamurti 322, 377

Sambandhar (Jnana-Sambandhar) - (Jnana Sambandhar Mantapam) 13, 15, 18, 21, 22, 24, 26, 44, 46, 47, 49, 68, 69, 142, 152, 153, 167, 171, 178, 183, 189, 190, 193, 197 to 203, 210, 211, 214, 226, 246, 251, 257 to 259, 261, 282, 283, 288, 291 to 293, 297, 298, 302, 304, 317, 320, 321, 325, 345, 347, 367, 409

Sambhaji 111, 119, 120, 122

Sambuvarayas of Rajagambhira 109

Samhara Tandavam 235

Sandhya Tandavam (Pradosha Tandavam) 234

Sangam Age (and Literature) 13, 14, 18, 19, 255, 319

Sangama Dynasty (Vijayanagar) 111

Sankara (Adi Sankara) Sankaracarya- (Advaita) 3, 21, 29, 227, 228, 254, 275, 284, 289 to 292, 300 to 303, 310, 312, 357, 409

His Holiness Sri Sankaracarya, Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati VII, Sri Mahasvamigal, 68th Pontiff of Sri Kanci Kamakoti Pitham 122, 126, 273, 274, 295, 342, 358, 403 to 405

Santana Guruvars (Guravars) 65, 71, 303, 308

Sarabhamurti 130 to 138, 178

Sarasvati Bhandaram 103, 104

Sarngapani temple (Kumbakonam) 36, 160, 232

Satara (Maharashtra State) 122, 123, 326, 342, 403 to 405

Sattanur 256, 257

Satya-jnana-anandam 253

Saundarya Lahari 254, 275, 302, 303, 357

Sekkilar (Tiruttondar Puranam - Periya Puranam) 15, 17, 18, 21, 33, 65 to 69, 91, 148, 153, 163, 178, 208, 213, 255, 257, 283, 297, 324, 325

Sekkilar Nayanar Puranam 106

Sekkilar Svamigal Puranam 65, 213, 214

Sembiyan Mahadevi 35

Sendalai 23

Sendamangalam 74, 96, 102, 145, 599

N. Sethuraman (of Kumbakonam) 68, 69, 80, 84 to 86, 88, 104, 110, 111, 123, 295

Sevappa Nayaka (See 'Cevappa Nayaka') 189

R. Sewell 164

Shamanna Shanbaugh 403 to 405

Dr. I.K. Sharma 271

Siddi-Buddhi Vinayaka 183

Silappadikaram 6

Simhadri Pottanuru 113, 156

Simhavarman (Pallava) 15

Simha Vishnu 19

Singarattoppu 71, 72, 189, 190, 308, 309

Sirkali 197, 200, 202, 204

Siruttonmdar 288

Siva (Purantaka, Pasupati etc) 9, 10, 16, 23 to 27, 29, 30, 33 to 36, 44 to 48, 63, 64, 66, 113, 130, 131, 137, 138, 140, 141, 144, 154, 165, 168, 185, 189, 193 to 195, 197 to 199, 201, 203 to 206, 209, 210, 214, 221, 225 to 227, 239, 240, 242, 244 to 246, 248, 249, 253, 254, 257, 260 to 263, 265, 266, 268 to 277, 279, 280, 282, 285 to 288, 292, 296, 297, 299, 311, 312, 317, 318, 320, 321, 347, 364, 406 to 408, 411

Sivacaryas 283

Sivaganga (tank) 9, 12 to 14, 32, 37, 38, 45, 46, 66, 67, 125, 129, 131 to 133, 139 to 141, 148 to 150, 158, 163, 174, 176, 177, 313, 356

Siva-jnana-Bodham (of Meykandar) 258, 303, 304

Sivajnanayogi 409, 410

Chatrapati Sivaji 122, 163

Sivakama sundari (Sivakami)- 10, 11, 71,

123, 124, 134, 135, 139, 140, 148, 158, 162, 169, 172, 174, 175, 184, 189, 220, 223, 227, 228, 237, 242, 246, 297, 299, 309, 320, 325, 328, 342, 346, 351 to 357, 367, 370, 402, 404, 598
Sivakama Sundari Amman Shrine - Amman shrine (Tiruk-kamak-kottam) 31, 49, 54, 57, 62, 67, 68, 71, 125, 140 to 142, 148 to 150, 159, 162, 163, 176, 345, 357, 598
Sivananda Lahari 228, 302
Siva-pada-Sekhara (title of Rajaraja I) 37, 210, 211
Siva Puranam 15
'Sivarkamanidipika' 311
Dr. C. Sivaramamurti 161, 229, 286
Siva-Sakti 249, 251, 285, 287, 411
Skanda Puranam 8, 11
Sokkacciyan (Tiru-nilai-elu-gopuram) 96, 98, 155, 156, 158, 174
Sokkan 353
Solaga 117
Solakkon (Solakon) alias Perumal Pillai 51, 96, 97, 130, 131, 141, 151, 162, 186, 356, 599
Solakulavalli (Queen of Kulottunga I) 39, 40, 44, 103, 214
Solakula-valli-ppattinam (Nagapattinam)
Solakulavallinallur 598
Somaskanda 116, 286, 287, 352, 356
J.M. Somasundaram 37, 45, 50, 156
"Soraikkavur Plates of Virupaksha" 110
K.V. Soundararajan 26, 138, 170, 285, 286, 296, 347
South Gopuram 56, 67, 93, 96, 97, 115, 116, 132, 138, 146, 149, 153, 155, 156, 158, 159 to 161, 174, 175,

187, 344, 417
Sri Kalahasti 4, 6, 198, 221, 224, 256, 289, 364, 408
Sri kantha (Siva-Advaita) 311, 412
Sri Lalitha Sahasra Nama Stotram 236, 237, 242
Sri Mulanathar - (Perumparrappuliyur Tirumulattanathar) - (Tirumulanathar) 8, 10, 11, 48, 92, 129, 133, 136, 139, 159, 178, 179
Sri Mulasthanam (Tirumulasthanam) 13, 14, 16, 32, 39, 40, 44, 56, 65, 76, 77, 79, 85 to 87, 92, 93, 114, 125, 129 to 133, 136, 138, 150, 158, 172, 174, 178, 179, 188, 189, 328, 341, 343, 344
Dr. C.R. Srinivasan 62, 109
P.R. Srinivasan 296, 416
Sri Ranga 115, 117 to 119, 147, 167, 168, 170
Sri Ranganatha temple (at Sri Rangam) 32, 51, 109
Sri Rangam 31, 51, 64, 65, 102, 109, 110, 111, 117
Sri Vaishnavas 62, 117
Sri Vanciyam 69, 91
Sri Viranarayanam alias Sundara Pandya Caturvedimangalam 101
Dr. Stella Kramrich 293, 406
Subrahmanya (Shanmukha) 58, 139 to 141, 174, 175, 177, 178, 183, 186, 352
K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyar 78
K.R. Subramanian 275
Suddhananda Bharati 395
Sudikodutta Nacciyar (Andal) 117, 168, 170
Sundara Cola 33
Sundaramurti Nayanar (Sundarar) 21 to 26, 29, 65, 69, 152, 171, 178, 183, 190, 193, 199, 203 to 205, 210, 212, 214, 246, 257, 258, 282, 283, 291, 292, 300,

258, 282, 283, 304, 317, 321, 409
Sundara Pandya I 106, 151, 154, 160, 161
Sundaresvara shrine 175
Sundara Pandyan sandhi 103
Suppammal 124, 153, 157, 174, 361
'Suta samhita' 4, 229
Svarna Kala Bhairavar 134, 181, 182
(Svarna akarshana Bhairavar)
Svarna Venkatesa Dikshitar 396
Mahamahopadhyaya 120 to 122, 124, 367, 368, 404
Dr. U.V. Swaminatha Iyer
("Ninaivu Manjari")
Dr. B.G.L. Swamy 19, 325, 341 to 347

T

Tai Pusam 236, 309, 356
Taittiriyopanishad 220, 239
Takkayagapparani 62, 63, 80 to 84, 165
Takkolam 78
Tamil Nadu 3, 7, 19, 21, 26, 31, 148, 199, 274, 282, 285, 287, 292, 294 to 296
Tamil University, Tanjavur 119
Tamil Veda 292
Tamra Sabha 45
'Tandava Lakshanam' 161
(by Dr. B.V. N. Naidu and others)
Tanjavur (Tanjore) 16, 35, 36, 52, 56, 78, 91, 92, 100, 116, 119, 120, 124, 157, 163, 232, 283, 299
"Tanjai Marattiyar Seppedugal - 50" 119
(by Se Rasu)
Tarumakarta (Dharma-karta) 124
Tatacarya 114, 312
Ter-k-koyil 54, 55, 136
Terri-Ambalam 27, 65
(Tiru-citra-kutam)
Tettiyur Subrahmanya Sastrigal 302
1000-Pillared Mantapam 31, 45, 57, 59, 66 to 68, 70, 123, 131, 133, 139, 148 to 150, 158, 162, 163, 174, 177, 182, 209, 223, 351, 355, 402, 404
(Thousand Pillared Mantapa -
Raja Sabha
Tillai - (Tillai-nagar) - 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10 to 14, 16, 18 26, 27, 32, 35 49, 59, 60, 63, 66, 67, 76, 85, 93, 95, 105, 110, 119, 120, 129, 145, 165, 168, 175, 178, 185, 193, 195, 196, 200, 201, 209, 226, 238 to 240, 246, 256, 260, 280, 296 to 298, 309, 313, 317-321, 323, 324, 343, 346, 347, 404
(Tillai-managar)
Tillai-Ambalam 102, 145, 165, 246, 320, 321
Tillai-Amman (temple) 8, 97, 185 to 188
(Tillai-vanam udaiya Mahesvari)
Tillai-k-kali 97, 185, 187
(Tillai Vanam udaiya Paramesvari)
Tillai-k-kuttan 239
Tillai-k-kuttu 13
(Ananda Tandavam of Nataraja)
Tillai-piran 135, 147
'Tillai Three Thousand' - 10 to 12, 14, 16, 18, 27, 28, 34, 35, 47, 66, 90, 100, 133, 139, 165, 178, 195, 200, 201, 204, 206, 207, 211, 303, 308, 309, 323 to 325, 342
(Tri-Sahasra Muni's)-
(Tillai-val-Andanar)-
(Tillai Muvayiravar)
Tillai-val-Andanar 208, 324, 325, 404
(See "Tillai Three-Thousand")
Tiru-Alangadu 7, 185, 204, 251, 292, 297
(Tiruvalangadu) - Alavanam
Tiruc-cirrambalam Udaiyar 92, 98, 99, 101, 599
Tiruc-citra-kutam - 27, 28, 108, 114, 117, 118, 165, 167, 312, 344
(Terri Ambalam) -

Tiruchirappalli 25, 37
Tiru-Isaippa (Tiruvisaippa) 33 to 35, 323, 353
Tirukkacci-Mayanam (Kanci) 289, 292
Tiruk-kadavur Mayanam 292
Tiru-k-kamakkottam 49, 60, 140, 141,
Tiru-k-kamakkottam udaiya Periyanacciyar (Sivakamasundari Amman) 163, 176, 598, 599
Tirukkalancedi Udaiyar (at Panangudicceri Parakesarinallur) 71, 72
Tirukalukkunram 25, 78
Tirukkandiyur 140
Tirukkattuppalli 23, 292
Tirukkodikaval Krishna Iyer 367
Tirukkovaiyar (Tiruccirrambalak-kovaiyar) 4, 21 to 23, 27, 64, 165, 317, 319 to 321, 323, 343
Tirukkoyilur 65
Tirukkudandai Karonam (Kumbakonam) 293
'Tirukkuttu Darsanam' 239, 241, 250, 285, 297
Tirumala 114, 115, 189
Tirumalavadi 59, 80
Tirumandiram 13, 15, 21, 131, 135, 230, 239, 241, 242, 247, 253, 255 to 257, 259, 260, 263 to 267, 273, 281, 282, 285, 291, 297, 304, 347, 409
Tirumangai Alvar (Tirunaraiyur hymns) 15, 16, 18, 26 to 29, 117, 165, 179, 205, 287
Tirumanikuli 52, 69, 81
Tirumaraikkadu (Vedaranyam) 7, 173, 198
Tirumular 13, 15, 21, 22, 131, 135, 158, 199, 230, 239 to 242, 245, 247, 249, 250, 252, 253, 255 to 260, 263 to 267, 273, 280 to 282, 285, 291, 292, 297, 298, 304, 321, 347, 348, 409
Tirumula Vinayaka 176
Tirumurai-kanda-puranam (by Umapati Sivacarya) 210, 213, 215
Tirumurai-kanda-Vinayakar (or Akasa Vinayakar) 178
Tiru Nagai-k-karonam (Nagapattinam) 293
Tiru-nalaippovar Nayanar (Nandanar) 206, 207
Tiru-nallur-mayanam 292
Tirunaraiyur 210, 211, 214
Tirunavukkarasu (Vagisa) 193, 194, 199
Tirunavukkarasar (Appar)
Tirunilakantha Nayanar 9, 191, 206
Tirupati 64, 108, 113, 165, 166
Tiruppalaitturai 62
Tiruppalaivanam (Ponneri taluk) 60
Tiruppanandal Math 110, 111, 304, 362
Tirupperuntural (Avudaiyar koyil) 188, 317, 411
Tirupperuntural Mahadevar 23, 411
'Tiruppudiyadu' 142
Tiruppugalur (Nannilam taluk) alias Rajendra sola nallur 152
Tiruppugalur (in Appar's life) 199
Tiruppulisvaram 191, 206
Tiruppurambiyam 59, 69
Tiruttani 44
Tiruttondattogai 24, 29, 65
Tiruttondar Tiruvandadi 17, 65
Tiruvacakam 4, 21, 27, 220, 240, 283, 317 to 319, 322, 323
Tiruvadigai 45, 50, 51, 57, 70, 142, 144, 193 to 195, 203, 256
Tiruvadi Rajya 113
Tiruvaiyaru 117, 140, 198
Tiruvakkarai 148
Tiruvalangadu (Tiru-alangadu) 44, 204, 235, 236, 256
Tiruvalangadu copper plates of Rajendra I 34, 298
Tiruvanaikka (val) 4, 6, 7, 109, 221, 224

Tiruvanjikkalam (Kodungalur)	29
Tiruvannamalai	4, 5, 25, 160, 161, 221, 224, 232, 364
Tiruvarur	5, 22, 29, 31, 35, 56, 67, 69, 87, 110, 120, 123, 198, 204, 210, 224, 294
Tiruvarur Copper Plates	119, 120, 124
Tiruvarur Interregnum	123, 124
Tiruvavaduturai	256, 257, 297
Tiruvavaduturai Adhinam	12, 239, 259, 362
'Tiruvembavai'	355
Tiruvenkadu (Tiruvengadu)	7, 53, 234
Tiruvetkalam (now Annamalainagar)	114, 188, 189, 197, 201
Tiruvidaimarudur	25
Tiruvirattanesvarar (Tiruvadigai)	193
Tiruvorriyur	202, 204, 277, 278, 288 to 291, 294, 295
Tolkappiyam	78, 283
Tondaimandalam	283
'Tondar Sir Paravuvar' (Sekkilar)	66, 91
Tribhuvanam (Tribhuvana Isvaram)	71, 136 to 138, 140, 163
Tribhuvanam Inscription (Kampaharesvara temple)	88, 137
Tribhuvana Viradeva	71, 72, 74
Tribhuvanacakravarti Rajaraja deva	90
Tripurantakam	96, 99, 157, 158, 162
Tripura Tandavam	235
Tri-Sahasra-muni's (Tillai Three Thousand)	182
Trivikrma	71
Tukkacci (Vikrama colisvaram temple)	95, 136, 138
Tukkoji Raja	163
Tulaja II (of Tanjavur)	124
Tuluva	113
Tungabhadra	36, 38
Tyagaraja (Tiruvaiyaru)	368-9
Tyagaraja temple (at Tiruvarur)	32
Tyagesa (of Tiruvarur)	120, 124, 210

U

Udaiyalur	295
Ulavarappani	195, 197
Uma PArvati	10, 11, 125, 129, 139, 178, 179
Umapati Sivacarya	8, 12, 40, 65, 67 to 69, 71, 106, 183, 189, 210, 213 to 215, 292, 303, 308 to 310, 325
'Unmai-neri-VIlakkam'	308
'Unmai-Vilakkam'	225, 241, 244, 245, 252, 267, 308
Uraiyur	16, 100
Urdhva-Tandava (murti)	10, 58, 94, 136, 178, 185, 235, 236, 297
Urdhva-Tandavesvarar temple (at Tiruvalangadu)	44
Uttama Cola	78
Uttara Cidambaram temple (at Satara)	122, 123, 342, 403 to 405

V

Vadalur Ramalinga Svamigal	315, 342
Vaidisvaran- koyil Kumarasvami Kavirayar and Sabhapati Mudaliar	388-389
Chidambaram Vaidyanatha Pillai	397-398
Vaigai	25
Vaikhanasa Sutra	114, 166, 167
Vaikuntha perumal (Kancipuram)	13, 28
Vaishavism (Vaishnavite) - Alvars	3, 25, 59, 62, 64, 108, 113, 114, 118, 125, 138, 147, 165 to 171, 301, 344
Vaiyappa krishnappa Kondama Nayaka	115 to 117
S. Vaiyapuri Pillai	15
Lord Valentine	124
Vallabha Ganapati	129, 131, 178
Vama (sect of Saivism)	276, 284
Varaguna (Pandya)	22 to 24, 140, 409
Varanasi	224, 245, 256, 326, 361
Vedanayakam Pillai	378
Vedanta Desikar	109, 110, 113,

118, 166, 183, 311
Vedaranyam (Tirumaraikkadu) 7, 173, 198
Vedas (Vedic) 21, 26, 301, 303, 325
K. Vellai Varanar 40, 212
Vellar (Vellaru) 6, 101, 102, 123, 154, 304
Dr. B. Venkataraman 56, 92 to 94, 159, 415, 598 to 600
Dr. N. Venkataramanayya 111
Venkatasubba Ayyar 97
V. Venkayya 13, 37, 78
Vijayalaya 31 to 33, 59, 77, 78, 192, 301
Vijayanagar(a) period 5, 6, 57, 65, 67, 107 to 111, 115, 117, 118, 138, 142, 147, 153, 154, 156, 157, 162, 163, 166, 167, 169, 170, 172, 203, 326, 344
Vijayaraghava Nayak (of Tanjavur) 119
Vijnanamaya Kosa (Kanaka Sabha) 134
Vikrama Cola 31, 39, 45, 50 to 59, 67, 70, 76, 80, 84, 86, 88 to 91, 93 to 95, 103, 106, 136, 138, 140 to 142, 149, 153 to 156, 156, 160, 163, 170 , 172, 175, 187, 191, 232, 344
Vikrama Colan tengu tiruvithi 56, 186
Vikrama Colan Tirumaligai 31, 39, 50, 54, 56, 58, 73, 75, 86, 93, 94, 129, 130, 132, 133, 135, 138, 149, 163, 169, 172, 174, 175, 177, 186, 344, 345, 599
'Vikrama Colan Ula' 34, 41, 51, 80, 143
Vikrama Colisvaram Udaiyar (Parakesarinallur) 72
Vikrama Colapuram 52, 59
Vikramaditya II (Calukya) 65
Vikrama Pandya caturvedimangalam 104, 105
Vira Ballala III 109
Viranam (tank)- (Viranarayanam, Kattumannarkoyil) 6, 33, 46
Vira Pandya 106, 145 to 148, 175
Vira Pandya Vanadhirayan 44
Virappa Nayakkan (of Madurai) 115
Virappa Nayakkan Tirumaligai (or Madil) 31, 115, 128, 138, 174
Vira Rajendra Cola 33, 38, 277
'Virat purusha' 4
Virupaksha (of Vijayanagar) Son of Harihara II 110, 111
Vishnu (Perumal)- Vaishnavite 9, 26 to 28, 30, 48, 63 to 65, 71, 109, 116, 138, 144, 165 to 168, 170, 173, 262, 266, 269, 273, 274, 282, 287, 311, 312, 320, 343, 344, 408
Vriddhacalam 106, 203, 204, 232
Vyagrahara (Cidambaram) 34, 37, 67
Vyaghrapada 4, 8, 10 to 12, 74, 129, 133, 156, 176, 178, 183, 185, 188, 190, 191, 236, 252, 297, 309, 323, 356, 357
Vyaghrapura (-puri) 76, 109

W

Wandiwash (Vandavasi) 123
Warangal (of Kakatiyas) 108
West Gopuram 50, 67, 70, 93, 95, 100, 102, 103, 106, 112, 115, 118, 149,

	151, 153 to 157, 159, 160, 162, 175, 206, 232, 344, 405, 415
Will Durant	270
H.H.Wilson	270

Y

Yagasalai	139, 172, 179
Yapparungalakkarigai	42

Z

K.V. Zvelebil	215

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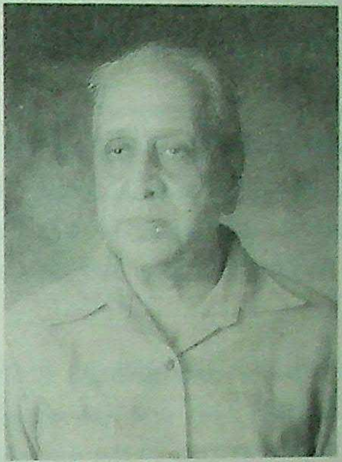

About the Author

Mr. B. Natarajan, whose association with Chidambaram and the Nataraja temple dates to his birth (21st October 1921) has been closely associated in the study of the history of the Chidambaram temple with his father, Padma Shri S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, the well-known authority on Chola Art and Architecture, whose monumental "five" Volumes on Chola temples and temple art have won international acclaim and are widely regarded by scholars as the most reliable source material for research. Mr. S.R. Balasubrahmanyam's benign influence on Mr. Natarajan, which has been deep and life-long, extended over the field of History and Archaeology too. He has therefore the best of credentials for this labour of love which he took upon himself as an act of dedication by the family to the father in his birth centenary year (1993).

Educated at Chidambaram, Mr. Natarajan took his Honours Degree in Mathematics in 1941 at the Annamalai University with a First Class and top rank and his M.A. Degree shortly afterwards. While at the Annamalai University, he came under the magic spell of the then Vice-Chancellor, the late Rt. Hon'ble V.S. Srinivasa Sastri whom he regards as his Guru. Commending his academic performance during his University career, the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Sastri wrote: "He easily stood first in his year and secured high distinction. Devotion to ideals and a frank address add to the attractiveness of his character, which is at once amiable and strong". Over the years, Mr. Natarajan has endeavoured to live up to this assessment.

He competed successfully at the All India Services Examination in 1943 and joined the Indian Railways Traffic Service in 1944.

During his association with the Indian Railways for thirty six years, Mr. Natarajan has held several senior Management positions in the most challenging years in the immediate post-Independence period.

Retiring from the Indian Railways as the Chief of Traffic Operations on the Southern Railway, Madras in October 1979, Mr. Natarajan has been devoting himself to the study of Sanskrit and Tamil Literature, Music, History and Archaeology.

His publications include 'The City of the Cosmic Dance (in 1974) and 'Sri Krishna Leela Tarangini' by Narayana Tirtha with the Sanskrit text edited with transliteration and a translation and a commentary in English (1988-90).

Mr. Natarajan has toured exxtensively in U.S.A. and Europe in 1967 and 1993. Between December 1966 and July 1967, Mr. Natarajan was deputed on a six-month tour of the U.S.A to study Management techniques. Besides the U.S.A, he has visited the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Sri Lanka (in connection with the Indo-Sri Lanka Rail Traffic Agreement).

At the request of the Apollo Hospitals Management at Madras, Mr. Natarajan assisted them as their Adviser from April 1981 to October 1986 and was closely connected with the development and execution of this pioneering hospital project in the Corporate sector. He is now a Director of the Indian Hospitals Corporation, Madras and Sindoori Hotels, Madras (of the Apollo Group).

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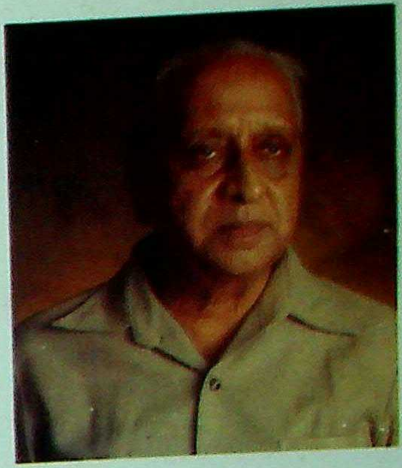

Mr. B. Natarajan, whose association with Chidambaram and the Nataraja temple dates to his birth (21st October 1921), has drawn inspiration in the study of the history of the Chidambaram temple from his father, Padma Sri S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, the well-known authority on Chola Art and Architecture, whose monumental (five) volumes on Chola temples and temple art have won international acclaim and are widely regarded by scholars as the most reliable source material for research. Mr. S.R. Balasubrahmanyam's benign influence on Mr. Natarajan, which has been deep and life-long, extended over the field of History and Archaeology too. He has the best of credentials for this labour of love which he took upon himself as an act of dedication by the family to the father in his birth centenary year (1993).

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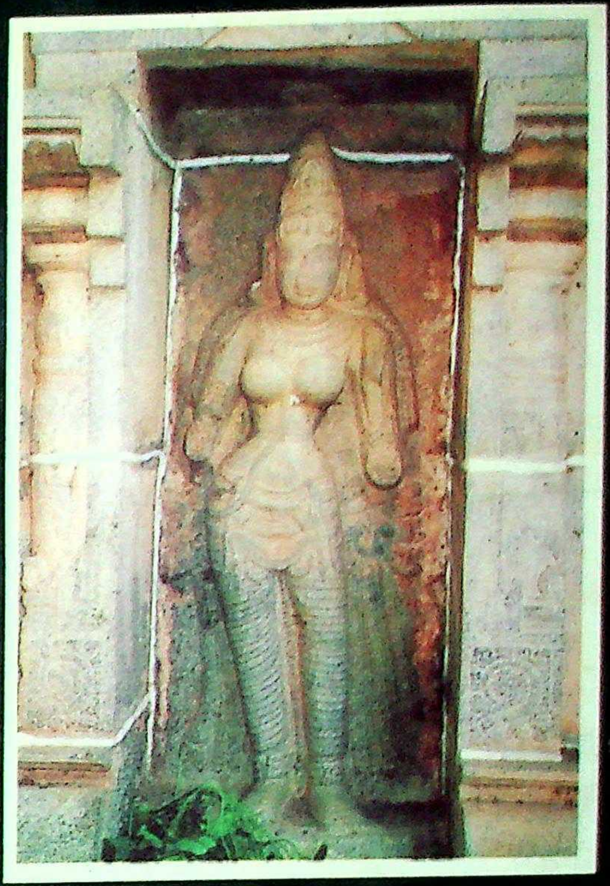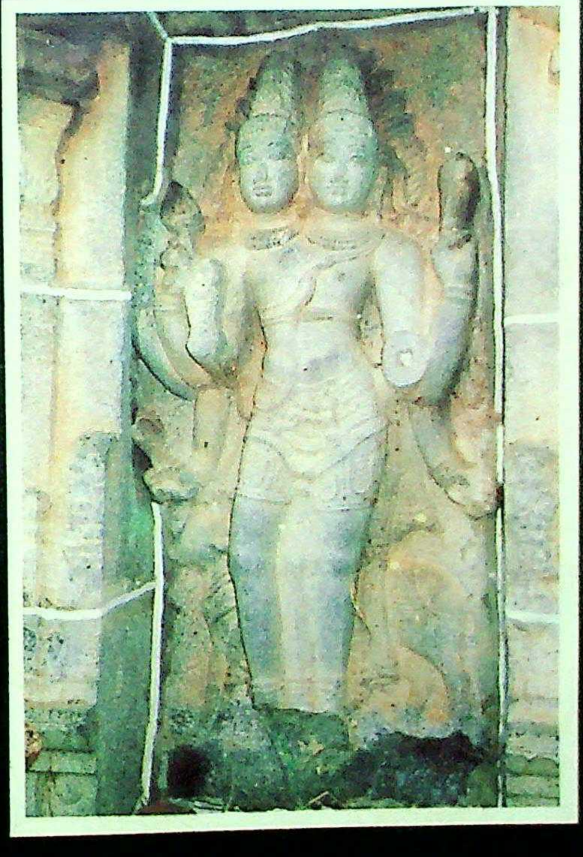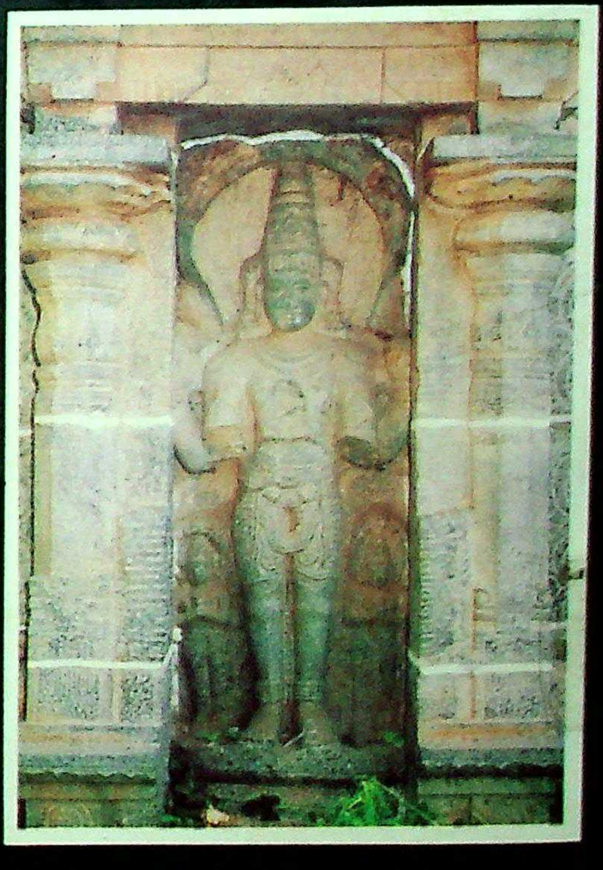COMPILED